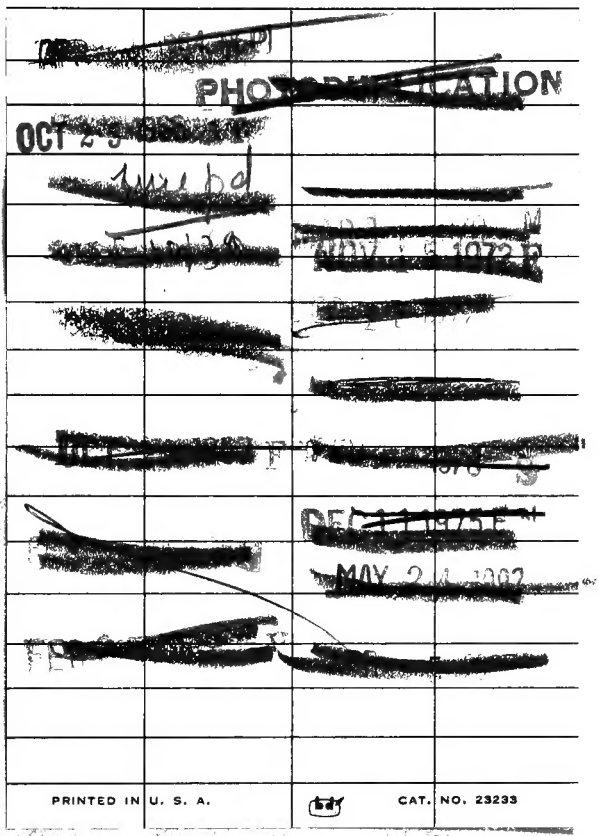
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RAMSAY'S

HISTORY

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1670
TO THE YEAR 1808.

By DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

"The Muse of History has been so much in love with Mars, that she has seldom conversed with Minerva."—*Henry.*

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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1858

TO

THE YOUTH OF CAROLINA,

WHOSE ANCESTORS,

COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS NATIONS OF THE OLD WORLD,

HAVE COALESCED INTO ONE IN THE NEW,

AND WHO, AFTER TWO REVOLUTIONS, IN LESS THAN ONE CENTURY,

HAVING ACQUIRED LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE,

MADE A PRUDENT USE OF THESE INESTIMABLE BLESSINGS,

BY ESTABLISHING, ON THE BASIS OF REASON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

A SOLID, EFFICIENT, AND WELL BALANCED GOVERNMENT,

WHOSE OBJECT IS PUBLIC GOOD,

WHOSE END IS PUBLIC HAPPINESS,

BY WHICH INDUSTRY HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED, AGRICULTURE EXTENDED,

LITERATURE CHERISHED, RELIGION PROTECTED, AND

JUSTICE CHEAPLY AND CONVENIENTLY ADMINISTERED

TO A RAPIDLY INCREASING POPULATION.

IN HOPES THAT THE DESCENDANTS OF SUCH SIRES WILL LEARN,

FROM THEIR EXAMPLE

TO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY AND CHERISH ITS INTERESTS,

THE FOLLOWING HISTORY IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAP.			PAGE
I.	Population		1
II.	Proprietary Government from its Commencement in 1670, till its Abolition in 1719		14
III.	The Revolution in 1719 from Proprietary to Royal Government		31
IV.	Royal Government from 1720 to 1776		53

MILITARY HISTORY, FROM 1670 TO 1776.

V.	SEC. 1.	Contests with Spaniards	70
	" 2.	Contests with Indians	84
	" 3.	Military Operations against Pirates	113
VI.		The settlement of the Back Country	118

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

FROM A BRITISH PROVINCE TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

VII.	SEC. 1.	Of Introductory Events and Taking of Arms	124
	" 2.	Of the Extinction of Royal Authority and of the Royalists	141
	" 3.	Of the Formation of a Regular Constitution	148
	" 4.	Of the Attack of the Fort on Sullivan's Island by Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, and the Invasion of the Cherokees by Colonel Williamson	152
	" 5.	Of Independence and the Alliance with France	162
	" 6	Campaign of 1779	167
	" 7.	Campaign of 1780—Fall of Charlestown	181
	" 8.	Campaign of 1781	223
	" 9.	Marion's Brigade	228
	" 10.	Campaign of 1781 continued	237
	" 11.	Campaign of 1782	249
	" 12.	Revolutionary Miscellaneous History	252

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

Chap.		Page
I.	Ecclesiastical History of South Carolina	1
II.	Medical History	28
III.	Legal and Constitutional History	68
IV.	Fiscal History	90
V.	Agricultural History	112
VI.	Commercial History	130
VII.	Of the Arts	136.
VIII.	Natural History	152
IX.	Literary History	196
X.	Miscellaneous History—Virtues, Vices, Customs, Diversions, &c., of the inhabitants	213
	Dress	227
	Complexion	228
	Manners and Character	228
	Fecundity, Population, and Longevity	231
XI.	Civil History, from the termination of the Revolutionary War in 1783 to the year 1808	235

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LITERARY MEN,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS.

Lionel Chalmers, M. D.	251
Rev. Richard Clarke	251
William Henry Drayton	252
Christopher Gadsden	253
Rev. Commissary Garden	256
Alexander Garden, M. D.	256
Maj. John James	257
Sir Nathaniel Johnson	258
John Lining, M. D.	260
Henry Laurens	260
John Laurens	264
Gabriel Manigault	266
Peter Manigault	267
Thomas Reese, D. D.	267
Col. William Rhett	268
John Rutledge	269
Edward Rutledge	272
Rev. Josiah Smith, A. M.	273
Rev. William Tennent, A. M.	274
Nicholas Trott, L. L. D.	275
William Wragg	276

APPENDIX.

Number		Page
I.	A Statistical Account of Edisto Island	278
II.	A Statistical Account of St. Stephen's District	291
III.	A Statistical View of Pendleton District	295
IV.	A Statistical Account of Orangeburg District	299
V.	A Statistical Account of Beaufort	301
VI.	A Statistical Account of Georgetown	302
VII.	A Statistical Account of Claremont District	305
VIII.	A Statistical Account of Camden	306
IX.	A General View of the upper country	307

PREFACE.

The growing importance of the United States excites an increasing curiosity to be acquainted with their early history. Of their wars and of their late revolution much has been written, but a development of the causes which, in less than two centuries, have raised them from poverty to riches—from ignorance to knowledge—from weakness to power—from a handful of people to a mighty multitude—from rude woodsmen to polished citizens—from colonies guided by the leading strings of a distant island to a well regulated, self-governed community, has not been sufficiently the subject of attention. It is a work of too much magnitude to be incorporated in a general history of the whole, and cannot be done to purpose otherwise than by local histories of particular provinces or states. Much useful knowledge on these subjects is already lost, and more is fast hastening to oblivion. A considerable portion of it can now only be recovered by a recurrence to tradition—for records of many events worthy of being transmitted to posterity have either never been made, or if made have been destroyed. Every day that minute local histories of these states are deferred is an injury to posterity—for by means thereof more of that knowledge which ought to be transmitted to them will be irrecoverably lost. These views were so forcibly impressed on the author of the following work, that he began many years ago to collect materials for writing a detailed history of the State in which Providence had cast his lot. In vain did he expect complete information from public records. On many interesting subjects they were silent—the most early were illegible—others were lost in the hurricanes or fires which at several successive periods have desolated Charleston, Much of what escaped from these calamities was destroyed in the invasions of the State by the British in 1779 and 1780. Of what remained every practicable use was made; but to remedy their defects, application was made to the only repositories of facts on which reliance could be placed. This was the recollection of old citizens and especially of such as were the descendants of the first settlers. To them, in the year 1798, he addressed a circular letter and queries on a variety of subjects connected with the history of Carolina.* These were sent to

*SIR--Having made some progress in collecting materials for a general HISTORY of SOUTH-CAROLINA from its first settlement, I beg the favor of you to furnish me, in Charleston, with information on any subjects that may properly be incorporated in such a work; and in particular, with answers to all or any of the following inquiries, at least as far as they respect the vicinity of your residence. If you should not have leisure for this purpose, I request that you would put them in the hands of some suitable person who may be willing to collect and transmit the wished-for information.

I am, your most obedient, humble servant,

Charleston, November 19, 1798, DAVID RAMSAY.

The time when the settlement of your parish or county began? the date of the oldest grants of land; and the place from which the first settlers migrated, with some account of the most remarkable of them?

The Indian name of your parish or county; what tribes of Indians formerly occupied it? notice of their monuments and relics which may remain? if they have disappeared, when and by what means? if still in your settlement, or the vicinity, what is their present state, condition and number?

Biographical anecdotes of persons in your settlement, who have been distinguished for their ingenuity, enterprise, literature, talents civil or military?

Topographical descriptions of your parish or county, or its vicinity--its mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, useful and rare vegetable productions; stones, especially such as may be useful for mills, lime, architecture, pavements, or for other purposes; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, sands, clays, chalk, flint, marble, pitcoal, pigments, medicinal or poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes?

The former and present state of cultivation; what changes has it undergone; an account of the first introduction of rice, indigo, &c. Your ideas of further improvements, either as to the introduction of new staples or the improvement of the old, or with respect to roads, bridges, canals, opening the navigation of the rivers or boatable waters?

An estimate of the expenses and profits of a well-cultivated field, of any given dimensions, say 20 acres, in tobacco, cotton, rice, wheat, or corn, with the average price of land?

The distinction of soils, with a notice of the productions to which they are respectively best adapted; a notice of the different kinds of useful timber; the proportion between cleared and uncleared land; and of the proportions between the number of inhabitants and number of acres?

What are the natural advantages in your vicinity for the erection of mills, and for other labor-saving machinery; for catching and curing fish, and for raising stock?

Singular instances of longevity and fecundity? observations on the weather, epidemic and other diseases, and the influence of the climate or of particular situations, employments or aliments; and especially the effects of spirituous liquors on the human constitution?

Is your population, distinguishing white from black, increasing, decreasing, or stationary; and the causes and evidences thereof?

well informed persons in every part of the State, and afterwards printed in the newspapers. In consequence thereof, much useful information has been received.

All the early histories which treat of Carolina were attentively perused, but from them little of consequence could be obtained. Dr. Hewat's historical account of the rise and progress of the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, was read with much more advantage—on it greater reliance was placed—and of it more use has been made, than of all the histories which had preceded. To him every Carolinian ought to be obliged for preserving many useful facts which otherwise would before this day have been forgotten. His valuable work was written shortly before the American Revolution, when tradition went further back and was more recent than at present. Much of the information contained therein is said to have been derived from Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, who had been a public officer since 1740, and who was the son of Lieutenant-Governor Bull, and the grandson of Stephen Bull, who had held public offices in succession from the very first settlement of the colony. For the thirty-four eventful years of revolutionary war and civil improvements which have intervened since Dr. Hewat wrote and the year 1808, the author has been a cotemporary witness of all, and an actor in several of the scenes which are the ground-work of the history of South Carolina in that interesting period.

Chalmers' political annals of the united colonies also afforded many statements of which use has been made. His knowledge was derived from an authentic source, the plantation office. In dates and early matters of fact, where he differed from other writers, his authority has been considered as paramount; but in matters of opinion, his assertions have been received with large allowance for the principles and feelings of a man who, in consequence of his adherence to the King of Great Britain, was not permitted to continue an inhabitant of the United States during their revolutionary struggle for independence.

Governor Drayton's view of South Carolina affords more interesting detailed views of the interior economy of the State than had ever been given. His official station and duties as governor opened to him sources of information inaccessible to all preceding writers. Much original matter previously unnoticed is contained in his valuable work, and of it use has been made in the following pages.

After the proposals had been issued for publishing the History of South Carolina, and the greater part of it had been written, a flood of local intelligence, in answer to the preceding queries, poured in on the author. Much of this came too late to be incorporated in its proper place; it was too valuable to be suppressed, and was therefore introduced in the appendix in the form of statistical accounts. To his many correspondents, the author returns the warmest acknowledgments for their valuable communications, which will be noticed in their proper place To the Reverend Donald M'Leod he is under very particular obligations for his minute, accurate, and satisfactory account of Edisto Island, and he begs leave to recommend it to others as a model worthy of imitation. If one or more persons in the different districts or other portions of the State, will take the trouble of furnishing statements on the plan of Mr. M'Leod, the author pledges himself, if his life is spared, to connect the whole in one view, and give it to the public as a statistical account of South Carolina. If this proposal should be carried into effect a collection of facts useful to philosophers, legislators, physicians and divines, would be brought to light. The interior economy of the State, which is now the least known of any one in the Union, would become the most known. South Carolina would rise in the esteem of the citizens of other States, many of whom, from not knowing better, load it with reproaches it does not deserve, and deny it much of that credit to which it is justly entitled.

DAVID RAMSAY.

Charleston, December 31st, 1808.

What manufactures are carried on? how have they been affected by the independence of these States, and by the establishment of the federal constitution; and your thoughts on the further improvements of them? what public libraries have you? what encouragement is given to schools and colleges? and what has been done, or is doing, to advance literature or diffuse knowledge?

What churches are there in your parish or county; how long have they been erected; how are they supplied with preachers? how are they attended on days of public worship? what has been done, or is doing, to promote morality and religion among the people?

The date, extent, consequences, and other circumstances of freshets, whirlwinds, hurricanes, or other remarkable events, which have taken place, as far back as can be recollected, in your county or parish?

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER I.

Population.

Columbus, by the discovery of America, introduced the Old World to an acquaintance with the new. No sooner was the existence of a Western Continent known to the maritime powers of Europe, than they eagerly rushed forth to seize a portion of it for themselves. Though that part of the American coast which stretches from the 36th degree of north latitude to St. Augustine, was claimed by Spain, England and France, yet they all for a long time neglected it. Nearly two centuries passed away subsequent to its discovery, before any permanent settlement was established in the tract of country which is now called Carolina and Georgia. That germ of civilized population which took root, flourished, and spread in South Carolina, was first planted at or near Port Royal, in 1670, by a few emigrants from England, under the direction of William Sayle, the first Governor of the province. Dissatisfied with that situation, they removed, in 1671, to the Western banks of Ashley river, and there laid the foundation of old Charlestown, on a plantation now belonging to Elias Lynch Horry. This site was injudiciously chosen, for it could not be approached by vessels of large burden, and was therefore abandoned. A second removal took place to Oyster Point, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. There, in the year 1680,* the foundation of the present city of Charleston was laid, and in one year, thirty houses were built. Neither the number of these first settlers, nor their names, with the exception of William Sayle and Joseph West, have reached posterity. They could not, however, have been many; for all of them, together with provisions, arms, and utensils, requisite for their support, defence, and comfort, in a country inhabited only by savages, were brought from England to Carolina in two vessels. To increase the population, was a primary object. There is no evidence of

* A monument in the Circular Church, erected to the memory of Robert Tradd, states, "that he was the first male child born in Charlestown," and "that he died on the 30th of March, 1731, in the 52d year of his age." Though the precise time of his birth is not mentioned, the whole accords with other historic evidence, that Charlestown began to be built in 1680.

any plan to procure settlers of any uniform description, either as to politics or religion, farther than that a decided preference was given to protestants. The emigrants were a medley of different nations and principles. From England the colony received both Roundheads and Cavaliers, the friends of the parliament, and the adherents to the royal family. The servants of the crown, from motives of policy, encouraged the emigration of the former; and grants of land were freely bestowed on the latter, as a reward of their loyalty. Liberty of conscience, which was allowed to every one by the charter, proved a great encouragement to emigration. The settlement commenced at a period when conformity to the Church of England was urged with so high a hand, as to bear hard on many good men. In the reign of Charles the Second and James the Second, and till the revolution, which was eighteen years subsequent to the settlement of the province, dissenters labored under many grievances. They felt much and feared more; for, in common with many others, they entertained serious apprehensions of a popish successor to the crown of England. Men of this description, from a laudable jealousy of the rights of conscience, rejoiced in the prospect of securing religious liberty, though at the expense of exchanging the endearments of home, and cultivated society for the wilds of America. Such cheerfully embraced the offers of the proprietors; and from them Carolina received a considerable number of its earliest settlers.

The inducements to emigration were so many and so various, that every year brought new adventurers to the province. The friends of the proprietors were allured to it by the prospect of obtaining landed states at an easy rate. Others took refuge in it from the frowns of fortune, and the rigor of creditors. Young men reduced to misery by folly and excess, embarked for the new settlement, where they had leisure to reform, and where necessity taught them the unknown virtues of prudence and temperance. Restless spirits, fond of roving, were gratified by emigration, and found in a new country abundant scope for enterprise and adventure.

Besides individual emigrants, the colony frequently received groupes of settlers, from their attachment to particular leaders, some common calamity, or general impulse. The first of these was a small colony from Barbadoes, which arrived in 1671, under the auspices of Sir John Yeamans, who had obtained a large grant of land from the proprietors. With these were introduced the first, and for a considerable time, the only slaves that were in Carolina.

Shortly after, the colony received a valuable addition to its strength from the Dutch settlement of Nova-Belgia. This in

1674 was conquered by England, and thereupon acquired the name of New York. After their subjugation, many of the Dutch colonists, dissatisfied with their new masters, determined to emigrate. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands, and sent two ships for their accommodation, which conveyed a considerable number of them to Charlestown. Stephen Bull, Surveyor General of the colony, had instructions to mark out lands on the southwest side of Ashley river, for their accommodation. They drew lots for their property, and formed a town which was called Jamestown. This was the first colony of Dutch settlers in Carolina. Their industry surmounted incredible hardships, and their success induced many from ancient Belgia afterwards to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of Jamestown, finding their situation too narrow, spread themselves over the country, and the town was deserted.

In 1679, King Charles II. ordered two small vessels to be provided at his expense, to transport to Carolina several foreign protestants, who proposed to raise wine, oil, silk and other productions of the south. Though they did not succeed in enriching the country with these valuable commodities, their descendants form a part of the present inhabitants.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz, fifteen years subsequent to the settlement of Carolina, contributed much to its population. In it, soon after that event, were transplanted from France the stocks from which have sprung the respectable families of Bonneau, Bounetheau, Bordeaux, Benoist, Boiseau, Bocquet, Bacot, Chevalier, Cordes, Courterier, Chastaignier, Dupre, Delysle, Dubose, Dubois, Deveaux, Dutarque, De la Consiliere, De Leiseline, Douxsaint, Dupont, Du Bourdieu, D'Harriette, Faucheraud, Foissin, Faysoux, Gaillard, Gendron, Gignilliat, Guerard, Godin, Girardeaux, Guerin, Gourdine, Horry, Huger, Jeannerette, Legare, Laurens, La Roche, Lenud, Lansac, Marion, Mazyck, Manigault,* Melli-

* A letter written in French by Judith Manigault, the wife of Peter Manigault, who were the founders of the worthy family of that name, may give some faint idea of the sufferings of these French protestant refugees. This lady, when about twenty years old, embarked in 1685 for Carolina, by the way of London. After her arrival, she wrote to her brother a letter, giving an account of her adventures. This letter translated into English, is as follows :—"Since you desire it, I will give you an account of our quitting France, and of our arrival in Carolina. During eight months, we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We therefore resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We contrived to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphigny, for ten days, while a search was made after us; but our hostess being faithful, did not betray us when questioned if she had seen us. From thence we passed to Lyons —from thence to Dijon—from which place, as well as from Langres, my eldest brother wrote to you; but I know not if either of the letters reached you. He informed you that we were quitting France. He went to Madame de Choiseul's, which was of no avail as she was dead, and her son-in-law had the command of

champ, Mouzon, Michau, Neufville, Prioleau,* Peronneau, Perdriau, Porcher, Postell, Peyre, Poyas, Ravenel, Royer, Simons, Sarazin, St. Julien, Serre, Trezevant.

These, and several other French protestants, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, repaired to Carolina, and became useful inhabitants. Many of their descendants have been, and are, respectable and distinguished citizens.* They generally at first established themselves on Santee

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every thing: moreover, he gave us to understand that he perceived our intention of quitting France, and if we asked any favors from him, he would inform against us. We therefore made the best of our way for Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves—from thence we passed to Cochieim, and to Coblentz—from thence to Cologne, where we quitted the Rhine, to go by land to Wesel—where we met with an host, who spoke a little French, and who informed us we were only thirty leagues from Lunenburg. We knew that you were in winter quarters there, by a letter of yours, received fifteen days before our departure from France, which mentioned that you should winter there. Our deceased mother and myself earnestly besought my eldest brother to go that way with us; or, leaving us with her, to pay you a visit alone. It was in the depth of winter: but he would not hear of it, having Carolina so much in his head that he dreaded losing any opportunity of going thither. Oh, what grief the losing so fine an opportunity of seeing you at least once more, has caused me! How have I regretted seeing a brother show so little feeling, and how often have I reproached him with it! but he was our master, and we were constrained to do as he pleased. We passed on to Holland, to go from thence to England. I do not recollect exactly the year, whether '84 or '85, but it was that in which King Charles of England died, (Feb. 1685.) We remained in London three months, waiting for a passage to Carolina. Having embarked, we were sadly off: the spotted fever made its appearance on board our vessel, of which disease many died, and among them our aged mother. Nine months elapsed before our arrival in Carolina. We touched at two ports—one a Portuguese, and the other an island called Bermuda, belonging to the English, to refit our vessel, which had been much injured in a storm. Our Captain having committed some misdemeanor, was put in prison, and the vessel seized. Our money was all spent, and it was with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered every kind of evil. In about eighteen months our elder brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor we had to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France we had experienced every kind of affliction—disease—pestilence—famine—poverty—hard labor. I have been for six months together without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have even passed three or four years without always having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us, enabling us to bear up under so many trials. I should never have done, were I to attempt to detail to you all our adventures. Let it suffice that God has had compassion on me, and changed my fate to a more happy one, for which glory be unto him." The writer of the above letter died in 1711, seven years after she had given birth to Gabriel Manigault, who in a long and useful life accumulated a fortune so large, as enabled him to aid the asylum of his persecuted parents with a loan of $220,000, for carrying on its revolutionary struggle for liberty and independence. This was done at an early period of the contest, when no man was certain whether it would terminate in a revolution or a rebellion.

* The Rev. Elias Prioleau, the founder of the eminently respectable family of that name in Carolina, migrated thither soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and brought with him from France a considerable part of his protestant congregation. He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in the year 1618. Many of his numerous descendants, who were born and constantly resided in or near Charleston, have approached or exceeded their 70th year; and several have survived, or now survive their 80th.

† Three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French protestant refugees, who had migrated to America in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The persons alluded to were Henry Laurens, of South Carolina; John Jay, of New York; and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey.

river; and from them that part of the country in old maps was called French Santee.

Besides these French refugees who came directly from France, there was a considerable number which, after a short residence in the northern countries of Europe and of America, particularly New York, repaired to Carolina, as a climate more similar to the one from which they had been driven, than the bleaker regions to which they had first resorted. Thus Carolina became a general rendezvous of French protestants, as had been originally contemplated by one of their distinguished leaders, shortly after the discovery of America.*

In the year 1696, Carolina received a small accession of inhabitants, by the arrival of a congregational church from Dorchester in Massachusetts, who, with their minister, the Rev. Joseph Lord, settled in a body near the head of Ashley river, about twenty-two miles from Charlestown.

In the year 1712 the Assembly passed a law directing the public receiver to pay out of the treasury, fourteen pounds current money to the owners or importers of each healthy male British servant, not a criminal, betwixt the age of twelve and thirty years.

No considerable groups of settlers are known to have emigrated to South Carolina, between 1696 and 1730, but the province continued to advance in population from the arrival of many individuals. It in particular received a considerable accession of inhabitants from Georgia, at the first settlement of that Colony. The Colonists there were prohibited the use

*As early as the year 1562 Admiral Coligny, a zealous Huguenot, formed a project for founding an asylum for French protestants in America. He succeeded so far as to affect a settlement under the direction of John Ribault somewhere on the coast of Carolina, most probably on or near the island of St. Helena. These French settlers not being well supported, became discontented; and afterwards the whole of them put to sea, with a scanty stock of provisions. Pinched with hunger they killed one of their number, who consented to be made a victim to save his comrades. The survivors were taken up by an English ship, and carried into England. Two years after, or in 1564, M. Rene Laudonniere, with a considerable reinforcement, arrived at the river of May on the same coast after it had been abandoned. This second groupe of French protestants was killed by Pedro Melendez a Spanish officer, who had received orders from his King to drive the Huguenots out of the country, and to settle it with good Catholics. In execution of this order he hung several of the French settlers, and suspended over them a label signifying, "I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." The Spanish conquerers took the stand of the vanquished French and fortified it. But their cruelty was retaliated by Dominique De Gourges, who soon after sailed from France with a considerable force. On his arrival he successfully attacked the Spanish settlement, and after killing many in action, he hung the survivors on the same trees in which his countrymen had been previously hung, and with a searing iron, impressed on a tablet of wood this inscription, "I do not do this as to Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers." The victors, after razing the forts and destroying the settlement, returned to France. The country, thus abandoned by both French and Spaniards, remained in the undisturbed possession of the Indians for more than a hundred years. Soon after the end of that period, it was taken possession of by the English, and under their auspices became an asylum for French protestants, as it had been originally intended by Admiral Coligny.

of spirituous liquors, and were not suffered to own slaves. Several of them soon found that Carolina would suit them better. In a few years after the royal purchase of the province in 1729, vigorous measures, which shall be hereafter related, were adopted by government for filling the country with inhabitants. Contracts were made—bounties offered—free lands assigned—and other inducements held out to allure settlers. The door was thrown open to protestants of all nations. Besides the distressed subjects of the British dominions, multitudes of the poor and unfortunate closed with these offers; and emigrated from Switzerland, Holland and Germany. Between the years 1730 and 1750, a great addition was made to the strength of the province from these sources; Orangeburg, Congaree, and Wateree, received a large proportion of the German emigrants. Numbers of palatines arrived every year. The vessels which brought them over usually returned with a load of rice, and made profitable voyages. After some time the King of Prussia suddenly put a stop to this intercourse, by refusing to the emigrating palatines a passage through his dominions. Williamsburg township was the rendezvous of the Irish. The Swiss took their stand on the northeast banks of the river Savannah. Soon after the suppression of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, in Scotland, many of the vanquished Highlanders were transported to, or voluntarily sought an asylum in South Carolina.

In the course of eighty-years, or about the middle of the 18th century, the most valuable lands in the low country were taken up; and settlements were gradually progressing Westwardly on favorite spots in the middle and upper country. The extinction of Indian claims by a cession of territory to the King, was necessary to the safety of the advancing settlers. This was obtained in 1755. In that year Governor Glen met the Cherokee warriors in their own country, and held a treaty with them. After the usual ceremonies were ended, the Governor made a speech to the assembled warriors in the name of his King; representing his great power, wealth, and goodness, and his particular regard for his children the Cherokees. He reminded them of the happiness they had long enjoyed by living under his protection; and added, that he had many presents to make them, and expected they would surrender a share of their territories in return. He informed them of the wicked designs of the French, and hoped they would permit none of them to enter their towns. He demanded lands to build two forts in their country, to protect them against their enemies, and to be a retreat to their friends and allies, who furnished them with arms, ammunition, hatchets, clothes, and everything that they wanted.

When the Governor had finished his speech, Chulochcullak arose, and in answer spoke to the following effect: "What I now speak, our father the great King should hear. We are brothers to the people of Carolina; one house covers us all." Then taking a boy by the hand, he presented him to the Governor saying, "We, our wives, and our children, are all children of the great King George; I have brought this child, that when he grows up he may remember our agreement on this day, and tell it to the next generation, that it may be known forever." Then opening his bag of earth, and laying the same at the Governor's feet, he said: "We freely surrender a part of our lands to the great King. The French want our possessions, but we will defend them while one of our nation shall remain alive." Then delivering the Governor a string of wampum, in confirmation of what he said, he added; "My speech is at an end—it is the voice of the Cherokee nation. I hope the Governor will send it to the King, that it may be kept for ever."

At this congress, a prodigious extent of territory was ceded to the King of England. Deeds of conveyance were drawn up, and formally executed, by the head men of the Cherokees in the name of the whole nation. It contained not only much rich land, but an air and climate more healthy than in the maritime parts. It exhibited many pleasant and romantic scenes, formed by an intermixture of beautiful hills—fruitful valleys—rugged rocks—clear streams, and pleasant waterfalls. The acquisition, at that time, was of importance to Carolina; for it removed the savages at a greater distance from the settlements, and allowed the inhabitants liberty to extend backwards in proportion as their numbers increased.

After the cession of these lands, governor Glen built a fort about three hundred miles from Charlestown. This was afterwards called fort Prince George, and was situated on the banks of the river Savannah, and within gun shot of an Indian town called Keowee. About an hundred and seventy miles farther down, a second stronghold, called fort Moore, was constructed in a beautiful commanding situation, on the banks of the same river. In the year following a third fort was erected, called fort Loudon, among the upper Cherokees, situated on Tennessee river, upwards of five hundred miles from Charlestown.

At the time Governor Glen was procuring additional territory for South Carolina, the events of war were furnishing inhabitants for its cultivation. The province of Nova Scotia was originally settled by the French, under the name of Acadie. When the province was surrendered to the English, by the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated for the inhabitants

that they should be permitted to hold their lands on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. With this condition they refused to comply, without annexing to it as a qualification that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defence of the province.

Though this qualification to their oaths of allegiance, which was acceded to by the commanding officer of the British forces, was afterwards disallowed by the crown, yet the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia continued to consider themselves as neutrals. Their love of France, however, would not permit them to conform their conduct to the character they had assumed. In all the contests between the two nations, respecting the possession of their country, or the boundaries of Nova Scotia, their conduct was influenced rather by their wishes than their duty, and about three hundred of them were captured in the year 1755, with the French garrison of Beau Sejour, fighting against the English.

In the obstinate conflict which was then commencing between France and England for American territory, the continuance of these acadian neutrals in Nova Scotia was thought dangerous. To expel them from the country, leaving them at liberty to choose their place of residence, would be to reinforce the French in Canada. A council was held for the purpose of deciding on the destinies of these unfortunate people; and the severe policy was adopted of removing them from their homes, and dispersing them among the other British colonies. This harsh measure was immediately put into execution. About 1500 of them were sent to Charlestown. Some of these exiles have risen to wealth and distinction in Carolina, though it was not originally their country either by birth or choice; but most of them in a short time after peace, left the country. They were, in general, a hard working people. Among them were several industrious fishermen, who plentifully supplied the market with fish.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, between Governor Glen and the Indians, the settlers began to stretch backward, and occupied land above an hundred and fifty miles from the shores of the Atlantic. New emigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the northern colonies, obtained grants in these interior parts; and introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax, and tobacco, for which the soil answered better than in the low lands near the sea. Their cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses, multiplied rapidly; having a country of vast extent to range over, they found plenty of provisions in almost every season. New settlers were invited to these hilly and more healthy parts, where they labored with greater safety than among the swamps. By degrees, public roads were made,

and they conveyed their produce in wagons to the capital, where they found an excellent market for all their productions.

The lands thus obtained by treaty form the present districts of Edgefield, Abbeville, Laurens, Newberry, Union, Spartanburg, York, Chester, Fairfield and Richland. Their value, in a few years after their cession, was enhanced by the peace of Paris, in 1763; for the stipulations therein contained gave security to the frontiers, and settled all disputes about the boundaries of the English colonies. By the cession of Florida it removed troublesome neighbors, and left the savages so much in the power of the English as to deter them from future hostilities. The population of the newly acquired territory, form that period, increased with unusual rapidity. The assembly, desirous of strengthening their frontier, wisely appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign protestants, and such industrious poor people of Britain and Ireland, as should resort to the province within three years and settle on the inland parts. Two townships, each containing 48,000 acres, were laid out to be divided among emigrants, allowing one hundred acres for every man, and fifty for every woman and child, that should come and settle in them. The face of the country in those interior parts, is variable and beautiful. The air mild and wholesome, and the soil exceedingly fertile. The salubrity of the climate, connected with the provincial bounty, and the fertility of the soil, induced great numbers to fix themselves in these western regions.

About the same time, a remarkable affair happened in Germany, by which South Carolina received a considerable acquisition. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the King of Prussia's service, being reduced at the peace, applied to the British Ministry for a tract of land in America; and having got some encouragement, returned to Germany, where, by deceitful promises, he seduced between five and six hundred ignorant people from their native country. When these poor palatines arrived in England, Stumpel, finding himself unable to perform his promises, fled, leaving them without money or friends, exposed in the open field, and ready to perish through want. While they were in this starving condition, a humane clergyman took compassion on them, and published their deplorable case in a newspaper. He pleaded for the mercy and protection of government, until an opportunity might offer of transporting them to some of the British colonies. A bounty of three hundred pounds was allowed them. Tents were ordered for the accommodation of such as had been permitted to come ashore, and money was sent for the relief of those that were confined on board. The public spirited citizens of London chose a committee to raise money

for the relief of these poor palatines. In a few days these unfortunate strangers, from the depth of indigence and distress, were raised to comfortable circumstances. The committee, finding the money received more than sufficient to relieve their present distress, applied to the king to know his royal pleasure with respect to the future disposal of the German protestants. His majesty, sensible that his colony of South Carolina had not its proportion of white inhabitants, signified his desire of transporting them to that province.

Accordingly two ships of two hundred tons each were provided for their accommodation, and provisions of all kinds laid in for the voyage. An hundred and fifty stand of arms were given to them for their defence after their arrival in America. Every thing being ready for their embarkation, the palatines broke up their camp and proceeded to the ships, attended by several of their benefactors, of whom they took their leave with songs of praise to God in their mouths and tears of gratitude in their eyes.

In the month of April, 1764, they arrived at Charlestown, and presented a letter from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations to Governor Boone; acquainting him that his majesty had been pleased to take the poor palatines under his royal care and protection; and, as many of them were versed in the culture of silk and vines, had ordered that a settlement be provided for them in Carolina, in a situation most proper for these purposes. The assembly voted five hundred pounds sterling to be distributed among them. That they might be settled in a body, one of the two townships was allotted for them and divided in the most equitable manner into small tracts, for the accommodation of each family, and all possible assistance was given towards promoting their speedy and comfortable settlement.

In the same year Carolina received 212 settlers from France. Soon after the peace of Paris, the Rev. Mr. Gibert, a popular preacher, prevailed on a number of persecuted protestant families to seek an asylum in South Carolina. On his solicitation, the government of England encouraged the project, and furnished the means of transportation. Mr. Gibert repaired to England, and directed the movements of the refugees. They found it necessary to leave France privately, at different times, and in small numbers. After leaving their native country, they rendezvoused at Plymouth, and sailing from that port arrived in Charlestown in April, 1764. They were received by the Carolinians with great kindness and hospitality. They, generally, retired to spend the approaching summer in Beaufort. But in the month of October following they returned to Charlestown, and set out for the

back country, having lost but one of their number since their landing. The province furnished them with the means of conveyance to Long Cane. Vacant lands were laid out for their use; and they received warrants for the quantities of land granted to them respectively, by the bounty of the Provincial Assembly. On their arrival at the place assigned them, they gave it the name of New Bourdeaux, after the capital of the province from which most of them had emigrated. They have been distinguished for their industry and good morals. The climate has agreed so well with them, that they have generally enjoyed good health, and several of them have survived their 80th year. The manufacture of silk is still continued among them. The nephew of the original projector of the settlement is one of the present representatives of Abbeville district, in the State Legislature. This was the third groupe of settlers Carolina received from France.

Besides foreign protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the peace of 1763. But of all other countries, none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charlestown that was not crowded with men, women, and children. The bounty allowed to new settlers, induced numbers of these people to resort to Carolina. The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, persuaded the people to embark. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration from Ireland, but domestic oppression was the most powerful and prevalent.

Nor were these the only sources from which an increase of population was at this time derived. Notwithstanding the vast extent of territory contained in the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania, a scarcity of improvable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find vacant spots in them equal to their expectations. In Carolina the case was different; for there large tracts of the best lands lay waste. This induced many of the northern colonists to migrate to the South. About this time above a thousand families with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to South Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs, and horses over land before them. Lands were allotted them in its western woods, which soon became the most populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only strengthened and secured by new settlers, but the old ones began to stretch backward, and the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increased. From the time in which America was secured by the peace of 1763, and particularly

for the twelve subsequent years, the province made rapid progress in agriculture, numbers and wealth.

In the revolutionary war which commenced in 1775, little addition was made either to the population or settlements in South Carolina. But this was amply compensated by the multitudes from Europe and the more northern parts of America, which poured into the State, shortly after the peace of 1783. The two new western districts now called Pendleton and Greenville, which were obtained by treaty founded on conquest from the Cherokee Indians in 1777, filled so rapidly with inhabitants, that in the year 1800 they alone contained upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; which exceeded the population of the whole province in the 64th year from its first settlement.

Hitherto Carolina had been an asylum to those who fled from tyranny and persecution—to the exile—the weary and heavy laden—the wretched and unfortunate—and to those who were bowed down with poverty and oppression. A new variety of human misery was lately presented for the exercise of its hospitality. The insecurity of life, liberty, and property, in revolutionary France, and the indiscriminate massacre of Frenchmen in St. Domingo, drove several hundreds in the last years of the 18th century to the shores of Carolina. They were kindly received; and, such as were in need, received a temporary accommodation at the expense of the public. Most of them fixed their residence in or near Charleston.

These were the last groupe of settlers the State received from foreign countries. The new States and Territories to the southward and westward, draw to them so many of the inhabitants of South Carolina, that emigration from it at present nearly balances migration to it. Its future population must in a great measure depend on the natural increase of its own inhabitants. So much of the soil is unimproved, or so imperfectly cultivated, that the introduction and extension of a proper system of husbandry will afford support to ten times the number of its present inhabitants.

So many and so various have been the sources from which Carolina has derived her population, that a considerable period must elapse, before the people amalgamate into a mass possessing an uniform national character. This event daily draws nearer; for each successive generation drops a part of the peculiarities of its immediate predecessors. The influence of climate and government will have a similar effect. The different languages, and dialects, introduced by the settlers from different countries, are gradually giving place to the English. So much similarity prevails among the de-

scendants of the early emigrants from the Old World, that strangers cannot ascertain the original country of the ancestors of the present race.

If comparisons among the different nations which have contributed to the population of Carolina were proper, it might be added that the Scotch and Dutch were the most useful emigrants. They both brought with them, and generally retained in an eminent degree, the virtues of industry and economy so peculiarly necessary in a new country. To the former, South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters, were from North Britain. The Scotch had also the address frequently to advance themselves by marriage. The instances of their increasing the property thus acquired, are many—of their dissipating it, very few.

Emigrants from all countries on application readily obtained grants of land; either by private agreement from the proprietors, or from officers appointed by them, and acting under their instructions. The fees of office were not unreasonable. The price first fixed by the proprietors, was at the rate of £20 sterling for a thousand acres, and an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every hundred acres. When a warrant for taking up land was obtained, the person in whose favor it was granted had to choose where it should be located. It was then surveyed and marked. Plats and grants were also signed, recorded and delivered to the purchasers. This was the common mode of obtaining landed estates in Carolina, and the tenure was a freehold. They who could not advance the purchase money, obtained their lands on condition of their paying one penny annual rent for every acre. The first settlers, having the first choice of lands, had great advantages; and many of their descendants now enjoy large and valuable estates, purchased by their ancestors for inconsiderable sums. This mode of settlement by indiscriminate location, dispersed the inhabitants over the country without union or system. The settlers generally preferred the sea coast—the margins of rivers—and other fertile grounds; and gradually located themselves westwardly on the good land, leaving the bad untouched. For the first eighty years, they had advanced very little beyond an equal number of miles; but in the following fifty, they stretched to the Alleghany Mountains nearly three hundred miles from the ocean. While the people of New England extended their settlements exclusively by townships, presenting a compact front to the Indians, and co-extending the means of instruction in religion and learning with their population, South Carolina, in com-

mon with the other Southern provinces proceeding on the former plan, deprived her inhabitants of the many advantages connected with compact settlements. These evils are now done away; for, since the revolution, nearly all the vacant land in the State has been taken up. They who have been obliged to content themselves with the long neglected poor lands, have the consolation that what they lost one way is made up in another; for it is found, that the high and dry pine land is by far the most healthy.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER II.

Proprietary Government, from its Commencement in 1670, *till its Abolition in* 1719.

In the course of the 130 years in which South Carolina increased from a handful of adventurers to 345,591 inhabitants, the government was changed, first from proprietary to regal; and secondly, from regal to representative. The first continued forty-nine years, the second fifty-seven; and the third, after a lapse of thirty-two years, is now in the bloom and vigor of youth, promising a long duration.

Near the end of the fifteenth century, the King of England, according to currently received opinions, obtained a property in the soil of North America, from the circumstance that Cabot, one of his subjects, was the first Christian who sailed along the coast. Property thus easily acquired, was with equal facility given away. Charles the Second, soon after his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degree of north latitude. In two years more he enlarged the grant from the 29th degree of north latitude to 36° 30′, and from these points on the sea coast westwardly in parallel lines to the Pacific ocean. Of this immense region the King constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, with the reservation of the dominion of the country to himself and successors. These extensive limits underwent many changes from the resumption of royal charters; treaties—particularly those of 1763 and

1783; royal instructions to governors; boundary lines run and settlements made by authorized commissioners; State cession to Congress; conquests from and treaties with Indians.

The present situation and limits of South Carolina are as follows. It is situated in North America; between 32 and 35° 8′ and 6° 10′ west longitude, from Washington, the seat of government of the United States of America. North Carolina stretches along its northern and northeastern frontier; Tennessee along its northwestern, and Georgia along its southern frontier; and the Atlantic ocean bounds its eastern limits.

South Carolina is bounded northwardly by a line commencing at a cedar stake marked with nine notches on the shore of the Atlantic ocean, near the mouth of Little river, then pursuing by many traverses a coast west-north-west, until it arrives at the fork of Catauba river; thence due west until it arrives at a point of intersection in the Apalachean mountains. From thence, due south until it strikes Chatuga, the most northern branch or stream of Tugoloo river. Thence along the said river Tugoloo to its confluence with the river Keowee; thence along the river Savannah, until it intersects the Atlantic ocean by its most northern mouth; thence northeastwardly, along the Atlantic ocean, including the islands, until it intersects the northern boundary near the entrance of Little river. These boundaries include an area somewhat triangular, of about 24,0080 square miles; whereof 9,570 lie above the falls of the rivers, and 14,510 are between the falls and the Atlantic ocean.

King Charles the Second also gave to the lords proprietors of Carolina authority to enact, with the assent of the freemen of the colony, any laws they should judge necessary; to erect courts of judicature, and to appoint judges, magistrates and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities and towns; to make war, and in case of necessity, to exercise martial law; to build harbors, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, imposed with the consent of the freemen, on goods loaded and unloaded. The King also granted to the proprietors, authority to allow indulgences and dispensations in religious affairs, and that no person to whom such liberty should be granted was to be molested for any difference of speculative opinions with respect to religion, provided he did not disturb the peace of the community.

The preamble of this grant states, "That the grantees being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, or only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God." Invested with these ample powers, the proprietors formed a joint stock for

the transportation of settlers to their projected colony. To induce adventurers, they declared, "That all persons settling on Charles river, to the southward of Cape Fear, shall have power to fortify its banks, taking the oath of allegiance to the King, and submitting to the government of the proprietors: that the emigrants may present to them thirteen persons, in order that they may appoint a Governor and council of six, for three years: that an assembly, composed of the Governor, the council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make laws, which should be neither contrary to the laws of England, nor of any validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietors: that every person should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion: that during five years every freeman should be allowed one hundred acres of land and fifty for every servant, paying only one half-penny an acre: that the same freedom from customs which had been conferred by the royal charter should be allowed to every one." Such were the original conditions on which Carolina was planted. And thus it was established upon the broad foundation of a regular system of freedom, both civil and religious.

The proprietors, anxious to improve their property, with the aid of the celebrated John Locke, framed a constitution and laws for the government of their colony. These were in substance as follows: "The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be Palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This Palatine was to sit as President of the Palatine's Court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum, and had the management and execution of the powers of their charter. This Court was to stand in room of the King, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the Legislature of the colony. The Palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the Governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy to sit as his representative in Parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a Governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established; an upper and lower House of Assembly: which three branches were to be called a Parliament, and to constitute the Legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the Legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open Parliament, during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial Parliament, unless in the meantime it be ratified by the hands and seals of the Palatine and three

proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and cassiques, and seven chosen by the Assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of the nobility were to be established, called barons, cassiques, and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and the third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated; and all inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when regularly summoned, were to appear under arms, and in time of war to take the field.

With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed. First, to believe that there is a God. Secondly, that he is to be worshipped. And thirdly, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority, to bear witness to the truth. Without acknowledging which, no man was permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship, was expressly forbidden; and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he thought most conformable to the Divine will and revealed word.

Notwithstanding these preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667 they fitted out a ship, gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the country. He sailed along the coast of Carolina, where he observed several large navigable rivers emptying themselves into the ocean; and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but observing some savages on the banks of the rivers, he desisted. Having explored the coast and the mouths of the rivers, he returned to England.

His report to the proprietors was favorable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigor in the execution of their project. Thus encouraged, they began to make preparations for sending a colony to commence a settlement. Two ships were procured; on board of which a number of adventurers embarked with provisions, arms, and utensils requisite for building and cultivation. William Sayle, who had visited the country, was appointed the first Governor of it; and received a commission, bearing date

July 26th, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to twelve thousand pounds sterling. The settlers must have been few in number, and no ways adequate to the undertaking.* The country now called Carolina, on which they settled, was then an immense hunting ground filled with wild animals; overgrown with forests—partly covered with swamps, and roamed over, rather than inhabited, by a great number of savage tribes, subsisting on the chase and often at war with each other.

Governor Sayle first landed at or near Beaufort, early in 1670, but soon moved northwardly and took possession of some high ground on the western banks of Ashley river, near its mouth; and there laid the foundations of old Charlestown. This was also abandoned; and in 1680 Oyster Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers, was fixed upon as the seat of government, and head-quarters of the settlement. Soon after his arrival governor Sayle died, and was succeeded by Joseph West; and he by Sir John Yeamans, who left the colony, and was succeeded by Joseph West on a second appointment. These changes took place in the short space of four years. The people, who had hitherto lived under a species of military government, began about this time to form a Legislature for establishing civil regulations. In the year 1674 the freemen of Carolina, meeting by summons at old Charlestown, elected Representatives for the government of the colony. There was now the Governor, and Upper and Lower House of Assembly; and these three branches took the name of Parliament. Of the laws passed by them nothing is known. The first law which has been found on record in the office of the Secretary of the Province, is dated May 26th, 1682; eight years subsequent to the first meeting of the first Parliament in Carolina. Many were the difficulties with which these settlers had to contend. They were obliged to stand in a constant posture of defence. While one party was employed in raising their little habitations, another was always kept under arms to watch the Indians.

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* We have the authority of John Archdale, Governor of South Carolina in 1695, that the number of hostile Indians was considerably lessened about the time this settlement took place. In the second page of his description of South Carolina, printed in 1707, in London, he observed. "That in the first settlement of Carolina, the hand of God was eminently seen in thinning the Indians to make room for the English. As for example; in Carolina in which were seated two potent nations, called the Westoes and Savannahs, which contained many thousands, who broke out into an unusual civil war; and thereby reduced themselves into a small number: and the Westoes, the more cruel of the two, were at the last forced quite out of that province; and the Savannahs continued good friends nd useful neighbors to the English. But again it at other times pleased Almigbty God to send unusual sicknesses amongst them, as the small pox, &c., to lessen their numbers; so that the English, in comparison to the Spaniards, have but little Indian blood to answer for."

While they gathered oysters with one hand for subsistence, they were obliged to carry guns in the other for self-defence. The only fresh provisions they could procure were fish from the river, or what game they could kill with their guns. They raised their scanty crops not only with the sweat of their brows, but at the risk of their lives. Except a few negroes, whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers brought with them from Barbadoes, there were no laborers but Europeans. Till the trees were felled, and the grounds cleared, domestic animals could afford to the planters no assistance. White men, exposed to the heat of the climate and the terrors of surrounding savages, had alone to encounter the hardships of clearing and cultivating the ground. Provisions, when raised, were exposed to the plundering parties of Indians. One day often robbed the planter of the dear-bought fruits of a whole year's toil. European grains, with which were made the first experiments of planting, proved suitable neither to soil nor climate. Spots of barren and sandy land, which were first and most easily cleared, poorly rewarded the toil of the cultivator. It was difficult for the proprietors to furnish a regular supply of provisions. All the horrors of a famine were anticipated. The people feeling much, and fearing more, threatened to compel the Governor to abandon the settlement.* One sloop was dispatched to Virginia, and another to Barbadoes to bring provisions. Before their return a supply arrived from England, together with some new settlers, which reanimated the expiring hopes of the colonists.

It might have been expected that these adventurers, who were all embarked on the same design, would be animated by one spirit and zealous to maintain harmony and peace among themselves; for they had all the same hardships to encounter, and the same enemies to fear; yet the reverse took place. The most numerous party in the country were dissenters from the established Church of England. A number of cavaliers having received ample grants of lands, brought over their families and effects and also settled in Carolina. The cavaliers were highly favored by the proprietors, and respected as men of honor, loyalty and fidelity. They met with great encouragement, and were generally preferred to offices of trust and authority. The puritans, on the other hand, viewed them with jealous eyes; and having suffered from them in England, could not bear to see the smallest atom of power committed to them in Carolina. Hence the seeds of strife

* A similar measure had been carried into effect by some French settlers, who had located themselves on the coast of Carolina, about 120 years before. Their settlement was abandoned in less than two years after its commencement, and was never renewed.

and division which had been imported into the colony, began not only to spring, but to grow rank. No common dangers nor difficulties could obliterate the prejudices and animosities which the first settlers had contracted in England. The odious terms or distinction which had prevailed in the mother country, were revived and propagated among the people of the infant colony. While one party was attached to the Church of England the other, which had fled from the rigor of ecclesiastical power, was jealous above all things of their religious liberties and could bear no encroachment on them. The same scenes of debate and contention which had taken place in England, for some time before and after the restoration of Charles the Second, were acted over again on the little theatre of Carolina; but without bloodshed or legal persecution.

Another source of difficulty arose to government from the different manners of the colonists. Several of the first emigrants, unaccustomed to rural labors and frugal simplicity, were pampered citizens; whose wants luxury had increased and rendered impatient of fatigue. By such, the sober lives and rigid morals of the puritans were made the objects of ridicule. The puritans on the other hand, exasperated against their scorners, violently opposed their influence among the people. Hence arose difficulties in framing laws—in distributing justice—and in maintaining public order. Governor West was at no small pains to restrain these dissentions; but having a Council composed of cavaliers, was unable to calm the tumult. In spite of his authority the puritans and cavaliers continued to insult and oppose each other. In consequence of their fierce contentions, the colony was distracted with domestic differences, and poorly prepared for defence against external enemies. Disputes between the proprietors and settlers, were also of an early origin.

In most measures for the immediate support of the colony, they for some time cordially concurred; but this was of short duration. The same scenes which for more than 5000 years had taken place in the Old World, began to open in this settlement of the new. Those who govern and those who are governed, think they can never gain too much on each other. The existence of a court and country party, results from the nature of man; and is found more or less in every Government.

The first contest between the proprietors and the settlers, was respecting advances for the encouragement of the settlers. The former for some time gratuitously supplied the latter with provisions, clothes, and farming utensils. The proprietors afterwards annually sent out similar supplies to be exchanged with the colonists for the productions of their labor, or sold

to them at a small advance on the original cost. After expending upwards of £18,000 sterling, in this manner, for the encouragement of the settlement, they wished to hold their hands and to leave the settlers to depend on their own exertions. The difficulties attendant on the first stage of cultivation furnished the inhabitants with apologies for soliciting a continuation of the customary supplies, and a farther extension of time to pay for them. The economy of the proprietors and the necessities of the settlers, could not easily be compromised. The one thought they had already done too much; the other that they had not received enough. To the latter, requesting a supply of cattle to be sent out to them, the proprietors replied, as a reason for their refusal, "That they wished not to encourage graziers but planters."

It is from this epoch that we may date the prosperity of Carolina; because she was then taught a lesson, which it is of the greatest importance for every individual and every state to know, "That she must altogether depend on her own exertions."

Two parties arose; one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the rights and liberties of the people. The former contended that the laws received from England respecting government, ought to be implicitly observed. The latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained that the free men of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interests of individuals, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who were impatient of every restraint which had the least tendency to obstruct their favorite views. Whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration till he was removed from office.

In the short space of four years, from 1682 till 1686, there were no less than five Governors; Joseph Morton, Joseph West, Richard Kirle, Robert Quarry and James Colleton. The last named, who was a landgrave, and brother to one of the proprietors, as well as Governor, determined to exert his authority in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents; which, though very trifling, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand, for which quit-rents were demanded, had hitherto yielded any profit. For this purpose, Governor Colleton wrote to the proprietors, requesting them to appoint such deputies as he knew to be most favorably disposed towards their government, and would most readily assist him in the execution of his office. Hence the interest of the

proprietors and that of the people, were placed in opposite scales. The more rigorously the Governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent and riotous the people became. The little community was turned into a scene of confusion.

Landgrave Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, was not a little puzzled in determining what step to take. Gentle means, he perceived, would be vain and ineffectual. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might induce the people, through fear, to return to his standard and support the person who alone had authority to punish mutiny and sedition. This was to proclaim martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without letting the people into his secret, he caused the militia to be drawn up as if some danger had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed martial law at their head. His design, when discovered, served only to exasperate. The members of assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger. The Governor insisted on the articles of war, and tried to carry the martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed for disabling landgrave James Colleton from holding any office or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province. So exasperated were they against him that nothing less than banishment could appease them; and therefore they gave notice to him that in a limited time he must depart from the colony.

During these public commotions, Seth Sothell, pretending to be a proprietor by virtue of some regulations lately made in England, usurped the government of the colony. At first, the people seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority; but afterwards, finding him to be void of every principle of honor and honesty, they abandoned him. Such was the insatiable avarice of this usurper, that his popularity was of small duration. Every restraint of common justice and equity was trampled upon by him, and oppression extended her iron rod over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda, were seized as pirates, by order of this Governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to enact, were paid. Bribes from felons and traitors, were accepted to favor their escape. Plantations were forcibly taken into possession, upon pretences the most frivolous; planters were compelled to give bonds for large sums of money to procure from him liberty to remain in possession of their pro-

perty. These, and many more acts of the like atrocious nature, were committed by this rapacious Governor during the short time of his administration. At length the people, weary of his impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force and ship him off for England. Then he humbly begged of them liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the assembly at their first meeting. When the assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence; upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to relinquish the government and country for ever. An account of his infamous conduct was drawn up and sent to the proprietors, which filled them with astonishment and indignation. He was ordered to England to answer the accusations brought against him, and was informed that his refusal would be taken as a further evidence and confirmation of his guilt. The law for disabling landgrave James Colleton from holding any authority, civil or military, in Carolina, was repealed; and strict orders were sent out to the grand council to support the power and prerogative of the proprietors. But, to compose the minds of the people, they declared their detestation of such unwarrantable and wanton oppression, and protested that no Governor should ever be permitted to grow rich on their ruins.

Hitherto South Carolina had been a scene of contention and misery. The fundamental constitution, which the proprietors thought the most excellent form of government upon earth, was disregarded. The Governors were either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them were injudicious. The inhabitants, far from living in friendship and harmony among themselves, had also been turbulent and ungovernable. The proprietary government was weak, unstable, and little respected. It did not excite a sufficient interest for its own support. The title of landgraves were more burthensome than profitable; especially as they were only joined with large tracts of land, which, from the want of laborers, lay uncultivated. The money arising from the sale of lands and the quit-rents, was inconsiderable—hard to be collected, and by no means equal to the support of government. The proprietors were unwilling to involve their English estates for the improvement of American property; and, on the whole, their government was ill supported.

Another source of controversy between the proprietors and the people, was the case of the French refugees. Many of these, exiled from their own country towards the close of the 17th century, had settled in the province; particularly in

Craven county.* They were an orderly, industrious, religious people. Several brought property with them which enabled them to buy land, and settle with greater advantages than many of the poorer English emigrants. While they were busy in clearing and cultivating their lands, the English settlers began to revive national antipathies against them and to consider the French as aliens and foreigners, legally entitled to none of the privileges and advantages of natural born subjects. The proprietors took part with the refugees, and instructed their Governor, Philip Ludwell, who, in 1692, had been appointed the successor of Seth Sothell, to allow the French settled in Craven county, the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists; but the people carried their jealousy so far, that at the next election for members to serve in the Assembly, Craven county, in which the French refugees lived, was not allowed a single representative. At this period, the Assembly of South Carolina consisted of twenty members, all chosen in Charlestown.

A further cause of dissention respected the trial of pirates. The proprietors, mortified at the inefficacy of the laws in bringing these enemies of mankind to justice, instructed Governor Lee to change the form of drawing juries; and required that all pirates should be tried and punished by the laws of England, made for the suppression of piracy; but this innovation in the laws of the colony, was opposed by the people.

There subsisted a constant struggle between the inhabitants and the officers of the proprietors. The former claimed great exemptions on account of their indigent circumstances. The latter were anxious to discharge the duties of their trust, and to comply with the instructions of their superiors. When quit-rents were demanded, some refused payment; others had nothing to offer. When actions were brought for their recovery, the planters murmured and were discontented at the terms of holding their lands. The fees of the Courts and Sheriffs were such that, in all actions of small value they exceeded the debt. To remedy this inconvenience, the Assembly made a law for empowering Justices of the Peace to hear, and finally to determine all causes not exceeding forty shillings sterling. This was agreeable to the people, but not to the officers of justice. Governor Ludwell proposed to the Assembly to consider of a new form of a deed for holding

* South Carolina, soon after its first settlement, was divided into four counties, Berkeley, Craven, Colleton and Carteret. Berkeley county filled the space round the capital; Craven to the northward; and Colleton contained Port Royal, and the islands in its vicinity, to the distance of thirty miles. Carteret lay to the southwest.

lands, by which he encroached on the prerogative of the proprietors, incurred their displeasure, and was soon after removed from the government.

To find another man equally well qualified for the trust, was a matter of no small difficulty. Thomas Smith, being in high estimation for his wisdom and probity, was deemed to be the most proper person to succeed Ludwell. Accordingly, a patent was sent out creating him a landgrave;* and, together with it, a commission investing him with the government of the colony. Mr. Ludwell returned to Virginia, happily relieved from a troublesome office; and landgrave Smith, in the year 1693, under all possible advantages, entered on it. He was previously acquainted with the state of the colony, and with the tempers and dispositions of the leading men in it. He knew that the interests of the proprietors, and the prosperity of the settlement, were inseparably connected. He was disposed to allow the people, struggling under many hardships, every indulgence consistent with the duties of his trust.

The government of the province still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter were made to the Governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people nor to afford them the relief they wanted. The French refugees were uneasy that there was no provincial law to secure their estates to the heirs of their body, or the next of kin; and feared that on the demise of the present possessors, their lands would escheat to the proprietors and their children become beggars. The English colonists, also, perplexed the Governor with their complaints of hardships and grievances. At last, landgrave Smith wrote to the proprietors that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest and affection—that he and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the settlers to a state of tranquility and harmony, unless they

* This patent, dated May 13th, 1691, after reciting the authority of the proprietors to constitute titles and honors in the province; and to prefer men of merit, and to adorn such with titles and honors; and also stating the fundamental constitutions by which it was established—"that there should be landgraves and cassiques, who should be perpetual and hereditary nobles and peers of the province; and that Thomas Smith, a person of singular merit, would be very serviceable by his great prudence and industry;" proceeds to constitute him landgrave, together with four baronies of 12,000 acres of land each: and it farther declares, "that the said title and four baronies should for ever descend to his heirs, on paying an annual rent of a penny, lawful money of England, for each acre."

If the proprietary government had continued, the title, honors, emoluments and lands derived from this patent, would now be possessed by Thomas Smith, son of Henry, who is the lineal heir of the original Thomas Smith. Such have been the changes which, in the course of a little more than a century, have taken place, that this is the only known instance in which any one of Mr. Locke's Carolina nobility can trace back his pedigree to the original founder.

sent out one of the proprietors with full powers to redress grievances, and settle differences in their colony.

The proprietors resolved to try the expedient landgrave Smith had suggested, and sent out John Archdale, a man of considerable knowledge and discretion—a quaker and a proprietor.

The arrival of this pious man occasioned no small joy among all the settlers. Private animosities and civil discords seemed for a while to lie buried in oblivion. The Governor soon found three interesting matters demanded his particular attention: to restore harmony and peace among the colonists: to reconcile them to the jurisdiction and authority of the proprietors: and to regulate their policy and traffic with the Indians. Such was the national antipathy of the English settlers to the French refugees, that Archdale found their total exclusion from all connection with the legislature was absolutely necessary; and therefore issued writs of elections directing them only to Berkeley and Colleton counties. Ten members for the one and ten for the other, all Englishmen, were accordingly chosen by the freemen of the same nation. At their meeting the Governor made a seasonable speech to both houses, acquainting them with the design of his appointment—his regard for the colony—and great desire of contributing towards its peace and prosperity. They in return presented affectionate addresses to him, and entered on public business with temper and moderation. Governor Archdale, by his great discretion, settled matters of general moment to the satisfaction of all excepting the French refugees. The price of lands, and the form of conveyances, were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted to those who held land by grant, and four years to such as held them by survey without grant. It was agreed to take the arrears of quit-rents either in money or commodities at the option of the planters. Magistrates were appointed for hearing causes between the settlers and Indians, and finally determining all differences between them. Public roads were ordered to be made, and water passages cut for the more easy conveyance of produce to the market. Some former laws were altered, and such new statutes made as were judged requisite for the government and peace of the colony. Public affairs began to put on an agreeable aspect, and to promise fair towards the future welfare of the settlement. But as for the French refugees, the Governor could do no more than to recommend to the English freeholders to consider them in the most friendly point of light and to treat them with lenity and moderation.

No man could entertain more benevolent sentiments with respect to the savages, than Governor Archdale. To protect

them against insults, and establish a fair trade and friendly intercourse with them, were regulations which humanity required and sound policy dictated. But the rapacious spirit of individuals could be curbed by no authority. Many advantages were taken of the ignorance of Indians in the way of traffic. Several of the inhabitants, and some of those who held high offices, were too deeply concerned in the abominable trade to be easily restrained from seizing their persons and selling them for slaves to the West India planters.

Governor Archdale having finished his negotiations in Carolina, made preparations for returning to Britain. Though the government, during his administration, had acquired considerable respect and stability, yet the differences among the people still remained. Former flames were rather smothered than extinguished, and were ready on the first stirring to break out and burn with increased violence. Before he embarked the Council presented to him an address, to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing "the deep sense they had of their Lordship's paternal care for the colony, in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security." They observed, "that they had now no contending factions nor clashing interests among the people, excepting what respected the French refugees; who were unhappy at their not being allowed all the privileges and liberties of English subjects, particularly those of sitting in assembly and voting at the election of its members, which could not be granted them without losing the affections of the English settlers and involving the colony in civil broils—that Governor Archdale, by the advice of his council, chose rather to refuse them these privileges than disoblige the bulk of the English settlers—that by his wise conduct they hoped all misunderstandings between their Lordships and the colonists were happily removed—that they would for the future cheerfully concur with them in every measure for the speedy population and improvement of the country—that they were now levying money for building fortifications to defend the province against foreign attacks, and that they would strive to maintain harmony and peace among themselves." Governor Archdale received this address with peculiar satisfaction, and promised to present it to the proprietors.

After his arrival in England he laid this address, together with a state of the country and the regulations he had established in it, before the proprietors; and showed them the necessity of abolishing many articles in the constitutions, and framing a new plan of government. Accordingly they began to compile new constitutions from his information. Forty-

one different articles were drawn up, and sent out, by Robert Daniel, for the better government of the colony. But when Governor Joseph Blake, successor of Archdale, laid these new laws before the Assembly for their assent and approbation, they treated them as they had done the former constitutions; and instead of taking them under deliberation laid them aside.

The national antipathies against the French refugees in process of time began to abate. In common with others, they had defied the danger of the desert and given ample proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, and their zeal for the success of the colony. They had cleared little spots of land for raising the necessaries of life, and in some measure surmounted the difficulties of the first state of colonization. At this favorable juncture the refugees, by the advice of the Governor and other friends, petitioned the legislature to be incorporated with the freemen of the colony and allowed the same privileges, and liberties, with those born of English parents. Accordingly an act passed in 1696 for making all aliens, them inhabitants, free—for enabling them to hold lands, and to claim the same as heirs to their ancestors, provided they either had petitioned, or should within three month's petition, Governor Blake for these privileges and take the oath of allegiance to King William. This same law conferred liberty of conscience on all Christians, with the exception of papists. With these conditions the refugees, who were all Protestants, joyfully complied. The French and English settlers being made equal in rights, became united in interest and affection, and have ever since lived together in peace and harmony.

This cause of domestic discord was scarcely done away, when another began to operate. In the year 1700 a new source of contention broke out between the upper and lower houses of Assembly. Of the latter Nicholas Trott was made Speaker, and warmly espoused the cause of the people, in opposition to the interest of the proprietors. The Governor and Council claimed the privilege of nominating public officers, particularly a Receiver General, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. The Assembly, on the other hand, insisted that it belonged to them. This occasioned much altercation, and several messages between the two houses. However, the upper house appointed their man. The lower house resolved that the person appointed by them was no Public Receiver, and that whoever should presume to pay money to him as such should be deemed an enemy to the country. Trott denied that they could be called an upper house, as they differed in the most essential circumstances, from the House of Lords in England; and therefore induced

the Assembly to call them the proprietors' deputies, and to treat them with indignity and contempt, by limiting them to a day to pass their bills and an hour to answer their messages. At that time Trott was eager in the pursuit of popularity; and by his uncommon abilities and address succeeded so far, that no man had equally engrossed the public favor and esteem, or carried matters with so high a hand in opposition to the proprietary counsellors.

In the fourteen years which followed Governor Archdale's return to England, or from 1696 to 1710, there were four Governors; Joseph Blake, James Moore, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and Edward Tynte. The principal events, in this period, were an unsuccessful invasion of St. Augustine by the Carolinians, and a successful defence of the province against an attack of the French and Spaniards; which shall be more particularly explained in their proper places.

In Governor Johnson's administration, which lasted from 1702 to 1709, parties in Church and State ran high, and there were great commotions among the people; but on the death of Governor Tynte, in 1710, a civil war was on the point of breaking out. When Tynte died, there remained only three deputies of the Lords proprietors. Robert Gibbes, one of these three, was chosen and proclaimed Governor; but by the sudden death of Mr. Turbevil, one of the three deputies, who in the morning of the election day had voted for Colonel Broughton, another of the three deputies, but upon adjournment to the afternoon changed his mind and voted for Robert Gibbes, it was discovered that Robert Gibbes had obtained the said second vote of Turbevil by bribery. Colonel Broughton laid claim to the government, alleging Turbevil's primary and uncorrupted vote in his favor. Gibbes insisted on his right,* as having added his own vote to Turbevil's and thereby obtained a majority; and in consequence thereof was proclaimed Governor, and quietly settled in the administration. Each persisted in his claim. Many sided with Broughton, but more with Mr. Gibbes. Broughton drew together a number of armed men at his plantation, and proceeded to Charlestown. Gibbes having intelligence thereof, caused a general alarm to be fired and the militia to be raised. At the approach of Broughton's party to the walls and gates of Charlestown, Gibbes ordered the drawbridge, standing near the intersection of Broad and Meeting streets, to be hauled up. After a short parley, Broughton's party asked admit-

*These particulars relative to the contest between Gibbes and Broughton for the office of Governor are stated on the authority of an old manuscript in the handwriting of the venerable Thomas Lamboll, a native of South Carolina, who died in the year 1775, upwards of 80 years old.

tance; Gibbes from within the walls inquired why they came armed in such a number, and if they would own him for their Governor? They answered, that they heard there was an alarm and were come to make their appearance in Charlestown; but would not own him, the said Gibbes, to be their Governor. He of course denied them entrance; whereupon many of them gallopped round the walls towards Craven's bastion, to get entrance there; but being prevented they soon returned to the drawbridge. By this time some of the inhabitants of the town, and many sailors appearing there in favor of Broughton, they proceeded to force a passage and let down the drawbridge. Gibbes' party opposed, but were not allowed to fire upon them. After blows and wounds were given and received, the sailors and men of Broughton's party prevailed so far as to lower down the drawbridge over which they entered and proceeded to the watch-house in Broad street. There the two town companies of militia were posted under arms and with colors flying. When Broughton's party came near they halted, and one of them drew a paper out of his pocket, and began to read; but could not be heard, because of the noise made by the drums of the militia. Being balked, they marched towards Granville's bastion, and were escorted by the seamen on foot who were ready for any mischief. As they passed the front of the militia, whose guns were presented and cocked, one of the sailors catching at the ensign, tore it off the staff. On this provocation some of the militia, without any orders, fired their pieces, but nobody was hurt. Captain Brewton resolutely drew his sword, went up to the sailor, who had committed the outrage, and demanded the torn ensign. Captain Evans, a considerable man of Broughton's party, alighted and obliged the sailor to return it. Broughton's party continued their march for some time, and then proclaimed Broughton Governor. After huzzaing, they approached the fort gate, and made a show of forcing it; but observing Captain Pawley with his pistol cocked, and many other gentlemen with their guns presented and all forbiding them at their peril to attempt the gate, they retired to a tavern on the bay; before which they first caused their written paper or proclamation to be again read, and then dismounted. After much altercation, many reciprocal messages and answers, and the mediation of several peace-makers, the controversy was referred to the decision of the Lords proprietors; and it was agreed that Colonel Gibbes should continue in the administration of government, until they determined which of the two should be obeyed as Governor. Their determination was in favor of neither. The proprietors appointed Charles Craven, who then held their commission

as Secretary, to be Governor. He was proclaimed in form, and took upon him the administration. During his government, the province was involved in two sharp contests with the Indians. One in North Carolina with the Tuscaroras, and another much more distressing with the Yamassees, which were ably and successfully conducted by the Governor, as shall be related in its proper place. On his departure for England, in 1716, he appointed Robert Daniel, Deputy Governor. In the year following, Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, succeeded to the office of Governor. He was the last who held that office under the authority of the proprietors.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER III.

The Revolution in 1719, *from Proprietary to Royal Government.*

In the administration of Robert Johnson, a revolution from proprietary to a regal system of government was accomplished. The explosion took place in the year 1719; but the train of events which occasioned it was of prior origin. From the first settlement of the province, short had been the intervals of contention between the proprietors and the people; but from the year 1715, various causes contributed to widen the breach and destroy all confidence between them. One in particular, which had a decided influence, resulted from the war of 1715, between South Carolina and the Yamassee Indians. While this hard struggle was pending, the legislature made application to the proprietors for their paternal help; but, being doubtful whether they would be inclined to involve their English estates in debt for supporting their property in Carolina, they instructed their agent, in case of failure with them, to apply to the King for relief. The merchants entered cordially into the measure for making application to the King, and perceived at once the many advantages which would accrue to them from being taken under the immediate care and protection of the crown. It was alleged that ships of war would soon clear the coast of sea robbers, and give free scope to trade and navigation—that forces by land would over-awe the warlike Indians—prevent their inroads, and procure for

the inhabitants peace and security. The people in general, were dissatisfied with living under a government unable to protect them. They therefore were very unanimous in the proposed application to the crown for royal protection.

About the middle of the year 1715 the agent for Carolina waited on the proprietors, with a representation of the calamities under which their colony labored from the ravages of Indians and the depredations of pirates. He acquainted them that the Yamassees, by the influence of Spanish emissaries, had claimed the whole country as their ancient possession; and had conspired with many other tribes to assert their right by force of arms, and therefore urged the necessity of sending immediate relief to the colony. But not being satisfied with their answer, he petitioned the house of commons in behalf of the distressed Carolinians. The commons addressed the King, praying for his interposition and immediate assistance. The King referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. The lords of trade made an objection that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments; and were of opinion, that if the nation should be at the expense of protecting it, the government thereof ought to be vested in the crown. Upon which Lord Carteret wrote a letter to the following effect: "We, the proprietors of Carolina, are utterly unable to afford our colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture; and, unless his majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The lords of trade asked Lord Carteret, "What sum might be necessary for that service, and whether the government of the colony should not devolve on the crown if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defence?" To which Lord Carteret replied: "The proprietors submitted to his majesty what sum of money he should be pleased to grant for their assistance; and in case the money advanced for this purpose should not in a reasonable time be repaid, they humbly conceived that then his majesty would have an equitable right to take the government under his immediate care and protection."

The same year a bill was brought into the House of Commons in England, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America; the chief design of which was to reduce all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. Men conversant in the history of past ages, particularly in that of the rise and progress of different States, had long foreseen the rapid increase of American colonies; and wisely judged that it would be for the interest of the kingdom to purchase them for the crown as soon as possible.

One of the ostensible grounds on which the proprietors had obtained their charter, was the prospect of their propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Their total neglect of this duty, contrasted with the active policy of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, was considered by the inhabitants as a procuring cause of all their sufferings from the Yamassee war. To answer the public exigences growing out of that war, large emissions of paper money were deemed indispensable. While struggling amidst these hardships, the merchants of London complained to the proprietors of the increase of paper money as injurious to trade. In consequence of which they directed the Governor to reduce it. These several matters formed a circle of embarrassment from which the inhabitants saw no prospect of extrication, but from throwing themselves on the crown for protection. They referred their war with the Indians to the neglect of the proprietors in conciliating their affections. The proprietors, when called upon to assist in repelling the attacks made by these neglected Indians, declared themselves incompetent. On application for royal aid, they were told by ministers that it was unreasonable to expect it while they were the tenants of the proprietors. Disappointed of aid from both, they had made exertions to defend themselves; but the proprietary Governor, agreeably to his instructions, thwarted their endeavors to equalize and lessen the expenses of the war by an emission of paper money. A dissatisfaction with the proprietors, and an eagerness to be under the immediate protection of the crown, became universal.

This was increased from another source. The Yamassees being expelled from Indian land, the Assembly passed two Acts to appropriate these lands gained by conquest, for the use and encouragement of such of his Majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them. Extracts of these two Acts being published in England, and Ireland, five hundred persons from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina to take the benefit of them. But the whole project was frustrated by the proprietors, who claimed these lands as their property and insisted on the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith, these Indian lands were surveyed by order of the proprietors for their own use, and laid out in large baronies. By this harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new comers, deserted their plantation and left the frontier open to the enemy. Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they brought with them, were reduced to misery and perished. The remainder removed to the northern colonies.

The struggle between the proprietors and possessors of the soil became daily more serious. The provincial Assembly passed about this time some very popular laws. One for the better regulation of the Indian trade, by which Commissioners were nominated to carry it on and to apply the profit arising from it to the public benefit and defence. Another was for regulating elections; by which it was enacted "that every parish should send a certain number of representatives, not exceeding thirty-six in the whole, and that they should be ballotted for at the different parish churches." This, though much more convenient to the settlers than their former custom of electing all the members in Charlestown, was disagreeable to some members of the Council who perceived its tendency to lessen their influence at elections. Chief Justice Trott and William Rhett, Receiver General, men of great abilities and influence, opposed both these bills. Though they could not prevent their passing in Carolina, they had influence enough with the proprietors to send them back repealed. The colonists were exasperated; and in severe language censured the proprietors as tyrannical, regardless of the convenience of the inhabitants, and unfeeling for their distresses.

The Yamassee Indians, smarting under their recent defeat as shall be hereafter related, were sanguinary and vindictive. Being supplied with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they were so troublesome as to make it necessary for the Assembly to maintain a company of Rangers to protect their frontier settlers. Presents were necessary to preserve the friendship of other Indian tribes. Three forts were also erected and garrisoned for the defence, and at the cost of the province. These public expenses consumed the fruits of the planter's industry. The law appropriating the profits of the Indian trade, for the public protection, had been repealed by the proprietors. Public credit was at so low an ebb, that no man was willing to trust his money in the provincial treasury. None would risk their lives in defence of the colony without pay; and the province, oppressed with a load of debt, was utterly unable to furnish the necessary supplies. The people complained of the insufficiency of that government which could not protect them, and at the same time prevented the interposition of the crown for their relief. Governor Daniel joined them in their complaints; and every one seemed ardently to wish for those advantages, which other colonies enjoyed under the immediate care and protection of a powerful sovereign.

Robert Johnson, who, in 1717, succeeded Robert Daniel as Governor, had instructions to reduce the paper currency. He recommended to the Assembly to consider of ways and

means for sinking it. The Indian war had occasioned a scarcity of provisions. Large emissions of paper money sunk its value. Both contributed to raise the price of country commodities. The merchants and money lenders were losers by these bills of credit, and the planters, who were generally in debt, gained by them. Hence great debates about paper money arose in the Assembly, between the planting and mercantile interests. The Governor had so much influence as to prevail with the Assembly to pass a law for sinking and paying off their bills of credit in three years, by a tax on lands and negroes. Their act for that purpose gave great satisfaction both to the proprietors and people concerned in trade.

This compliance of the Assembly with the Governor's instructions, gave him some faint prospect of reconciling them by degrees to the supreme jurisdiction of the proprietors; but his hopes were of short duration. The planters, finding the tax act burdensome, began to complain, and to contrive ways and means for eluding it, by stamping more bills of credit. The proprietors, having information of this, and also of a design formed by the Assembly to set a price on country commodities, and make them at such a price a good tender in law for the payment of all debts, enjoined their Governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the Assembly, nor to render it of any force in the Colony before a copy thereof should be laid before them. About the same time the King, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina of pernicious consequence to the trade of the mother country, by which "a duty of ten per cent. was laid on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province." Accordingly, this act, together with that "for regulating elections," and another "for declaring the right of the Assembly to nominate a public receiver," were all repealed and sent to Governor Johnson in a letter, which enjoined him instantly to dissolve the Assembly and call another to be chosen in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage of the province. The proprietors considered themselves as possessing not only power to put a negative on all laws made in the Colony, but also to repeal such as they deemed pernicious.

Governor Johnson, sensible of the evil consequences that would attend the immediate execution of these orders, convened his council to take their advice on what was most proper to be done. When he communicated his orders and instructions from England, the majority of the council were astonished. But as the Assembly were at that time deliberating on the means of paying the provincial debt, it was agreed to postpone the dissolution of the house until the busi-

ness before them should be finished. As the repeal of the duty law was occasioned by an order from the King in council, they resolved to acquaint the Assembly immediately with the royal displeasure at that clause of the law which laid an impost duty on all goods manufactured in Great Britain, and to advise them to make a new act, leaving out the clause which had given offence. Though great pains were taken to conceal the Governor's instructions, yet they were divulged, and excited violent resentments. The Assembly entered into a warm debate about the proprietors' right of repealing laws passed with the assent of their deputies. Many alleged that the deputation given to them was like a power of attorney sent to persons at a distance, authorizing them to act in their stead, and insisted that, according to the charter, they were bound by their assent to acts as much as if the proprietors themselves had been present and confirmed them.

Chief Justice Trott was suspected of holding a private correspondence with the proprietors, to the prejudice of the Carolinians. On that and several grounds he was the object of their hatred and resentment. Richard Allein Whitaker, and other practitioners of the law, charged him with base and iniquitous practices. No less than thirty-one articles of complaint against him were presented to the Assembly, setting forth, among other things, "that he had contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees; that he had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; that he took upon him to give advice in causes depending in his courts, and not only acted as counsellor in these cases, but had drawn deeds between party and party, some of which had been contested before him as Chief Justice, and in determining of which he had shown great partiality; and lastly, complaining that the whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands, he being at the same time sole Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, King's Bench and Vice Admiralty, so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of these courts, otherwise than by his granting one against himself. He was, at the same time, a member of the council, and of consequence a Judge of the Court of Chancery.

These articles of complaint were well grounded, and the facts alleged were supported by strong evidence before the Assembly. But as the Judge held his commission from the proprietors, he denied that he was accountable to the Assembly for any part of his judicial conduct, and declared that he would answer no where but in England. The Assembly, however, sent a message to the Governor and Council, requesting that they would concur in representing his conduct

to the proprietors; and in praying them either to remove him from his seat in the courts of justice, or at least to confine him exclusively to one jurisdiction; and to grant to the people a right of appealing from his judgments. The Governor and Council, convinced of the maladministration of the Judge, agreed to join the Commons in their representation. But they thought it most prudent and respectful to send one of their counsellors to England with their memorial. Francis Yonge, a man of considerable abilities, who had been present at all their debates, was pitched upon as well qualified for giving their lordships a faithful account of the whole matter. Accordingly he sailed for England, and arrived in London early in the year 1719.

Soon after his arrival he waited on Lord Carteret, the palatine; but his lordship referred him to the other proprietors for an answer to his representation. When they met, Yonge delivered to them a letter from Governor Johnson—the articles of complaint against Chief Justice Trott—and the joint address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, praying to have him removed entirely from the bench, or confined to a single jurisdiction.

This memorial was far from being agreeable to the proprietors; some of them inferred from it that the people were industrious in searching for causes of dissatisfaction, with a view to shake the proprietary authority. Others had received letters from Trott, which intimated that Yonge, though an officer of the proprietors, had assisted the people in forming plausible pretences for that purpose. For three months Yonge attended the palatine's court, to accomplish the ends of his appointment. After all he was given to understand, that the business on which he came was extremely disagreeable to them—that the trouble he had taken, and the office he had accepted as agent for the people, were inconsistent with his duty as one of the deputies bound to act in conformity to their instructions. They declared their displeasure with the members of the Council who had joined the lower house in their complaints against Trott—removed them from the board—appointed others in their place—and increased the number of members from seven to twelve. They told Yonge that he also would have been deprived of his seat but for the high respect they had for Lord Carteret, the absent palatine, whose deputy he was. With respect to Chief Justice Trott, they had too much confidence in his fidelity and capacity to remove him from his office. On the contrary, they sent him a letter thanking him for his excellent speech in defence of their right of repealing all laws made in the colony, together with a copy of the articles of complaint against him. At the same time they informed him that it was their opinion,

and order, that he should withdraw from the Council-board whenever appeals from his judgments in the inferior courts were brought before the Governor and Council as a Court of Chancery.

Such was the result of Yonge's negotiation in Britain. The proprietors were displeased with him, and also with Governor Johnson, for joining the other branches of the Legislature in their late representation. By the return of Yonge they sent out their repeal of the late popular acts of the Legislature, their list of new counsellors, with positive orders to the Governor to publish immediately the repeal of the late popular laws—to convene the new Counsellors for the dispatch of business—to dissolve the Assembly chosen according to the late act, and to cause a new Assembly to be elected according to the old act which required all the electors to meet and vote in Charlestown.

Governor Johnson on receiving these new orders and instructions, instantly foresaw the difficulty of executing them. Determined, however to comply, he summoned his Council of twelve, whom the proprietors had lately nominated. These were William Bull, Ralph Izard, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, Samuel Wragg, Benjamin de la Consiliere, Peter St. Julian, William Gibbon, Hugh Butler, Francis Yonge, Jacob Satur, and Jonathan Skrine. Some of these accepted the appointment, but others refused to serve. Alexander Skene, Thomas Broughton, and James Kinloch, members of the former board, being now left out of the new list of counsellors, were disgusted and joined the people. The present Assembly was dissolved; and writs were issued for electing another in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage of the province. The general duty act, from the proceeds of which all public debts were defrayed, and the act respecting the freedom of election were repealed. In consequence of which, public credit was destroyed, and the Colonists were obliged to have recourse to the old inconvenient manner of elections in Charlestown. The act declaring the right of the Commons to nominate a Public Receiver was also annulled, and declared to be contrary to the usage of Great Britain. The Governor had instructions to refuse his assent to all laws respecting the trade and shipping of Great Britain, which any future Assembly might pass, until they were first approved by the proprietors. The provincial debts incurred by the Indian war, and the expedition against pirates not only remained unpaid, but no more bills of credit were allowed to be stamped for answering the public demands. The Colonists considered the new Council of twelve, instead of the old one of seven, as an innovation in the proprietary government; exceeding the chartered power granted their lordships, and subjecting them to a

jurisdiction foreign to the constitution of the province. The complaints of the whole Legislature against Chief Justice Trott were not only disregarded, but he was privately caressed and publicly applauded. These grievances were rendered the more intolerable, from the circumstance that the suffering colonists could indulge no hopes of redress under the existing system of proprietary government.

It may be thought somewhat astonishing, that the proprietors should have persisted in measures so disagreeable and so manifestly subversive of their authority. Many were the hardships from the climate, and the danger from savages, with which the colonists had to struggle; yet their landlords, instead of rendering their circumstances easy and comfortable, seemed rather bent on doubling their distresses. The people could no longer regard them as indulgent fathers, but as tyrannical legislators that imposed more on them than they were able to bear. It was the duty of the proprietors to listen to their complaints, and redress their grievances. It was their interest to consult the internal security and population of their colony. But perhaps the troubles and miseries suffered by the colonists, ought to be ascribed to their lordships' shameful inattention rather than to their tyrannical disposition. Lord Carteret, the palatine, held high offices of trust under the crown, which required all his time and care. Some of the proprietors were minors, others possessed estates in England, the improvement of which engrossed their attention. Having reaped little or nothing from their American possessions, and finding them every year becoming more troublesome and expensive, they trusted the affairs of their colony too much to a clerk or secretary who was no ways interested in their prosperity. Chief Justice Trott, in whose integrity and fidelity the proprietors placed unlimited confidence, held of them many offices of trust and emolument. Being dependent on them for the tenure of his office, and the amount and payment of his salary, he strongly supported their power and prerogative. The proprietors depended on his influence and eloquence, to make their favorite measures go down with the people. Trott vindicated their authority in gratitude for favors received, and in the expectation of receiving more. A reciprocal chain of dependence and obligation was formed between them. This interested policy was carried too far. The chain broke. A new order of things took place. In consequence of which Trott's influence was completely destroyed, and the power of the proprietors forever annihilated.

About this time, a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project for attacking

South Carolina and the Island of Providence was formed at the Havanna. Governor Johnson having received advice from England of this design, resolved to put the Province in a posture of defence. For this purpose he summoned a meeting of Council, and of such members of Assembly as were in town, to inform them of the intelligence he had received and to desire their advice and assistance in case of any sudden emergency. He told them of the shattered condition of the fortifications, and urged the necessity of speedy reparations. To meet the expense he proposed a voluntary subscription, and headed it with his own signature to a large amount as an example to others. The members of Assembly replied, "that a subscription was needless, as the income of the duties would be sufficient to answer the purpose intended." The Governor objected, "that the duty law had been repealed, and no other yet framed in its place." To which the members of Assembly answered, "they had resolved to pay no regard to these repeals, and that the public receiver had orders from them to sue every man that should refuse to pay as that law directed." Chief Justice Trott told them, "if any action or suit should be brought into his courts on that law, he would give judgment for the defendant." The contest between the parties became warm, and the conference broke up before anything was determined upon for the public safety. The members of Assembly resolved to hazard the loss of the Province to the Spaniards, rather than yield to the Council and acknowledge the right of the proprietors to repeal laws which had been regularly passed.

Governor Johnson judging it prudent to be always in the best posture of defence, called a meeting of the field officers of the militia, ordered them to review their regiments, and fixed a place of general rendezvous. At this meeting they received their orders with their usual submission, and called together the different regiments on pretence of training the men. But before this time the members chosen to serve in Assembly, though they had not met in their usual and regular way at Charlestown, had nevertheless held several private meetings in the country to concert measures for revolting from their allegiance. They had drawn up an association for uniting the whole Province in opposition to the proprietary government. This was proposed to the people at the public meeting of the militia, as an opportunity the most favorable for procuring a general subscription. The people oppressed and discontented, eagerly embraced the proposal; and almost to a man subscribed this bond of union, in which they promised to stand by each other in defence of their rights, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. The

confederacy was formed with such secrecy, that before it reached the Governor's ears nearly all the inhabitants had concurred in it. The members of Assembly, having formed their resolution to revolt, and gone so far as to induce the people to support them, determined to proceed until they should bring themselves under the protection of the King.

At the election in Charlestown, Trott and Rhett, who formerly had extensive influence, were so unpopular that they could not bring one man into the house. Alexander Skene, lately excluded from the Council, was elected a member of this new Assembly, which was chosen on purpose to oppose the civil officers. Considering himself as ill used by the proprietors, he became zealous and active in pulling down the tottering fabric of their government. He and several other members of Assembly held frequent meetings to consider of their grievances, and the encouragement they had received from Britain respecting the great end they had in view. They recalled to mind what had passed in the House of Peers during the reign of Queen Anne—how her Majesty had then ordered her Attorney and Solicitor General, to consider of the most effectual methods of proceeding against the charter. They knew also that a bill had been brought into the House of Commons, for reducing all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. They had been informed that Lord Carteret, conscious of the inability of the proprietors to defend their Province in the Yamassee war, had publicly applied for assistance from the British Government; and that the Lords of Trade were of opinion, that the government of the Province should belong to that power which bore the expense of its protection. They had considered all these things, and flattered themselves with hopes that the King would take the colony under his care as soon as they renounced allegiance to the proprietors. They had so thoroughly convinced the people of the great happiness of the colonies which were under the immediate care and protection of the crown, that they desired nothing more than to enjoy the same privileges.

To these secret meetings, and transactions, Governor Johnson was an entire stranger until he received a letter bearing date November 28th, 1719, and signed by Alexander Skene, George Logan, and William Blakeway; in which they informed him of the general association to throw off the proprietary government, and of the determination of the people to request his acceptance of the government from them in behalf of the King. They also gave it as their opinion that he might with honor accept the government thus offered, and advised him to do so. The Governor considered this letter, though fraught with the highest professions of personal

respect, as an insult; but especially the advice contained therein, which he deemed derogatory both to his integrity and fidelity. The letter, however, served to give him notice of the association and the resolution of the people which it was his duty to defeat. For this purpose he hastened to town, summoned his Council—informed them of the association, and required their advice and assistance about the most effectual methods of breaking it up and supporting the proprietary government. The Council, unable to determine what was best to be done, advised the Governor to take no present notice of the proceedings, but to wait events.

In the meantime, the members of Assembly were using their utmost diligence among the people to keep them firm to their purpose, having got almost every person, except the officers and particular friends of the proprietors, to sign the association. All agreed to support whatever their representatives should do for disengaging the colony from the yoke of the proprietors, and putting it under the government of the King. Having thus fortified themselves by the union of the inhabitants, the Assembly met to take bolder and more decisive steps. Being apprehensive that the Governor would immediately dissolve them, they instantly came to the following resolutions. "Firstly: that the several laws* pretended to be repealed are still in force, and could not be repealed but by the General Assembly of the province: and that all public officers and others do pay due regard to the same accordingly. Secondly: that the writs whereby the present representatives were elected, are illegal, because they are signed by such a Council as the proprietors have not a power to appoint; for this Council consists of a greater number of members than that of the proprietors, which is contrary to the design and original intent of their charter. Thirdly: that the representatives cannot act as an Assembly, but as a convention delegated by the people to prevent the utter ruin of the province till His Majesty's pleasure be known." And lastly: "that the lords proprietors have by such proceedings unhinged the frame of their government and forfeited their rights to the same—and that an address be prepared to desire Governor Johnson to take the government upon him in the King's name—and to continue the administration thereof until his majesty's pleasure be known."

* The titles of the laws repealed by the proprietors, and adhered to by the Carolinians as unrepealed, were—

1st. An act for declaring the rights of the House of Commons, for the time being, to nominate a public receiver.

2d. An act entitled an act for laying an impost on negroes, liquors, and other goods and merchandize, &c.

3d. An act entitled an act to ascertain the form of electing members to represent the inhabitants in general assembly.

Agreeably to the last resolution, an address was drawn up and signed by Arthur Middleton, as President, and twenty-two members of the convention, to be presented to Johnson. In the meantime, the Governor sent a message to the house, acquainting them that he was ready, with his council, to receive and order them to choose a speaker. They came to the upper house in a body, and Arthur Middleton addressed him in the following words: "I am ordered by the representatives of the people, here present, to tell you that according to your honor's order, we are come to wait on you. I am further ordered to acquaint you that we own your honor as our Governor, you being approved by the King; and as there was once in this province a legal council representing the proprietors as their deputies, which constitution, being now altered, we do not look on the gentlemen present to be a legal Council; so I am ordered to tell you that the representatives of the people disown them as such, and will not act with them on any account."

The Governor and council, struck with astonishment at the spirit of the convention, and suspecting that they were supported by the people, were greatly puzzled while deliberating on the measures they should take to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Some were for opposing violence to violence; and thought the best way of bringing them back to their allegiance, would be to terrify them with threats and confiscations. Others were of opinion that the defection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that mild expostulations were more proper; and if such gentle means failed, the Governor might then dissolve them and put an end to the dispute. But on the other hand, dangers hung over the country; and the only fund for repairing the fortifications being lost by the repeal of the general act duty, it was necessary that money should be provided by some new law for public purposes. If the Governor dissolved the house, how could the province be put in a posture of defence against a Spanish invasion, with which it was threatened? If he should suffer them to sit while they had resolved that the proprietors had fortified their right to the government, and refused on any account to act with his council, he might be chargeable with a breach of his trust. The result of their deliberations was a message from the Governor and Council, desiring a conference with the House of Assembly. To which they returned for answer, that "they would not receive any message or paper from the Governor, in conjunction with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his Council." Finding them inflexible, and resolute, the Governor was obliged to give way to the current;

and therefore, in two days afterwards, sent for them in his own name, and delivered to them a long and elaborate speech, and furnished them with a written copy of it. In this he soothed the popular leaders—expostulated and reasoned with them—remonstrated against their measures—and attempted to alarm them and their followers with the conseqences of their conduct; but all in vain. The Assembly was neither to be shaken by persuation, nor intimidated by threats. After a short pause, they returned with the following answer: "We have already acquainted you that we would not receive any message or paper from your honor, in conjunction with the gentlemen you are pleased to call your Council, therefore, we must now repeat the same; and beg leave to tell you, that the paper you read and delivered to us we take no notice of, nor shall we give any further answer to it but in Great Britain."

Immediately after, they came with an address to the Governor, avowing their resolution to cast off all obedience to the proprietary government; declaring him to be the most fit person to govern them—and entreating him to take upon him the government in the name of the King. This flattering address concluded in the following manner: "As the well-being and preservation of this province, depends greatly on your complying with our requests; so we flatter ourselves that you, who have expressed so tender regard for it on all occasions, and particularly in hazarding your person in an expedition against the pirates for its defence, we hope sir, that you will exert yourself at this time for its support; and we promise your honor on our parts, the most faithful assistance of persons duly sensible of your great goodness, and big with the hopes and expectation of his majesty's countenance and protection. And we further beg leave to assure your honor, that we will in the most dutiful manner address his sacred majesty, King George, for the continuance of your government over us; under whom we doubt not to be a happy people."

To this address the Governor replied: "I am obliged to you for your good opinion of me; but I hold my commission from the true and absolute lords and proprietors of this province, who recommended me to his majesty, and I have his approbation: it is by that commission and power I act, and I know of no authority which can dispossess me of the same but that of those who invested me with it. In subordination to them I shall always act, and, to my utmost, maintain their lordship's just power and prerogatives without encroaching on the people's rights. I do not expect or desire any favor from you, only that of seriously taking into consideration the ap-

proaching danger of a foreign enemy and the steps you are taking to involve yourselves, and this province, in anarchy and confusion."

The representatives having now fully declared their intentions, and finding it impossible to win over the Governor to a compliance with their measures, began to treat him with indifference and neglect. He, on the other hand, perceiving that neither harsh nor gentle means could recall them to their allegiance, issued a proclamation for dissolving the House. The representatives ordered his proclamation to be torn from the marshal's hands. They met upon their own authority, and choose Colonel James Moore their Governor, who was a man excellently qualified for being a popular leader in perilous adventures. To Governor Johnson he was no friend; having been by him removed from his command of the militia, for warmly espousing the cause of the people. In every new enterprise he had been a volunteer; and in all his undertakings was resolute, steady, and inflexible. A day was fixed for proclaiming him, in the name of the King, Governor of the province; and orders were issued for directing all officers, civil and military, to continue in th eir different places and employments till they should hear further from the convention.

Johnson some time before had appointed a day for a general review of the provincial militia, and the Convention fixed on the same day for publicly proclaiming Moore. The Governor having intelligence of their design, sent orders to Col. Parris the commander of the militia to postpone the review to a future day. Parris, though a zealous friend to the revolution, assured him his orders should be obeyed. Notwithstanding this assurance, on the day fixed when Governor Johnson came to town, he found, to his surprise, the militia drawn up in the market-square, now the site of the National Bank, colors flying at the forts and on board all the ships in the harbor; and great preparations making for the proclamation. Exasperated at the insults offered to his person and authority, he could not command his temper. Some he threatened to chastise for flying in the face of government, to which they had sworn fidelity; with others he coolly reasoned, and endeavored to recall them by representing the fatal consequence that would attend such rash proceedings. But advancing to Parris, he asked him "how he durst appear in arms contrary to his orders?" and commanded him in the King's name, instantly to disperse his men. Colonel Parris replied "he was obeying the orders of the Convention." The Governor in great rage walked up towards him, upon which Parris immediately commanded his militia to present their

muskets at him, and ordered him "to stand off at his peril." The Governor expected during this struggle that some friends, especially such as held offices of profit and trust under the proprietors, would have supported him, or that the militia would have laid down their arms at his command; but he was disappointed; for all either stood silent, or kept firm to the standard of the convention. Vain were the efforts of his single arm in opposition to so general a defection. Even Trott and Rhett in this extremity forsook him and kept at a distance, the silent and inactive spectators of their master's ruined authority.

After this the members of Convention, attended and escorted by the militia, publicly marched to the fort; and there proclaimed James Moore governor of the province in the name of the King, which was followed by the loudest acclamations of the populace. Upon their return they proceeded to the election of twelve counsellors, after the manner of the royal provinces. Of these Sir Hovenden Walker was made President. The revolutioners had now their Governor, Council and Convention, and all of their own free election. In consequence of which, the delegates published a declaration in which they justified the measures they had adopted; and pledged themselves to support the new Governor, and commanded all officers, civil and military, to pay him all duty and obedience.

After this declaration was solemnly published, Johnson retained but small hope of recalling the people to obey the proprietary authorities. Still, however, he flattered himself that the men who had usurped the government would not long remain in a state of union and peace. In this expectation he called together the civil officers of the proprietors, and ordered them to secure the public records, and shut up all offices against the revolutioners and their adherents.

In the meantime, the delegates of the people were occupied in regulating public affairs. They took a dislike to the name of Convention, as different from that of the other regal governments in America, and voted themselves an Assembly, and assumed the power of appointing all public officers. In place of Nicholas Trott, they made Richard Allein Chief Justice. Another person was appointed provincial secretary, in the room of Charles Hart. But William Rhett and Francis Yonge secured to themselves the same offices they held from the proprietors. Col. John Barnwell was chosen agent for the province, and embarked for England with instructions and orders to apply to the king, and lay a state of their public proceedings before him, and to beseech his majesty to take the province under his immediate care and protection. A new duty

law for raising money to defray the various expenses of government was passed. Orders were given for the immediate repairs of the fortifications at Charlestown; and William Rhett was nominated inspector-general of the projected repairs. To their new Governor they voted two thousand five hundred pounds, and to their Chief Justice eight hundred pounds current money, as yearly salaries. To their agent in England they transmitted one thousand pounds sterling. To defray these and the other expenses of government, an act was passed for laying a tax on lands and negroes, to raise thirty thousand pounds Carolina money, for the service of the current year.

When they began to levy the taxes imposed by this act, Johnson and some of his party refused to pay; giving for reason that the act was not made by lawful authority. On account of his particular circumstances, Johnson was excused; but they resolved to compel every other person to submit to their jurisdiction, and obey their laws. They seized the effects or negroes of such as refused—sold them at public auction—and applied the money for the payment of their taxes. Thus in spite of all opposition, they established themselves in the full possession of all the powers of government.

In the meantime Johnson received certain advice that the Spaniards had sailed from the Havanna, with a fleet of fourteen ships and a force consisting of twelve hundred men, against South Carolina and Providence, and it was uncertain which of the two they would first attack. At this time of imminent danger, the late Governor endeavored to recall the people to subjection; and sent to the Convention a letter, in which he attempted to alarm them by representing the dangerous consequences of military operations under unlawful authority; but they remained firm to their purpose, and, without taking any notice of the letter, contined to do business with Moore as they had begun; and in concert with him, adopted measures for the public security. They proclaimed martial law, and ordered the inhabitants of the province to Charlestown for its defence. All the officers of the militia accepted their commissions from Moore, and engaged to stand by him against all foreign enemies. For two weeks the provincial militia were kept under arms at Charlestown, every day expecting the appearance of the Spanish fleet which they were informed had sailed from the Havanna. The Spaniards resolved first to attack Providence, and then to proceed against Carolina; but by the conduct and courage of captain Rogers, at that time governor of the island, they were repulsed, and soon after lost the greatest part of their fleet in a storm.

The Spanish expedition having thus proved abortive, the

Flamborough man-of-war, commanded by Captain Kildesley, returned from Providence island to her station at Charlestown. About the same time his majesty's ship Phœnix, commanded by Captain Pierce, arrived from a cruise. The commanders of these two men-of-war were caressed by both parties; but they publicly declared for Johnson, as the magistrate invested with legal authority. Charles Hart, secretary of the province, by orders from Governor Johnson and his Council, had secreted and secured the public records so that the revolutioners could not obtain possession of them. The clergy refused to marry without a license from Johnson, as the only legal ordinary of the province. These and other inconveniences, from the unsettled state of things, rendered several of the people more cool in their affection for the popular government. At this juncture, Johnson, with the assistance of the captains and crews of the ships of war, made his last and boldest effort for subjecting the colonists to his authority. He brought up the ships-of-war in front of Charlestown, and threatened its immediate destruction, if the inhabitants any longer refused obedience to legal authority. But they having arms in their hands, and forts in their possession, defied his power. They were neither to be won by flattery, nor terrified by threats, to submit their necks any more to the proprietary yoke. Johnson feeling his impotence, made no more attempts for the recovery of his lost authority.

In the meantime, the agent for Carolina had procured a hearing from the lords of the regency and council in England, the King being at that time in Hanover; who gave it as their opinion that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered the attorney general to take out a *scire facias* against it.

An act of parliament was passed in Britain for establishing an agreement with seven of the eight proprietors for a surrender to the King of their right and interest not only in the government, but in the soil of the province. The purchase was made for 17,500 sterling. At the same time seven-eighths of the arrears of the quit-rents due from the colonists to the proprietors were purchased on behalf of the crown for £5,000. The remaining eighth share of the province and of the arrears of quit-rents were reserved out of the purchase by a clause in the act of parliament, for John, Lord Cartaret. About the same time the province was subdivided by the name of North and South Carolina.

Upon a review of these transactions, we may observe: that although the conduct of the Carolinians, during this struggle, cannot be deemed conformable to the strict letter of the written law, yet necessity and self-preservation justify their con-

duct; while all the world must applaud their moderation, union, firmness, and wisdom. When the proprietors first applied to the King for a grant of this large territory, at that time occupied by heathens, they said they were excited thereto by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith; yet they used no effectual endeavors for that purpose. The society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts employed and supported missionaries for the conversion of the heathens; but their best endeavors were inadequate to the extent of the work. The proprietors by their charter were empowered to build churches and chapels within the bounds of their province, for divine worship; yet they left the burden of this entirely to the inhabitants, who received no encouragement or assistance towards its accomplishment, except from the society incorporated for the propagation of the gospel. The proprietors were empowered by their charter to erect castles and forts for the protection and defence of the colony, but the people were obliged to raise all these at their own expense. By the charter his majesty saved to himself, his heirs and successors, the sovereign dominion of the province; yet the proprietors assumed to themselves a despotic authority in repealing and abrogating laws made by the Assembly and ratified by their deputies in Carolina. They not only tyrannized over the colony, but employed and protected officers ten times more tyrannical than themselves. When the whole Legislature complained of Chief Justice Trott, they paid no regard to their complaints, and absolutely refused to remove him from the bench, or even to limit his jurisdiction. In times of imminent danger, when the colony applied to them for assistance, they were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. When the Assembly allotted the lands obtained by conquest from the Yamassee Indians, for the encouragement of settlers to strengthen the provincial frontiers, the proprietors claimed the sole right of disposing of these lands, and frustrated a judicious plan for preserving public security. When the trade of the province was infested by pirates, the inhabitants could neither obtain a force sufficient to extirpate them, nor a confirmation of their laws made for defraying the expense of such expeditions as the Assembly had fitted out against them. The proprietors, at the request of the London merchants had cried down the current money of the province, stamped for answering the public exigencies. The people saw no end of their troubles. Pressing distress dictated the necessity of some remedy. No expedient appeared to them so proper and effectual as that of throwing themselves under the immediate care and protection of the crown of Great Britain. Disgusted with the feeble proprietary Government, they,

therefore, by one bold and irregular effort, entirely shook it off; and a revolution fruitful of happy consequences resulted, to their great relief and unspeakable satisfaction.

From the first settlement of the colony, one perpetual struggle subsisted between the proprietors of the province and the cultivators of its soil. A division somewhat similar to that of the court and country parties in England early sprung up in the settlement, and kept it in continual agitation. The people considered the proprietary claims of power as inconsistent with their rights; hence they became turbulent, and were seldom satisfied with their Governors in their public capacity, however esteemed and beloved as private men. The hands of Government were always weak, and the instructions and regulations received from England were for the most part ill adapted to the local circumstances of the people and the first state of colonization. The great distance and complicated hardships of the Carolinians all concurred to render their revolutionary measures not only excusable, but necessary. The revolution in England had exemplified and confirmed the doctrine of resistance, when the executive magistrate violates the fundamental laws and subverts the constitution of the nation. The proprietors had done acts which, in the opinion of the lords in regency, amounted to a forfeiture of their charter; and they had ordered a writ of *scire facias* to be taken out for repealing their patent and rendering the grant void. By these means all political connections between the proprietors and people of Carolina was entirely dissolved, and a new relation formed; the King having taken the provinces under his immediate care and made it a part of the British Empire.

In the forty-nine years of the proprietary Government of South Carolina, there were twenty-three Governors.* To this office Joseph West was thrice appointed; and Joseph Morton and Joseph Blake, each twice. Joseph West was the only one who served as long as eight years. James Colleton and Seth Sothell were disgraced by the people, and Robert Johnson was deposed by the same authority.

Of the several proprietary governments in British America, few or none have answered. Too often have they been undertaken and carried on with the contracted views of land-job-

* These were as follows: William Sayle, commissioned in England, 26th July, 1669; Joseph West, 28th August, 1671; Sir John Yeamans, 26th December, 1671; Joseph West, second time, 13th August, 1674; Joseph Morton, 26th September, 1682; Joseph West, third time, 6th September, 1684; Sir Richard Kirle, unknown; Colonel Robert Quarry, do.; Joseph Morton, second time, 1685; James Colleton, 1686; Seth Sothell, 1690; Philip Ludwell, 1692; Thomas Smith, 1693; Joseph Blake, 1694; John Archdale, 1695; Joseph Blake, second time, 1696; James Moore, 1700; Sir Nathaniel Johnson, 1703; Edward Tynte, December, 1709; Robert Gibbes, 1710; Charles Craven, 1712; Robert Daniel, 1716; Robert Johnson, 1717—deposed in December, 1719.

bers. To propagate the gospel among the native heathens was generally the ostensible design; but to make money by the sale or rents of lands rising in value from the introduction of settlers, was for the most part the governing motive of private proprietors. To obtain a great income, from a small expenditure, was the leading object of their policy. They were therefore slow in defending and protecting their tenants. The subjects of subjects often fare worse than the subjects of Kings. Between limited monarchy and representative government, there seems to be no middle ground for political happiness.

In the course of the 18th century, South Carolina underwent two revolutions, the last of which took place in 1776. Several of the actors in this are yet alive, and must be struck with the resemblance of the measures adopted by their predecessors and themselves for accomplishing these great and similar events. In both cases, a well-intentioned people, alarmed for their rights, were roused to extraordinary exertions for securing them. They petitioned, in a legal channel, for a redress of their grievances; but that being refused, they proceeded to bolder measures. Before they took decisive steps from which there was no honorable retreat, they both cemented their union by an association generally signed by the inhabitants. The physical force of government in all countries rests with the governed; but from the want of union and concert, they often quietly submit to be ruled with a rod of iron, or make such feeble, injudicious efforts in the cause of liberty as incur the penalties of rebellion, instead of gaining the blessings of a change for the better. The case was otherwise in Carolina. In both revolutions, an honest people engaged by a solemn agreement to support each other in defence of their rights, and to yield obedience to the leaders of their own appointment. When they had bound themselves by the tie of an association, they seized their arms, took the forts and magazines into possession, and assumed the direction of the militia. A new government, without confusion or violence, virtually superseded the existing authority of the proprietary Governor in one case, and of the King's representative in the other. The revolutioners in both respectfully asked their former Governors to join them; but from principles of honor and delicacy they declined. On their refusal they became private persons, and the people proceeded without them to organize every department of Government by their own authority. The popular leaders in one case called themselves a Convention of the people, and in the other a Provincial Congress; but in both, when the revolution was completed, they voted themselves an Assembly, passed laws in the usual manner, and by manifestoes justified their conduct to the world.

In these proceedings neither party nor faction had any hand. The general interests of the great body of the settlers, were the pole star by which public measures were regulated. The people, guided neither by private views nor selfish ends, and acting in unison, eventually found their labors crowned with success; and that each change of government produced for their country a melioration of its circumstances. A whole generation passed away, and a new one sprung up in the interval, between these two revolutions, though only fifty-seven years distant. No individual has been recognized as an actor in both. But the name of Middleton was conspicuous in the first, and more so in the last. Arthur Middleton was President of the Convention of the People in 1719; his son, Henry Middleton, President of the Congress of the United Colonies in 1774; and his grandson, Arthur Middleton, was one of the subscribers to the famous Declaration of Independence in 1776, by which South Carolina became a sovereign State.

The proprietary Government of Carolina may be termed its infancy. When it ceased in 1719, St. Stephen's was the frontier of the province. Forts were erected there in St. John's, on Colonel Glaze's land, near Dorchester, Dorchester, Wiltown, and other places about the same distance from the coast; and were necessary to defend the settlers from the Indians. The former rarely ventured fifty miles from the Atlantic. The latter occupied what is now called the upper and middle country of Carolina, and were very troublesome neighbors. Their distressing incursions occasionally penetrated as low as Goose creek. Charlestown was not perfectly safe, for it was exposed to danger both from them and the Spaniards. As much of it as lies between the Central Market and Water street, the Bay, and Meeting street, was fortified both on the land and water side. Much of that part of it which lay to the west of Meeting street, and the north and south of Broad street, was either a forest, or laid out in farms, gardens, orange-groves or orchards, with here and there a straggling house. Peltry or lumber, with a little rice, were the only exports of the province. The planters were better satisfied with a dollar per hundred for the last article, than they have been for years past with three. The coast was infested with pirates, and they made several captures near the bar of Charlestown. There were incessant contentions between the inhabitants and the proprietors; great dissensions between the Episcopalians and Dissenters, and for several years bitter animosities between the French refugees and English settlers. There was very little real money in the province. The planters were clamorous for bills of credit, and the merchants and others very much

opposed to their increase and protracted circulation. The police of the country was without energy. Demagogues endeavored to gain popularity by flattering the people, while others were equally active in courting the favor of the proprietors by personal attentions, and by vindicating their claims. The real good of the people was a secondary object with both. The government was not administered for the benefit of the governed. The latter were dissatisfied, and by a judicious exertion of their inherent rights, obtained a change for the better.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER IV.

Royal Government from 1720 *to* 1776.

The form of government conferred on Carolina when it became a royal province, was formed on the model of the British Constitution. It consisted of a Governor, a Council and Assembly. To them the power of making laws was committed. The King appointed the Governor, and delegated to him his constitutional powers. The Council was appointed by the King to advise the Governor, and to assist in legislation; and was intended to represent the House of Lords. The Assembly, like the House of Commons in Great Britain, consisted of the representatives of the people; and was elected by them to be the guardians of their lives, liberties, and property. The Governor convened, prorogued, and dissolved the Assembly, and had a negative on the bills of both houses and the execution of the laws. He also had powers of chancery, admiralty, of supreme ordinary, and of appointing magistrates and militia officers. After bills received his assent they were sent to Great Britain for royal approbation. But were obligatory as laws in the meantime, unless they were passed with a saving clause. The Governor received his instructions from England, and it was his duty to transmit authentic accounts of the state of his province, that these instructions might be founded in truth and utility. This is a general sketch of the royal government given to the privince of Carolina, in lieu of the proprietary system. The change soon appeared to be for the better.

Early in 1721 General Francis Nicholson arrived in South Carolina, with a royal commission to be Governor. He was generous, bold, and steady. Possessing the firmness, integrity

and honor of a soldier, he was well qualified for discharging the duties of his exalted station. The people received him with uncommon demonstrations of joy. The voice of murmur and discontent, together with the fears of danger and oppression, were banished from the province. The people resolved to forget former animosities, and to bury past offences in eternal oblivion. The only contention was who should be the most zealous in promoting the union, peace, and prosperity of the settlement. They looked upon themselves as happily delivered from a confused and distracted state; and anticipated all the blessings of freedom and security.

Soon after his arrival, Governor Nicholson issued writs for the election of a new Assembly. The persons returned as members entered with great temper and cheerfulness on the regulation of provincial affairs. They choose James Moore, their late popular Governor, to be Speaker of the House; and their choice was confirmed by the King's representative. The first business they engaged in was to pass an act declaring, that they recognized and acknowledged his sacred majesty, King George, to be the rightful sovereign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of all the dominions and provinces belonging to the empire; and in particular his undoubted right to the province of Carolina. All actions and suits at law, commenced on account of the late administration of James Moore by particular persons, were declared void; but all judicial proceedings under the same administration, were confirmed. These acts were judged proper and necessary for estabishing harmony among the inhabitants. Nicholson had the address to unite all parties; and by the wisdom and equity of his administration, to render the whole community happy under their new government and highly pleased with the change. Though he was bred a soldier, and was profane and passionate, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to society and contributed not a little to its interest in Carolina. On his application to the Society in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, they sent out teachers, money, and books, for the instruction of the inhabitants, and also supplied the province with clergymen; and gave each of them a yearly allowance, over and above the provincial salary. He also, with great zeal, urged the usefulness, and necessity, of provincial establishments for the promotion of literature.

Governor Nicholson, who was well acquainted with the manners of savages, applied himself with great zeal to regulate Indian affairs, and to form treaties of friendship with the different tribes around the settlement. As most of the broils between the settlers and the Indians had been occasioned by by the former taking unauthorized possession of lands claimed

by the latter, to prevent future quarrels from that source, he sent a message to the Cherokees, a numerous and warlike nation, acquainting them that he had presents to make them and would meet them at the borders of their territories, to hold a general congress, to treat of mutual friendship and commerce. They rejoiced at a proposal which implied they were a free people, and immediately the chiefs of thirty-seven different towns set out to meet him.

At this congress the Governor gave them several presents—smoked the pipe of peace—and afterwards marked the boundaries of the lands between them and the English settlers. He also regulated all weights and measures, that justice might be done them in the way of traffic—appointed an agent to superintend their affairs, and proposed to nominate one warrior as commander-in-chief of the whole nation, before whom all complaints were to be made, and who was to acquaint the Governor with every injury done them. After which the Indians returned to their towns, highly pleased with their generous brother and new ally. The Governor then proceeded to conclude a treaty of commerce and peace with the Creeks, who were also at that time a numerous and formidable nation. He likewise appointed an agent to reside among them, whose business was to regulate Indian affairs in a friendly and equitable manner, and he fixed on Savannah river as the boundary of their hunting lands, beyond which, no settlements were to extend.

The policy respecting Indians had hitherto proceeded on the idea of peace and commerce with independent neighbors, and seemed to have little more in view than a share in their superfluous lands and the tranquility of the English settlements; but about this time the projects of the French, for uniting Canada and Louisiana, began to be developed. They had extended themselves northwardly from the Gulf of Mexico, and eastwardly from the upper parts of the river Mississippi, and had made many friends among the Indians to the southward and westward of Carolina. To counteract the views of the French, Great Britain wished to convert the Indians, on her borders, into allies or subjects. Treaties of union and alliance with them were therefore deemed proper and necessary. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed and sent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees. These Indians occupied the lands about the head of Savannah river, and backwards among the Apalachian mountains. The country they claimed as their hunting ground was of immense extent. The inhabitants of their different towns, were computed to amount to more than twenty thousand. Of these, six thousand were warriors,

fit on any emergency to take the field. An alliance with such a nation was an object of the highest consequence, both to Carolina and the mother country; the latter of which was now engaged for the defence and protection of the former.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming arrived in Carolina and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. When he reached Keowee, about 300 miles from Charlestown, the chiefs of the lower towns met and received him with marks of friendship and esteem. He immediately despatched messengers to the middle, the valley, and overhill settlements; and summoned a general meeting of all their chiefs to hold a congress with him at Nequasee. In the month of April the chief warriors of all the Cherokee towns assembled at the place appointed. After the various Indian ceremonies were over, Sir Alexander made a speech to them; acquainting them by whose authority he was sent, and representing the great power, and goodness, of his sovereign King George: how he and all his other subjects paid a cheerful obedience to his laws, and of course were protected by him from all harm: that he had come a great way to demand of Moytoy, and all the chieftains of the nation, to acknowledge themselves the subjects of his King, and to promise obedience to his authority; and as he loved them, and was answerable to his sovereign for their good and peaceable behavior, he hoped they would agree to what he should now require of them. Upon which, the chiefs falling on their knees, solemnly promised fidelity and obedience, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promise. Sir Alexander then, by their unanimous consent, nominated Moytoy commander and chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors, of the different tribes to acknowledge him as their King to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they also agreed, provided Moytoy should be made answerable to Sir Alexander for his behavior to them. After which, many presents were made to them, and the congress ended to the satisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tenassee, their chief town, which, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him, on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy that he should depute some of their chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in person to the great King. Six of them agreed and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charlestown, where, being joined by another, they embarked for England.

Being admitted into the presence of the King they, in the name of their nation, promised to continue forever his maj-

esty's faithful and obedient subjects. A treaty* was accordingly drawn up and signed by Alured Popple, Secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations on one side, and by the marks of the Indian chiefs on the other. The Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years remained in a state of perfect friendship and peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighborhood of these Indians without the least terror or molestation.

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* The preamble to this treaty recites "That, whereas, the six Chiefs, with the consent of the whole nation of Cherokees, at a general meeting of their nation at Nequassee, were deputed by Moytoy, their chief warrior, to attend Sir Alexander Cumming to Great Britain, where they had seen the great King George: and Sir Alexander, by authority from Moytoy and all the Cherokees, had laid down the crown of their nation, with the scalps of their enemies and feathers of glory at his majesty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty. And, whereas, the great King had commanded the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, to inform the Indians that the English on all sides of the mountains and lakes, were his people, their friends, his friends, and their enemies, his enemies—that he took it kindly the great nation of Cherokees had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between his people and their people; that the chain of friendship between him and the Cherokees is now like the sun which shines both in Britain and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of Indians and Englishmen; that as there is no spots or blackness in the sun, so neither is there any rust or foulness on this chain. And as the King has fastened one end to his breast, he desired them to carry the other end of the chain and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Telliquo, and to the breasts of all their old wise men, their captains and people, never more to be made loose or broken.

The great King and the Cherokees being thus fastened together by a chain of friendship, he has ordered, and it is agreed, that his children in Carolina do trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all manner of goods they want, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charlestown towards the towns of the Cherokees behind the great mountains. That he desires the English and Indians may live together as children of one family; that the Cherokees be always ready to fight against any nation, whether white men or Indians, who shall dare molest or hurt the English—that the nation of Cherokees shall, on their part, take care to keep the trading path clean—that there be no blood on the path where the English tread, even though they should be accompanied with other people with whom the Cherokees may be at war. That the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with white men of any other nation but the English, nor permit white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant any corn among them upon lands which belong to the great King; and if any such attempt shall be made, the Cherokees must acquaint the English Governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great King's right to the country of Carolina. That if any negroes shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Cherokees shall endeavor to apprehend them and bring them to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the Governor, and for every slave so apprehended and brought back, the Indian that brings him shall receive a gun and a watch-coat; and if by any accident, it shall happen that an Englishman shall kill a Cherokee, the king or chief of the nation shall first complain to the English Governor, and the man who did the harm shall be punished by the English laws as if he had killed an Englishman; and in like manner if any Indian happens to kill an Englishman, the Indian shall be delivered up to the Governor, to be punished by the same English laws as if he were an Englishman."

This was the substance of the first treaty between the King and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with presents. A speech was at the same time addressed to the Indians, in which they were informed "that these were the words of the great King whom they had seen; and as a token that his heart was open and true to his children the Cherokees, and to all their people, a belt was given the warriors, which, they were told, the King desired them to keep

About the beginning of the year 1731, Robert Johnson, who had been proprietary Governor of Carolina, arrived with a commission, investing him with a similar office in behalf of the crown. He brought back these Indian chiefs, possessed with the highest ideas of the power and greatness of the English nation, and pleased with the kind and generous treatment they had received.

This new Governor, from his knowledge of the province, was well qualified for his high office; and had a council to assist him, composed of the most influential inhabitants. Thomas Broughton was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and Robert Wright, Chief Justice. The other members of the Council were William Bull, James Kinlock, Alexander Skene, John Fenwicke, Arthur Middleton, Joseph Wragg, Francis Yonge, John Hamerton and Thomas Waring.

Mr. Johnson had acted with great spirit in opposing the Carolinians in 1719, when they threw off the proprietary government; but they had liberality enough to consider him as having acted solely from a sense of duty and honor. He was not only well received in his new office, but the Assembly honored him after his death by erecting a handsome monument to his memory in St. Philip's church, highly applauding his administration.

For the encouragement of the people, now connected with the mother country, several favors were granted them. The restraint upon rice, an enumerated commodity, was partly

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and show to all their people, to their children, and children's children, to confirm what was now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Cherokees as long as the rivers shall run, the mountains shall last, or the sun shall shine."

In answer to which Skijagustah, in name of the rest, made a speech to the following effect: "We are come hither from a mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found—but we are now in a place where there is light. We look upon you as if the great King were present—we love you as representing the great King—we shall die in the same way of thinking—the crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that we saw in the tower, but to us it is all one—the chain of friendship shall be carried to our people—we look upon the great King George as the sun and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children; for though we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together. When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it. In war we shall always be one with you—the enemies of the great King shall be our enemies—his people and ours shall be one, and shall die together. We came hither naked and poor as the worms of the earth; but you have every thing, and we that have nothing must love you, and will never break the chain of friendship which is between us. This small rope we show you is all that we have to bind our slaves with, and it may be broken, but you have iron chains for yours—however, if we catch your slaves, we will bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends and take no pay for it. Your white people may very safely build houses near us; we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are children of one father, the great King, and shall live and die together." Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added: "This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you, and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said."

taken off; and that it might arrive more seasonably and in better condition at market, the colonists were permitted to send it directly to any port southward of Cape Finisterre. A bounty on hemp was also allowed by parliament. The arrears of quit-rents, bought from the proprietors, were remitted by the liberality of the crown. For the benefit of trade, their bills of credit were continued, and seventy-seven thousand pounds were stamped and issued by virtue of an act of the Legislature, called the appropriation law. Seventy pieces of cannon were sent out by the King; and the Governor had instructions to build one fort at Port Royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ships of war were stationed on the coast for the protection of trade. From these and several other benefits conferred on the colony, it soon began to emerge from the depths of poverty, and rapidly rose to a state of ease and affluence.

As a natural consequence of its domestic security the credit of the province, in England, increased. The merchants of London, Bristol and Liverpool, turned their eyes to Carolina as a new and promising channel of trade; and established houses in Charlestown for conducting their business with the planters, and poured in slaves for cultivating their lands, and manufactures for supplying their plantations, and furnished them with both on credit and at a cheap rate. With this increased force, the lands were cleared and cultivated with greater facility. The lands rose in value, and men of foresight and judgment began to look out and secure the rich spots for themselves. The produce of the province in a few years was doubled. From this period, its exports kept pace with the imports, and secured its credit in England.

Hitherto, Carolina had made small progress in cultivation. The face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared. The colonists were slovenly farmers, owing to the vast quantities of lands and the easy and cheap terms of obtaining them. They were more indebted for a good crop to the natural richness of the soil, than to their own culture and management. They had abundance of the necessaries and several of the conveniences of life. But their habitations were clumsy, miserable wooden huts. Charlestown, at this time, consisted of between five and six hundred houses, mostly built of timber, and neither comfortable nor well constructed. Henceforward the province improved in building as well as in other respects. Many ingenious artificers and tradesmen of different kinds, found encouragement in it, and introduced a taste for brick buildings, and more neat and pleasant habitations. As the colony increased, the

face of the country exhibited an appearance of industry and plenty.

For the farther security of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah was, about the year 1732, projected in England. This large territory lay waste without any civilized inhabitants. The new province was called Georgia in honor of the King, who greatly encouraged the undertaking.

While the security of Carolina against external enemies, by this settlement of Georgia, engaged the attention of the British government, the means of its internal improvement and population were not neglected.

John Peter Pury, of Neufchatel in Switzerland, having formed a design of leaving his native country, paid a visit to Carolina, in order to inform himself of the circumstances and situation of the province. After viewing the lands he returned to Britain. The government entered into a contract with him, and agreed to give lands and four hundred pounds sterling for every hundred effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. Pury having drawn up a flattering account of the soil and climate,* and of the excellence and freedom of the provincial government, returned to Switzerland and published it among the people. Immediately one hundred and seventy Switzers agreed to follow him, and were transported to the fertile and delightful province as he described it. Not long afterwards two hundred more came and joined them. The Governor, agreeably to instructions, allowed forty thousand acres of land for the use of the Swiss settlement on the northeast side of Savannah river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which was called Purysburg, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. Mr. Bignion, a Swiss minister, whom they had engaged to go with them, having received Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London, settled among them for their religious instruction. The Governor and Council, happy in the acquisition of such a force, allotted to each of them his separate tract of land and gave every encouragement in their power to the people. The Swiss emigrants began their labors with uncommon zeal and energy; highly elevated with the idea of possessing landed estates. But in a short time they felt the many inconveniences attending a change of climate. Several of them sickened and died, and others found the hardships of the first state of colonization

* This may be found in Anderson's History of Commerce. It proceeds on the idea that countries lying in the 32d degree of North latitude, (the site of Palestine and of South Carolina,) are remarkable for their fertility; the production of the most valuable commodities, and other good qualities.

much greater than they expected. They became discontented. Smarting under the pressure of indigence and disappointment, they not only blamed Pury for deceiving them, but repented their leaving their native country.

According to a new plan, adopted in England, for the more speedy population and settlement of the province, the Governor had instructions to mark out eleven townships in square plats on the sides of rivers consisting each of twenty thousand acres; and to divide the land within them into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child that should come to occupy and improve them. Each township was to form a parish, and all the inhabitants were to have an equal right to the river. So soon as the parish should increase to the number of an hundred families they were to have a right to send two members, of their own election, to the Assembly and to enjoy the same privileges as the other parishes already established. Each settler was to pay four shillings a year for every hundred acres of land, except the first ten years; during which term they were to be rent free. Accordingly ten townships were marked out; two on river Alatamaha, two on Savannah, two on Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black river.

By this time accounts of the great privileges granted by the Crown, for the encouragement of settlers in the province had been published through Britain and Ireland; and many industrious people had resolved to take the benefit of the royal bounty. Multitudes of laborers and husbandmen in Ireland oppressed, by landlords and bishops, and unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish people had lands granted to them; and about the year 1734 formed the settlement called Williamsburg township. But notwithstanding the bounty of the Crown they remained for several years in low and distressing circumstances. The climate proved fatal to numbers of them. In consequence of hard labor and scanty provisions at the commencement of the settlement a considerable number, debilitated in body and dejected in spirits, sickened and died. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlers amidst every hardship increased in number. Having obtained credit with the merchants for negroes they were relieved from the severest part of their labor. By this aid, and their own industry, spots of land were cleared, which in a short period yielded them plenty of provisions and in time became fruitful estates.

In proportion as Carolina flourished and extended, the Spaniards of Florida became more troublesome. At this time

there were about forty thousand negroes in the province. Long had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. At different times Spanish emissaries had been found secretly persuading them to fly from their masters to Florida, and several had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negro refugees, the Governor of Florida formed a regiment, appointed officers from among themselves, allowed them the same pay, and clothed them in the same uniform with the regular Spanish soldiers. The most sensible part of the slaves in Carolina, were not ignorant of this Spanish regiment, for when they ran away, they constantly directed their course to that quarter.

While Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear, an insurrection, which alarmed the whole province, broke out in the heart of the settlement. In the year 1740 a number of negroes having assembled together at Stono, surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, put themselves under his command, and marched towards the southwest with colors flying and drums beating. They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, and having murdered him, his wife and children, they took all the arms he had in it, set fire to the house, and proceeded towards Jacksonborough. In their way they plundered and burnt every house, killed the white people, and compelled the negroes to join them. Governor Bull, returning to Charlestown from the southward met them, and observing them armed, quickly rode out of their way. He crossed over to Johns Island, and from thence came to Charlestown with the first intelligence. Mr. Golightly in like manner met the armed black insurgents, and rode out of their way; but went directly to the Presbyterian church at Wiltown, and gave the alarm. By a law of the province, all planters were obliged to carry their arms to church. Mr. Golightly joined the armed men, thus providentially assembled, and proceeded with them directly from the church, to engage the negroes about eight miles distant. The women were left trembling with fear, while the militia under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, who by this time, had become formidable from the number that joined them. They had marched above fifteen miles, and spread desolation through all the plantations in their way. Having found rum in some houses and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field and began to sing and dance by way of triumph. During these rejoicings, the militia came up and stationed themselves in different places to prevent their escape. The intoxication of several of the slaves, favored the assailants. One party ad-

vanced into the open field and attacked them.* Having killed some negroes, the remainder took to the woods, and were dispersed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping suspicion from the absence of their masters; but the greater part were taken and tried. Such as had been compelled to join, contrary to their inclinations, were pardoned; but the leaders and first insurgents suffered death.

All Carolina was struck with consternation by this insurrection, in which about twenty persons were murdered, and had not the people in that quarter been armed and collected at church, it is probable many more would have suffered. It was commonly believed, and not without reason, that the Spaniards, by their secret influence and intrigues with slaves had instigated them to this massacre. To prevent further attempts Governor Bull sent an express to General Oglethorpe, with advice of the insurrection, desiring him to double his vigilance in Georgia and seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes. At the same time a company of rangers were employed to patrol the frontiers, and block up all passages by which they might make their escape to Florida.

About this time, November 18th, 1740, nearly one-half of Charlestown was consumed by fire. It began about two o'clock P. M., and continued until eight. The houses being built of wood, and the wind blowing hard at northwest, the flames spread with astonishing rapidity. From the south side of Broad street to Granville's Bastion, almost every house was at one time in flames except the north side of Broad street and the north end of the Bay; the trading part of the town, was nearly destroyed. The rum, pitch, tar, turpentine, and gunpowder, in the different stores, served to spread the desolating element. A violent wind carried the burning shingles to a great distance. While floating in the air they added to the horrow of the scene, and falling on remote houses, excited new conflagrations rivalling the first. The cries of children and the shrieks of women propagated a general alarm. The anxiety of each individual for his own connections, prevented united exertions for common safety; while flames bursting forth from different quarters at the same time, nearly induced despair of saving any part of the town. The fire continued to spread desolation, until the calmness of the evening closed the

* The militia attacked the negroes just as they had dined, and were preparing to move off. They had a few minutes before fired the dwelling house at a plantation which has been ever since called "Battlefield." As soon as they discovered the white people. their black captain, named Cato, who had two loaded guns, immediately discharged one, and as he stooped to get the other, was shot down. After this. the survivors made but little resistance, scattered, and endeavored to escape. The fire in the house was extinguished, after burning a hole in the floor. This was suffered to remain open for many years, as a memorial of the transaction.

dreadful scene. Three hundred of the best buildings wer consumed, which, together with loss of goods and countr commodities, amounted to a prodigious sum. Few lives wer lost, but the lamentations of ruined families were heard i every quarter. From a flourishing condition, the town wa reduced in the space of six hours to a most deplorable state The inhabitants, whose houses escaped the flames, kindly in vited their unfortunate neighbors to them, so that two or thre families were lodged in places built only for the accommoda tion of one. After the legislature met they agreed to mak application to the British parliament for relief. It vote twenty thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among th sufferers. This relief was seasonable and useful on the on side, and displayed a generous and noble spirit on the other

Since the province was taken under the royal care, it wa nursed and protected by a rich and powerful nation. It government was staple, private property secure, and the privi leges of the people extensive. The planters obtained land from the King at a cheap rate. The mother country furnished laborers upon credit; each person had entire liberty to manage his affairs for his own profit and advantage, and having no tythes and very trifling taxes to pay, reaped almost the whole fruits of his industry. He obtained British manufactures at an easy rate, and drawbacks were allowed on articles of foreign manufacture that they might be brought cheaper to the American market. Frugal industrious planters, every three or four years, doubled their capital and their progress towards independence and opulence was rapid.

The plan of settling townships, especially as it was accompanied with the royal bounty, proved beneficial in many respects. It encouraged multitudes of poor oppressed people in Ireland, Holland, and Germany, to emigrate; by which means the province received a number of useful settlers. As many of them came from manufacturing towns in Europe, it might have been expected that they would naturally have pursued the occupations to which they had been bred and in which their chief skill consisted; but this was by no means the case, for, excepting a few that took up their residence in Charlestown, they applied themselves to grazing and agriculture. By raising hemp, wheat, and corn, in the interior parts of the country, and curing hams, bacon, and beef, they supplied the market with abundance of provisions.

As every family of laborers was an acquisition to the country, for the encouragement of settlers to migrate thither and improve the vacant lands, a door was opened to protestants of every nation. Lands free from quit-rents for the first ten years were allotted to men, women, and children. With

their bounty-money they purchased utensils for cultivation, and hogs and cows to begin their stock. The like bounty was allowed to all servants, after the expiration of the term of their servitude. From this period Carolina was found to be an excellent refuge to the poor, the unfortunate, and oppressed. The population and prosperity of her colonies, engrossed the attention of the mother country. His majesty's bounty served to alleviate the hardships inseparable from the first years of cultivation; and landed property animated the emigrants to industry and perseverance. The different townships yearly increased in numbers. Every one, upon his arrival, obtained his grant of land and sat down on his freehold with no taxes, or very trifling ones, and enjoyed full liberty to hunt and fish, together with many other advantages and privileges he never knew in Europe. If they could not be called rich during their own lives, by improving their little freeholds, they commonly left their children in easy circumstances. Even in the first stage, being free and contented, their condition in many respects was preferable to that of laborers in Europe. In all improved countries, where commerce and manufacture have been long established and luxury prevails, the lower classes are oppressed and miserable. In Carolina, persons of that description though exposed to more troubles and hardships for a few years, had better opportunities than in Europe for advancing to an easy and independent State. Hence it happened that few emigrants ever returned to their native country; on the contrary, the success and prosperity of the most fortunate brought many adventurers and relations after them. Their love to their former friends, and their natural partiality for their countrymen, induced the old planters to receive the new settlers joyfully and even to assist and relieve them. Each individual possessing his own property, a reciprocal independence produced mutual respect and beneficence. Such general harmony and industry reigned among them that the townships, from a desolate wilderness, soon became fruitful fields.

The vast quantities of unoccupied land furnished the poor emigrants with many advantages. While they were encountering the hardships of the first years of cultivation, the inconveniences gradually decreased in proportion to their improvements. The merchants being favored with credit from Britain, were enabled to extend it to the inhabitants. The planters having established their characters for honesty and industry, obtained negroes to assist them in the harder tasks of clearing and cultivating the soil. Their wealth consisted in the increase of their slaves, stock, and improvements. Having abundance of waste land, they extended their culture in pro-

portion to their capital. They lived almost entirely on the produce of their estates, and consequently spent but a small part of their annual income. The surplus was yearly added to the capital, and they enlarged their prospects in proportion to their wealth and strength. If there was a great demand at market for the commodities they raised, their progress became rapid beyond expectation. They labored and received increasing encouragement to persevere until they advanced to an easy and comfortable state. It has been observed on the other hand, that few of the settlers who brought much property with them succeeded as well as those who brought little or none. It was pre-eminently a good poor man's country.

If the emigrant chose to follow his trade, the high price of labor was no less encouraging. By the indulgence of the merchants, or by the security of a friend he obtained credit for a few negroes. He taught them his trade, and a few good tradesman well employed were equal to a small estate. In a little time he acquired some money; and, like several others in the city whose yearly gain exceeded what is requisite for the support of themselves and families, put it out on interest. The legal interest of the province was ten per cent. till 1748, and eight per cent. from that year till 1777. This high rate induced many who were unwilling to settle plantations, to choose this method of increasing their fortune. If the money lender followed his employment in the capital, or reserved in his hands a sufficiency for family use, and allowed the interest to be added yearly to the capital stock, his fortune soon became considerable. Several persons preferred this method of accumulating riches to that of cultivation; especially those whom age or infirmity had rendered unfit for action and fatigue.

Notwithstanding the extensive credit commonly allowed by the merchants, the number of borrowers always exceeded that of the lenders of money. Having vast extent of territory the planters were eager to obtain laborers, which raised the demand for money and kept up a high rate of interest. The interest of money in every country is for the most part according to the demand, and the demand according to the profits made by the use of it. The profits must always be great where men can afford to take money at the rate of eight or ten per cent. In Carolina laborers on good lands cleared their first cost and charges in a few years, and therefore the demand for money to procure them was great.

The borrower of money obtained his landed estate from the crown. The quit-rents and taxes were inconsiderable. Being both landlord and farmer he had perfect liberty to manage and improve his plantation as he pleased, and was accounta-

ble to none for the fruits of his industry. His estate furnished him with game and fish, which he could kill and use at pleasure. In the woods his cattle, hogs, and horses grazed at their ease attended, perhaps only by a negro boy. He had calves, hogs, and poultry in abundance for the use of his family. He could turn his able laborers to the field, and exert all their energies in raising the staple commodities of the country. Having provision from domestic resources, he could apply his whole crop for the purposes of answering the demands of the merchant and money lender. He calculated that his annual produce would not only answer all demands, but bring an addition to his capital, and enable him to clear and cultivate more land. In proportion as the merchants extended credit to the planters, and supplied them with laborers, the profits of their plantations increased.

The lands which were cultivated in South Carolina, for the first eighty years after the settlement of the province, were, for the most part, situated on or near navigable creeks or rivers. The planters who lived fifty miles from the capital were at little more expense, in sending their provisions and produce to its market, than those who lived within five miles of it. The town was supplied with plenty of provisions, and its neighborhood prevented from enjoying a monopoly of its market. By this general and unlimited competition, the price of provisions was kept low. While the money arising from them circulated equally and universally through the country, it contributed, in return, to its improvement. The planters had not only water carriage to the market for their staple commodities, but, on their arrival, the merchant again committed them to the general tide of commerce, and received, in return, the valuable commodities of every clime.

The Carolinians all this time received protection to trade, a ready market, drawbacks and bounties from the mother country. The duties laid on many articles of foreign manufacture, on their importation into Britain, were drawn back on their exportation to the colonies. These drawbacks were always in favor of the consumers, and supplied the provincial markets with foreign goods nearly as cheap as if they had been immediately imported from the places where they were manufactured. Besides, upon the arrival of such goods in the country, the planters commonly had twelve months credit from the provincial merchant who was satisfied with payment once in the year from all his customers. To the consumers in Carolina, East India goods, German manufactures, Spanish, Portugal, Madeira and Fayal wines came cheaper than to those in Great Britain. Coal, salt, and other

articles, brought by way of ballast, have sometimes sold for less in Charlestown than in London.

The colonists were also allowed bounties on several articles of produce exported. For the encouragement of her colonies, Great Britain laid high duties on such as were imported from foreign countries, and gave the colonists premiums on the same commodities. The bounties on naval stores, indigo, hemp and raw silk proved an encouragement to industry, and all terminated in favor of the planters. The colonial merchants enjoyed perfect freedom in their trade with the West Indies, where they found a convenient and most excellent market for Indian corn, rice, lumber and salt provisions. In return they had rum, sugar, coffee and molasses cheaper than their fellow subjects in the mother country.

Great Britain laid the colonists under some restraints with respect to their domestic manufactures and their trade to foreign ports. Though this policy affected the more northern colonies, it was not prejudicial to Carolina. It served to direct the views of the people to the culture of lands, which was more profitable both to themselves and the mother country. Though they had plenty of beaver skins, and a few hats were manufactured from them, yet the price of labor was so high that the merchant could send the skins to England, import hats made of them, and undersell the manufacturers of Carolina. The province also furnished some wool and cotton, but before they could be made into cloth, they cost the consumers more money than the merchant demanded for the same goods imported. It afforded leather, but boots and shoes made from it at home were of an inferior quality, and often dearer than the same articles imported from Britain. In like manner, with respect to many other commodities, it was for the advantage of the province, as well as the mother country, to export the raw materials and import the goods manufactured. Cultivation was, therefore, the most profitable employment. It was the interest of such a flourishing colony to be always in debt to Great Britain, for the more laborers were sent the more rapidly the colony advanced in riches. If, from an unfavorable season, the planters were rendered unable to pay for the slaves they had purchased, the merchants generally indulged them another year, and sometimes allowed them to increase their debt by addititional purchases. This was often found the most certain method of obtaining payment. In like manner the merchant had indulgence from England, the primary source of credit. By these forbearances the planter preserved, and often increased, his capital, while the difference of interest between the mother country and the province,

amounting at first to five, and always to three, per cent., was clear gain to the merchants.

Such was the general course of prosperity with which the royal province of South Carolina was blessed in the interval between the termination of the proprietary government in 1719, and the American revolution in 1776. No colony was ever better governed The first and second Georges were nursing fathers to the province. They performed to it the full orbed duty of Kings, and their paternal care was returned with the most ardent love and affection of their subjects in Carolina. The advantages were reciprocal. The colonists enjoyed the protection of Great Britain, and in return she had a monopoly of their trade. The mother country received great benefit from this intercourse, and the colony, under her protecting care, became great and happy. In South Carolina an enemy to the Hanoverian succession, or to the British Constitution, was scarcely known. The inhabitants were fond of British manners even to excess. They, for the most part, sent their children to England or Scotland for education, and spoke of these countries under the endearing appellation of home. They were enthusiasts for the government under which they had grown up and flourished. All ranks and orders of men gloried in their connection with the mother country, and in being subjects of the same king. The laws of the British Parliament, confining their trade for the benefit of the protecting parent state, were generally and cheerfully obeyed. Few countries have, at any time, exhibited so striking an instance of public and private prosperity as appeared in South Carolina between the years 1725 and 1775. The inhabitants of the province were, in that half century, increased seven fold. None were indigent but the idle and unfortunate. Personal independence was fully within the reach of every man who was healthy and industrious. All were secure in their persons and property. They were also contented with their colonial state, and wished not for the smallest change in their political constitution.

In the midst of these enjoyments, and the most sincere attachment to the mother country, to their king and his government, the people of South Carolina, without any original design on their part, were, step by step, drawn into a defensive revolutionary war, which involved them in every species of difficulty, and finally dissevered them from the parent state.

But before we proceed to relate these interesting events, some more early periods of the history of South Carolina must be surveyed.

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1776.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION I.

Contest with Spaniards.

All the forms of government, hitherto of force in Carolina, agreed in this particular: that every subject or citizen should also be a soldier. There was a nightly watch maintained in Charlestown ever since it was five years old, and, for the most part, by men hired for the purpose. But in all other times and situations the defence of the country rested solely on the militia, except in cases of great pressing and continued danger. The laws required every freeman of a suitable age, with a few necessary exemptions, to be enrolled as a member of some militia company and to be equipped and trained for public service. The necessity of this was so evident, that till about the middle of the 18th century, the practice was common and the men were enjoined by law to carry their arms to church.* The people could not brook a standing army in time of peace, but were required to be always ready to defend themselves. This was indispensably necessary, in their peculiar situation. The province was not only constantly exposed to internal danger; but its peace was early and repeatedly disturbed by Spaniards, Indians, and pirates. Carolina, with the English, was the southern part of Virginia; with the Spaniards it was the northern part of Florida. Both claimed by virtue of prior discovery, but the title of the Spaniards was supposed to be strengthened by a grant of the territory from his holiness the pope. Though the validity of the title of either could not be supported, before an impartial tribunal, yet a century passed away and much mischief was done before the controversy was compromised. The Spaniards considering the settlement of Carolina as an encroachment on Florida, were not scrupulous about the means of inducing its relinquishment. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and fly to St. Augustine for protection. They impressed the Indians with unfavorable ideas of the English heretics, and encouraged

* The province was saved from much impending distress and desolation by an armed congregation sallying forth from the Presbyterian church at Wiltown in 1740, as has been related. The practice of going armed to church, was revived for a short time in the revolutionary war. For fifteen or twenty years before that event, and ever since, it has not been observed; but a formal repeal of the law cannot be recollected.

the former to obstruct the settlements of the latter. To these unneighborly acts were added occasional hostilities. In about three years after the first settlement of the province an armed party of Spaniards, from the garrison of St. Augustine, advanced as far as the island of St. Helena to dislodge or destroy the settlers. Fifty volunteers under the command of Colonel Godfrey marched against the invaders, who, on his approach, evacuated the island and retreated to Florida.

About the year 1682, Lord Cardross led a small colony from Scotland which settled on Port Royal Island. These claimed, by an agreement with the proprietors, a co-ordinate authority with the Governor and Council at Charlestown; but their claims were overruled. The Spaniards sent an armed force in 1786, and dislodged these solitary scotch settlers and most of them returned to their native country.*

These hostilities of the Spaniards were retaliated. In 1702, Governor James Moore proposed to the Assembly of Carolina an expedition against the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. A majority of the Assembly declared for the expedition, and two thousand pounds sterling were voted for the service. They agreed to raise six hundred provincial militia, an equal number of Indians were procured, and vessels impressed to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed on as the place of rendezvous, and from it in September 1702 the Governor at the head of his warriors embarked.

In the plan of operations it had been agreed that Colonel Daniel, with a detached party, should go by the inland passage and make a descent on the town from the land; while the Governor, with the main body, should proceed by sea and block up the harbor. Colonel Daniel accordingly advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the Govenor arrived. But the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, retired to it with their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore the place was invested with a force which the Spaniards could not face, and therefore kept themselves shut up in their stronghold. The Governor finding it impossible to dislodge them, without suitable artillery, dispatched colonel Daniel with a sloop to Jamaica to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars for attacking the castle. In the meantime the appearance of two Spanish ships, one of twenty-two guns, and the other of sixteen, near the mouth of the harbor, induced the Governor to raise the siege, abandon his ships and retreat to Carolina by land. The Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved

* The governmental seal, used for this settlement, was carried to Scotland; but, in the year 1793, it was politely returned by the Earl of Buchan as an object of curiosity, and is now placed in the Museum of the Charleston Library.

but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolinians, fell into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, standing in for the harbor of St. Augustine, found to his surprise the siege raised, and with difficulty escaped from the enemy.

The Governor lost no more than two men in this expedition, yet it entailed on the colony a debt of six thousand pounds sterling which, at that period, was a grievous burden. The provincial assembly met to concert ways and means for discharging it. A bill was brought in for stamping bills of credit, to answer the public exigence, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty on liquors, skins, and furs. This was the first paper money issued in the province, and, for five or six years, it passed at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England. Thus war, debt, and paper money, were coeval in Carolina; and connected as cause and effect in the order in which they are mentioned.

Four years after the termination of Moore's expedition against St. Augustine the Spaniards and French, then at war with Great Britain, projected a combined attack on Charlestown; with a view of recovering the province claimed by the Spaniards as a part of Florida. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, then Governor, had been a military man and was well qualified to conduct its defence. No sooner had he received intelligence of the designs of the enemy, than he set every one to work upon the fortifications, appointed a number of gunners to each bastion, and diligently trained the men to the use of arms. A small fort, called fort Johnson, was erected on James Island and several cannon mounted thereon. Intrenchments were made on White Point, and other suitable places. A guard was stationed on Sullivan's Island, with orders to kindle a number of fires opposite the town equal to the number of ships they might see on the coast.

Carolina was at this juncture the southern frontier of the British empire in America; and though it had acquired some degree of strength, was in a feeble state to resist an enemy of force. From its situation there was reason to apprehend that the French and Spaniards would attack it, as it would be an easier conquest than the more populous northern settlements. Before this time a plan had been concerted at the Havanna, for invading it. Monsieur Le Feboure, with a french frigate and four armed sloops, encouraged and assisted by the Spanish Governor of Cuba, sailed for Charlestown. To facilitate the conquest, Monsieur Le Feboure had directions to touch at St. Augustine and carry from it such a force as he judged adequate to the enterprise. Upon his arrival there, he received intelligence of an epidemical distemper, which raged at Charles-

town and had destroyed a vast number of inhabitants. Instead of discouraging, this animated him to proceed with greater expedition. He took on board a considerable number of forces and sailed for Charlestown. The appearance of five seperate smokes on Sullivan's Island, announced to the inhabitants that the same number of ships was observed on the coast.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson being at his plantation, several miles from town, Lieut. Col. Wm. Rhett, commanding officer of the militia, immediately ordered the whole of the inhabitants to be put under arms. A messenger was dispatched with the news to the Governor, and letters were sent to all the captains of the militia in the country ordering them to fire alarm guns—raise their companies—and to march with all possible expedition to the assistance of Charlestown.

In the evening the enemy's fleet came near to the bar; but, as the passage was intricate and dangerous, they hovered on the coast all night within sight of land. Having come to an anchor, they employed their boats all the next day in sounding the south bar. This delay afforded time for the militia in the country to march to town.

Governor Johnson, on his arrival, found the inhabitants in great consternation; but his presence, as a man of known bravery and military capacity, inspired them with confidence and resolution. He proclaimed martial law at the head of the militia—issued the necessary orders for their conduct, and sent to the Indian tribes in alliance with the colony to come immediately to his assistance. As a contagious distemper was said to rage in Charlestown, the Governor judged it imprudent to expose his men unnecessarily to danger; and therefore held his headquarters about half a mile distant from the town. In the evening, a troop of horse commanded by Captain George Logan, and two companies of foot under the command of Major George Broughton, reached the capital and kept watch during the night. The next morning a company from James Island, commanded by Captain Drake, another from Wands under Captain Fenwicke, and five more commanded by Captains Cantey, Lynch, Kearn, Longbois, and Seabrook, joined the other militia. The principal force of the province with the Governor at their head, was now assembled in and near Charlestown.

The day following, the enemy's four ships and a galley came over the bar, and stood directly for the town, having the advantages of a fair wind and strong tide. When they had advanced so far up the river as to discover the fortifications, they cast anchor a little above Sullivan's Island. The Governor observing their approach towards the town, marched his

men into it to receive them; but finding they had stopped by the way, he had time to call a council of war; in which it was agreed to put some great guns on board of such ships as were in the harbor, and employ the sailors, in their own way, for the better defence of the town. William Rhett, a man of courage and conduct, received a commission to be Vice-Admiral of this little fleet; and hoisted his flag on board the Crown galley.

The enemy sent up a flag of truce to the Governor to summon him to surrender. George Evans, who commanded Granville bastion, received their messenger on his landing from the boat, and conducted him blindfolded into the fort, until the Governor was in readiness to receive him. In the meantime having drawn up his men in such a manner as to make them appear to the greatest advantage, he admitted the French officer; and having first shown him one fort full of men, conducted him by a different route to another, where the same men sent by a shorter way were drawn up before hand. Having given him a view of his strength, he demanded the purport of his message; the officer told him that he was sent by Monsieur Le Feboure, Admiral of the French fleet, to demand a surrender of the town and country, and of their persons as prisoners of war; adding that his orders allowed him no more than one hour for an answer. Governor Johnson replied, "There was no occasion for one minute to answer that message; that he held the town and country for the Queen of England, and could depend on his men, who would sooner die than surrender themselves prisoners of war; that he was resolved to defend the place to the last drop of his blood;" and informed the officer "that he might go when he pleased and acquaint Monsieur Le Feboure with his resolution."

The day following, a party of the enemy went ashore on James Island and burnt some houses. Another party, consisting of an hundred and sixty men, landed on the opposite side of the river and burnt two vessels in Dearby's creek, and set fire to a store-house. Sir Nathaniel Johnson ordered Captain Drake and his company, with a small party of Indians to James Island, to oppose the enemy on that side. Drake marched against them, but before he could bring up his men the Indians, who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the invaders to their boats. At the same time advice was brought to town, that the party who landed on Wands neck had killed a number of hogs and cattle and were feasting on the plunder. To prevent their farther progress into the country, Captain Cantey, with one hundred chosen men, was ordered to pass the river privately in the night and watch their motions. Before break of day the

Captain came up and finding them in a state of security, surrounded and attacked them briskly. They were thrown into confusion and fled. Some were killed, others drowned in attempting to make their escape, and the remainder surrendered prisoners of war.

The Carolinians, encouraged and animated by their success at land, determined to try their fortune by sea. Accordingly William Rhett set sail with his fleet of six small ships, and proceeded down the river to the place where the enemy rode at anchor; but the French perceiving this fleet standing towards them weighed anchor and sailed over the bar. For some days nothing more was heard of them. The Governor ordered Captain Watson, of the Sea Flower, out to sea to examine whether the coast was clear. The Captain returned without seeing the enemy; but observing some men on shore, whom they had left behind, he took them on board and brought them to town. These men assured the Governor that the French were gone. In consequence thereof orders were given for the cessation of martial law, and the inhabitants began to rejoice at their happy deliverance.

But before night, advice was brought that a ship of force was seen in Sewee Bay, and that a number of armed men had landed from her. Upon examination of the prisoners the Governor found that the French expected a ship of war with Monsieur Arbuset, their General, and a reinforcement of two hundred men to their assistance. The Governor ordered Captain Fenwicke to pass the river and march against them by land, while Rhett with a Dutch privateer and an armed Bermuda sloop sailed round by sea to meet him at Sewee Bay. Captain Fenwicke came up with the enemy and briskly charged them. Though advantageously posted, after a few vollies, they gave way and retreated to their ship. Rhett soon after came to Fenwicke's assistance, and the French ship struck without firing a shot. The Vice Admiral returned to Charlestown with his prize and ninety prisoners.

Thus ended Monsieur Le Feboure's invasion of Carolina; little to his own honor as a commander, and less to the credit and courage of his men. It is probable he expected to find the province in a weak and defenceless situation, and that the Governor would instantly surrender on his appearance before the town. But he was deceived. Governor Johnson was a man of approved courage and conduct. The militia undertook the various enterprises assigned to them with the spirit of men, and success crowned their endeavers. Out of eight hundred who came against the colony, near three hundred were killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter were Monsieur Arbuset, their Commander-in-Chief by land, with several sea officers;

who, together, offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransom. On the other hand, the loss sustained by the provincial militia was incredibly small. The Governor publicly thanked them for the unanimity and courage they had shown in repelling the invaders. The proprietors were so highly pleased with Johnson's good conduct that they made him a present of a large tract of land by a special grant in terms the most flattering and honorable.*

Though hostilities had been carried on by the Spaniards against Carolina, to reclaim it as a part of Florida, the boundaries between these provinces were neither clearly marked nor well understood; for they had never been settled by any public agreement between England and Spain. To prevent negroes escaping to the Spanish territories the Carolinians had built a fort on the forks of the river Alatamaha, and supported a small garrison in it. This gave offence to the Governor of St. Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid as an encroachment on the dominions of Spain. The Spanish Ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Britain, and demanded that orders should be sent to demolish the fort. It was agreed that the Governors in America on both sides should meet in an amicable manner, and adjust the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter. Accordingly Don Francisco Menandez and Don Joseph de Rabiero, in behalf of Spain, came to Charlestown to hold a conference on the subject with the executive officers of the government. At their meeting Arthur Middleton, President of the Council, demonstrated to the Spanish deputies that the fort, against which complaint had been made was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors and that the pretensions of Spain to the lands in question were groundless. At the same time he told them that the fort, on the river Alatamaha, was erected for defending themselves and their property against the depredations of Indians living under the jurisdiction of Spain. Mr. Mid-

* This land and the original special grant are now in the possession of Joseph Manigault. This repelled invasion was ridiculed in a humorous burlesque poem written above one hundred years ago in French, by one of the garrison, probably a French refugee. The poet makes the Governor, in his answer to the invaders, requiring an immediate surrender of the town and country to say as follows:

"Que s'ils attaquoient nôtre camp,
Ils y trouveroient bien mille hommes,
Qui ne se battroient pas de pommes,
Outre cinq cens Refugés
Que la France a repudiés,
Et reduits presque à l'Indigençe,
Qui ne respiroient que vengençe,
Ce qu'on leur feroit èprouver,
S'ils ozoient nous venir trouver."

dleton then begged to know their reasons "for protecting felons and debtors that fled to them from Carolina, and for encouraging negroes to leave their masters and take refuge at St. Augustine, while peace subsisted between the two crowns." The deputies replied, "that the Governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors; but had express orders, for twenty years past, to detain all slaves who should fly to St. Augustine for liberty and protection." Mr. Middleton declared that he looked on such orders as a breach of national honor and faith, especially, as negroes were as much private property in Carolina as houses and lands." The deputies answered, "that the design of the King of Spain was not to injure any one, for he had ordered compensation to be made to the masters of such slaves in money; but that his humanity, and religion, enjoined him to issue such orders for the sake of converting slaves to the Christian faith." The conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party, and matters remained as they were; but soon after the English fort, near the Alatamaha, was burned to the ground; and the southern frontiers of Carolina were again left naked and defenceless.

As no final agreement with respect to the limits of the two provinces had been concluded, the Indians, in alliance with Spain, continued to harrass the British settlements. Scalping parties of the Yamassees frequently penetrated into Carolina—killed white men, and carried off every negro they could find. Though the owners of slaves had been allowed from the Spanish government a compensation in money for their losses, yet few of them ever received it. At length, Colonel Palmer resolved to make reprisals on the plunderers. For this purpose, he gathered together a party of militia and friendly Indians, consisting of about three hundred men, and entered Florida, with a resolution of spreading desolation throughout the province. He carried his arms as far as the gates of St. Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in their castle. Scarce a house or hut in the colony escaped the flames. He destroyed their provisions in the fields—drove off their cattle, hogs and horses, and left the Floridians little property, except what was protected by the guns of their fort. By this expedition, he demonstrated to the Spaniards their weakness; and that the Carolinians, whenever they pleased, could prevent the cultivation and settlement of their province so as to render the improvement of it impracticable on any other than peaceable terms with their neighbors.

Soon after these events, the French in Louisiana advanced nearer to Carolina. They erected a stronghold, called fort Alabama, on Mobile river, which was well situated for opening and carrying on a correspondence with the most powerful

nations, contiguous to the southern British colonies. The Carolinians had good reason to be on their guard against the influence of these new and enterprising neighbors. The tribes of upper creeks, whose hunting lands extended to the fort, were soon won over by promises and largesses to form an alliance with the French. The Cherokees lived at a greater distance; yet by means of the creeks, and other emissaries, the French endeavored to bring them over to their interest. The river Mississippi, being navigable several hundred miles from its mouth, opened a communication with the Chocktaws, Chickesaws, and other nations residing near it. The French had, therefore, many convenient opportunities of seducing these Indians from their alliance with Britain. The President of the Council of Carolina employed Captain Tobias Fitch among the Creeks, and Colonel George Chicken among the Cherokees, to keep these tribes steady and firm to the British interest. These agents found no small difficulty in counteracting the influence of French policy. From this period, the British and French settlers in America became competitors for power and influence over the Indian nations. And the Carolinians were farther from peace and safety than ever. The French supplied these savages with tomahawks, muskets, and ammunition, by which means they laid aside the bow and arrow, and became more dangerous and formidable enemies than they ever had been.

By the settlement of Georgia, in 1733, Carolina ceased to be a frontier; but the Spaniards continued to seduce their negroes, and to do other injurious acts. War being declared in 1739, by Great Britain, against Spain, an opportunity was given for attempting the reduction of the fort at St. Augustine, which was considered as the only effectual means of securing the two most southern provinces. General Oglethorpe, of Georgia, projected an expedition for that purpose. He communicated his design by letter to William Bull, Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, and requested the aid of that province in the common cause. Bull laid the letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to raise a regiment and to give all possible assistance to the enterprise. The Assembly favored the proposal.

General Oglethorpe urged the speedy execution of his project with a view to surprise the enemy before they could receive a supply of provisions. He declared that no personal toil or danger should discourage his utmost exertions to free Carolina from such neighbors as instigated their slaves to massacre them and publicly protected them after such bloody attempts. To concert measures with the greater secrecy and expedition, he went to Charlestown and laid before the Legis-

lature an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and provisions which he judged requisite for the expedition. In consequence of which the Assembly voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, Carolina money, for the service of the war. A regiment, consisting of four hundred men was raised partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderdussen. Indians were called into service from the different tribes in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each and two sloops. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida shore, for the place of rendezvous.

On the 9th of May, 1740, he passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort, about twenty-five miles from St. Augustine. This, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. In it he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain M'Intosh. By this time, six Spanish half-galleys, with long brass nine-pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbor of St. Augustine. A few days afterwards the General marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of St. Augustine. On his approach, the Spanish garrison evacuated this post and retired into the town.

Notwithstanding the dispatch of the British army, the Spaniards had collected all the cattle in the neighboring woods, and drove them into the town; and the General found that more difficulty would attend the enterprise than he at first expected. The castle was built of soft stone, with four bastions; the curtain was sixty yards in length; the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for lodgings, arched over, and made bomb proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-four pounders. The town was also intrenched with ten salient angles, on each of which some small cannon were mounted. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province, and Indians.

The general perceived that an attempt to take the castle by storm would cost him dear, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which

were lying at anchor off St. Augustine bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose, he left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land. He at the same time ordered him to camp every night in a different place—to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means to avoid coming to action. He sent Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, more than a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself with his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians, embarked in boats and landed on the island of Anastatia. From this island, the General resolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce stationed his ships so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. Batteries were erected, and several cannon mounted on Anastatia Island. General Oglethorpe then summoned the Spanish Governor to surrender; but the Don sent him for answer "that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle."

The opportunity of surprising the place being lost, Oglethorpe had no other method left but to attack it at the distance in which he then stood. For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit both from the Spanish fort, and from six half-galleys in the harbor; but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, litttle execution was done on either side.

In the meantime the Spanish Commander, observing the besiegers embarrassed, sent out a detachment against Colonel Palmer which surprised him at fort Moosa; and while his party was asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally escaped went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. About the same time, the blockading vessel stationed at the Metanzas being ordered off, some small vessels from the Havanna with provisions and a reinforcement of men got into St. Augustine to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks brought four Spanish prisoners to the General, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men and a large supply of provisions. All prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat—despairing of success—and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of

hurricanes approaching, the Commander judged it imprudent to hazard his majesty's ships by remaining longer on that coast. The General was sick of a fever—his regiment exhausted with fatigue and rendered unfit for action by disease. These combined disasters made it necessary to abandon the enterprise. Oglethorpe with extreme regret fell back to Frederica. On the 13th of August, the Carolina regiment returned to Charlestown. Though not one of them had been killed by the enemy, their number was reduced fourteen by disease and accidents.

Thus ended the expedition against St. Augustine, to the great disappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many reflections were afterwards thrown out against General Oglethorpe, for his conduct during the whole enterprise. He, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the provincials for that they refused obedience to his orders and at last abandoned his camp and retreated to Carolina. The place was so strongly fortified, both by nature and art, that probably the attempt must have failed though it had been conducted by the ablest officer, and executed by the best disciplined troops. The miscarriage was particularly injurious to Carolina, having not only subjected the province to a great expense, but also left it in a worse situation than it was before the attempt.

This invasion of Florida was soon retaliated. The Spaniads had not yet relinquished their claim to the southern extreme of the British colonies. They therefore prepared an armament to expel the English settlers from Georgia. There is reason to believe that if they had succeeded against that infant province, Carolina would have become the scene of their next operations. To accomplish these purposes an armament was prepared at the Havanna; two thousand forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked from that port under convoy of a strong squadron and arrived at St. Augustine in May. Oglethorpe, on receiving intelligence of their arrival in Florida, sent advices of it to Governor Glen of Carolina and made all possible preparations for a vigorous resistance. With his regiment, a few rangers, highlanders, and Indians, he fixed his headquarters at Frederica and waited in expectation of a reinforcement from Carolina. About the last of June the Spanish fleet, amounting to thirty-two sail and carrying above three thousand men under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off St. Simon's bar. After sounding the channel, the Don passed through Jekyl sound, received a fire from Oglethorpe at fort Simon's, and proceeded up the Alatamaha beyond the reach of his guns. There the enemy landed and erected a battery with twenty eighteen-pounders mounted on it. Oglethorpe judging his situation at fort Simon's

to be dangerous, spiked the guns, burst the bombs and cohorns, destroyed the stores, and retreated to Frederica. With a force amounting to little more than seven hundred men, exclusively of Indians, he could not hope to act but on the defensive until the arrival of reinforcements from Carolina. He however, employed his Indians, and occasionally his highlanders, in scouring the woods—harrassing the outposts of the enemy, and throwing impediments in their way. In the attempts of the Spanish to penetrate through the woods and morasses to reach Frederica, several rencounters took place; in one of which they lost a Captain and two Lieutenants killed, and above one hundred of their men were taken prisoners. Oglethorpe, learning by an English prisoner who escaped from the Spanish camp that a difference subsisted between the troops from Cuba and those from St. Augustine occasioning a separate encampment, resolved to attack the enemy while thus divided. He marched out in the night with the intention of surprising the enemy. Having advanced within two miles of the Spanish camp he halted his troops, and went forward himself with a select corps to reconnoitre the enemy's situation. While he was endeavoring to conceal his approach, a French soldier discharged his musket and ran into the Spanish lines.

The General returned to Frederica, and endeavored to effect by stratagem what could not be achieved by surprise. Apprehensive that the deserter would discover to the enemy his weakness, he wrote to him a letter; desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and the ease with which his small garrison might be cut to pieces. He pressed him to bring forward the Spaniards to an attack; but if he could not prevail thus far, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at fort Simons; for within that time he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, with six British ships of war. The letter concluded with a caution to the deserter against dropping the least hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine; and with assurance that for his service, he would be amply rewarded by the British King. Oglethorpe gave it to the Spanish prisoner; who for a small reward, together with his liberty, promised to deliver it to the French deserter. On his arrival at the Spanish camp, he gave the letter, as Oglethorpe expected, to the Commander-in-Chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. This letter perplexed and confounded the Spaniards; some suspecting it to be a stratagem to prevent an attack on Frederica, and others believing it to contain serious instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While the Spanish officers were deliberating what measures

to adopt, an incident, not within the calculation of military skill or the control of human power, decided their counsels. Three ships of force, which the Governor of South Carolina had sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared off the coast. The agreement of this discovery with the contents of the letter, convinced the Spanish Commander of its real intention. The whole army seized with an instant panic, set fire to the fort and precipitately embarked; leaving several cannon, with a quantity of provisions and military stores. Thus in the moment of threatened conquest, the infant colony was providentially saved. Though the Spaniards threatened to renew the invasion, yet we do not find that after this repulse they ever made any attempt by force of arms to gain possession of Georgia or Carolina.

For the seventy-two years which had passed away since the settlement of South Carolina, there had been repeated reciprocal invasions of the contiguous Spanish and British provinces. Though hostilities occasionally ceased, bickerings were always kept alive from the constant irritation of unneighborly, injurious acts; till by the peace of Paris in 1763, the two Floridas were ceded by Spain to Great Britain. From that period, till the commencement of the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Florida and those of Georgia and Carolina being all subjects of the same King, lived in harmony with each other. No sooner had the American war began, than the former scenes of plunder and devastation recommenced between the contiguous provinces. The Floridas by remaining a part of the British empire, while Georgia and Carolina became free States, were set in opposition to each other. Hostilities, as is usual among the borderers of contending governments, were rendered more fierce from the circumstance of contiguity. Throughout the war parties from each reciprocally plundered and harrassed the other; ostensibly on one side for the advancement of British, and on the other of American interests; but in both cases for the private emolument of the actors in these disgraceful scenes. Florida also afforded an entrance through which British agents furnished supplies to the Indian tribes adjacent to the new formed American States, and by which they encouraged the former to destroy the latter. Such will ever be the case in the event of war between the sovereigns of Florida, and the citizens of America. Happy are the people whose territories are encircled by obvious natural boundaries, easily distinguished but not easily passed.

SECTION II.

Contests with Indians.

When South Carolina was settled by the English, it was in the occupation of more than twenty nations, or tribes of Indians. Their combined numbers were so considerable that had they been guided by a spirit of union, or directed by a Common Council, they would have been able at any time, for many years after the settlement, to have exterminated the new comers. The Indians in their military capacity, were not so inferior to the whites as some may imagine. The superiority of muskets over bows and arrows, managed by Indians in a woody country, is not great. The savage, quick-sighted and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his hiding place, behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forest like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, till he sends the tidings in the fatal blow.

Though the Indians viewed with a jealous eye the encroachments made on their territorial possessions, they took no effectual measures for the defence of their property. Finding many present conveniences to result from their intercourse with the new comers, they acquiesced in their settlement. Destitute of foresight, they did not anticipate consequences; nor did they embitter present enjoyments, with forebodings of future evils. To the Indian, a knife, a hatchet, or a hoe, was a valuable acquisition. He observed with what facility the strangers supplied their many wants by means of the various implements they used. The woods fell before the axe—the earth opened before the hoe and spade—and the knife was useful on numberless occasions. He admired the skill of white men in making these articles of ease and profit, and voluntarily offered to them his deer skins, the only riches he had which could procure them. The love of ease was as natural to the one as the other; and the Indian would rather give to the white settler the profits of a year's hunting, than be without his instruments. Having obtained these, in process of time he found the tomahawk and musket equally useful. These he also coveted, and could not rest till he obtained them. What was at first only convenient, as his wants increased became almost necessary. The original bond was therefore progressively strengthened and confirmed. As the channel of commerce opened, the Indian found that he was not only treated with friendship and civility, but that the

white people were equally fond of his skins, furs, and lands, as he was of their gaudy trinkets and various implements. It was this connection that induced the native inhabitants of the forest peaceably to admit strangers, though differing in complexion, language, and manners, to reside among them and to clear and cultivate their lands.

By these means the first settlers of Carolina readily obtained foothold among the native owners of the soil. The proprietors gave instructions to their tenants to cultivate the good will of the aborigines. They also made many presents to them, but nothing appears on record like a formal purchase or transfer of any part of the low country from the one to the other.* Tradition has informed us that some individuals, from a sense of justice, made private purchases from the Indians; but in general a liberty to settle was neither asked nor given; but was taken by white men, and acquiesced in by the savages. Private contentions between them were frequent, but formal hostilities on national grounds only occasional; many causes of the former existed, and but few of the latter. While the English thought little of Indian rights to lands, the latter were equally regardless of the rights of the former to moveable property. (Accustomed to take wild animals wherever found, they could not readily comprehend the crime of taking such as were tame.) What the English settler called theft, the Indian considered as the exercise of a natural right. The ideas of a civilized and savage man were at greater variance in other important matters. If the former in a fit of drunkenness, in the heat of passion, or even in self defence, killed or wounded the latter, nothing less than scalp for scalp —blood for blood—and death for death, could satisfy the surviving friends of the injured party. If the real criminal could not be found, they claimed the right of retaliating on any person of the same color or nation that came in their way. They also admitted the voluntary substitution of an innocent person

* The people of Carolina hold their lands in the southern and western parts of the State partly by conquest, and partly by treaties with the aborigines. These were valid against the natives. The charters from the sovereigns of England were in like manner good against the grantors and other Europeans, but the rights of the present possessors have a higher origin than either of these sources. The earth was made for man, and was intended by the Creator of all things to be improved for the benefit of mankind. The land which could support one savage in his mode of living, is capable of supporting five hundred under proper cultivation. These wild lands therefore were not the seperate property of the few savages who hunted over them, but belonged to the common stock of mankind. The first who possessed a vacant spot, and actually cultivated it for some time, ought to be considered as the proprietor of that spot, and they who derive their titles from him have a valid right to the same. This doctrine is agreeable to the judicial determination of the courts of South Carolina with respect to rights in lands derived solely from possession, and is the ground on which the claims of Spain to the whole country can be invalidated.

as an atonement for one that was guilty, who thereupon was free.

This conduct and these rules of action, were hostile to peace. As the forgiveness of injuries is so far from being any part of the creed of Indians, that they consider it as pusillanimous not to avenge the death of their friends, one quarrel often produced another. Feuds which were originally private and personal, soon became public and national, and seldom failed to multiply and extend their tragical effects. The Indians made very free with the planters' stock, and these as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property. Lives were frequently lost in these petty contests. If an Indian was killed, his countrymen poured their vengeance indiscriminately on the innocent and guilty. Governor West found it necessary to encourage and reward such of the colonists as would take the field against them for the public defence. Accordingly a price was fixed on every Indian the settlers should take prisoner, and bring to Charlestown. These captive savages were disposed of to the traders, who sent them to the West Indies, and there sold them as slaves. This traffic was an inhuman method of getting rid of troublesome neighbors, yet the planters pleaded necessity in its vindication. It is certain that the reward for Indian prisoners encouraged bold adventurers, and the sale of them made a profitable branch of trade. These advantages weighed with interested persons as an extenuation, if not a justification of the practice. The proceeds of the Indians, when sold in the West Indies, were generally returned to the colonists in rum. This appropriation of the gains of the iniquitous traffic was so injurious, that in many instances it was doubtful whether the evil ultimately suffered or that originally committed was greatest.

The Carolinians soon found out the policy of setting one tribe of Indians against another, on purpose to save themselves. By trifling presents they purchased the friendship of some tribes whom they employed to carry on war with others. This not only diverted their attention from the white settlers, but encouraged them to bring captives to Charlestown for the purpose of transportation to the West Indies.

A war commenced in the beginning of the year 1680 with the Westoes, a very powerful tribe between Charlestown and Edisto, which well nigh ruined the infant settlement. The cause of hostilities, thus inconvenient and dangerous, may be found in injuries which had been mutually given and received. A peace was concluded in the subsequent year, the old giving security for the good conduct of the young. To prevent the return of similar mischiefs, and to advance justice, the proprietors erected a commission for Maurice Matthews,

William Fuller, Jonathan Fits, and John Boone, to decide all complaints between the English and the Indians. Some complaints were made against these commissioners, the particulars of which have not reached us. They were discharged and the commission abrogated. In lieu thereof the proprietors ordered that the Indians within 400 miles of Charlestown, should all be taken under their protection.

The next Indian war was an offensive one on the part of the Carolinians. The Apalachian Indians, by their connection with the Spaniards, had become troublesome. Governor Moore, in 1702 or 1703, marched at the head of a body of white men and Indian allies into the heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword. He laid in ashes the towns of those tribes who lived between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah; captured many savages, and obliged others to submit to the English government. This exertion of power in that quarter filled the savages with terror of the British arms, and helped to pave the way for the English colony afterwards planted between these rivers. The Governor received the thanks of the proprietors, wiped off the ignominy of his expedition against St. Augustine, and procured a number of Indian slaves whom he employed as slaves or sold for his own advantage.

The first serious war with the Indians, in which Carolina participated, took place far to the north of Charlestown. This appears to have been entered upon by the natives with a view of exterminating the English settlers. What they might have accomplished in the first years of the settlement, was beyond their power when forty-two years had given it strength and stability.

In the year 1712, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the settlers in that quarter. The particular cause of the quarrel is unknown; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribes of Indians, called Corees, Tuscororas, and some others, united and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. They carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secresy. They surrounded their principal town with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. There the different tribes met together, to the number of twelve hundred bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. All of them agreed to begin their murderous operations on the same night. When that night came they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, were displeased with

them, and then murdered men, women and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent a communication of the alarm through the settlement, they ran from house to house, slaughtering the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists knew what had befallen their neighbors before the barbarians reached their own doors. About Roanoke one hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice to savage fury in one fatal night. A Swiss Baron, and almost all the poor palatines who had lately come into the county, were among the slain. Some, who had hid themselves in the woods, escaped, and by alarming their neighbors, prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family that survived was ordered instantly to assemble at one place, and the militia under arms kept watch over them day and night until relief arrived.

Governor Craven lost no time in forwarding a force to their assistance. The Assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turston; seventy-nine Creeks, under Captain Hastings; forty-one Catabaws, under Captain Cantey, and twenty-eight Yamassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. Hideous and dreadful was the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march. To reach North Carolina in time for the relief of the people, the utmost expedition was requisite. It was neither possible for his men to carry with them a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, nor to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass. His army had to encounter all manner of hardships and dangers from the climate, the wilderness, and the enemy.. In spite of every difficulty Barnwell advanced, employing his Indian allies to hunt for provisions on the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them with great execution. In the first battle he killed three hundred Indians, and took about one hundred prisoners. After which the Tuscororas retreated to their town, within a wooden breast-work. There they were surrounded, many of them killed, and the remainder forced to sue for peace. Some of Barnwell's men being wounded, and others having suffered much by watching, hunger and fatigue, the savages easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded and captured near a thousand Tuscororas. The

survivors abondoned their country and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barnwell's party, five Carolinians were killed and several wounded. Of his Indians, thirty-six were killed and between sixty and seventy wounded. Never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more complete.

Although this expedition was well conducted, and proved successful, the expense incurred by it fell heavy on the province, the revenues of which were ill adapted for such enterprises. Great harmony at that time subsisted between the Governor and Assembly, and they were well disposed to concur in every measure for the public good. The stamping of bills of credit had been used as the easiest method of defraying similar expenses. At this time the Legislature thought proper to establish a public bank, and issued £52,000, in bills of credit, for answering the exigencies of government and for the convenience of domestic commerce. This money was lent out at interest on bonds, secured by landed or personal security, and made payable by easy instalments.

In the year 1715 South Carolina was visited with an Indian war so formidable as to threaten its total extirpation. The numerous and powerful tribes of Indians called Yamassees, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy; though every tribe in the vicinity were more or less concerned in it. The Yamassees possessed a large territory, lying backward from Port Royal Island, on the northeast side of Savannah river, which, to this day, is called Indian land. This tribe had long been esteemed by the Carolinians as friends and allies. They admitted a number of traders into their town, and several times had assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yamassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to St. Augustine, and returned loaded with presents. John Fraser, an honest Scotch highlander, who lived among the Yamassees and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at St. Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition. These warriors told Fraser that they dined with the Governor at St. Augustine, and that he was now their King, and not the Governor of Carolina.

About nine days before hostilities commenced, Sanute, an Indian warrior attached to Fraser's family, came to his house and told his wife that "the English were all wicked heretics,

and would go to hell, and that the Yamassees would also follow them if they suffered them to live in their country—that now the Governor of St. Augustine was their King—that there would be a terrible war with the English, and they only waited for the bloody stick to be returned from the Creeks before they began it." He told them that "the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other nations, together with the Spaniards, were all to engage in it, and advised them instantly to fly to Charlestown." Fraser, not a little astonished at the news, asked him how the Spaniards could go to war with the Carolinians while at peace with Great Britain? To which Sanute replied, the Spanish Governor told him that there would soon be a war with the English, and again advised him to fly with all expedition. Fraser still entertained doubts, but finally resolved to get of the way, and fled to Charlestown with his family and effects.

At the time in which this dark plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indian affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, in a state of false security, in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontier was equally lamentable, for they had no suspicions of danger. On the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn, and some of the traders, observing an uncommon gloom on the countenances of the savages, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go a hunting early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders passed the night in apparent tranquility. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and in a few hours massacred above ninety persons in Pocotaligo and the neighboring plantations. Mr. Burrows, a Captain of militia, by swimming one mile and running ten, after he had received two wounds, escaped to Port Royal and alarmed the town. The inhabitants generally repaired on board a vessel in the harbor and sailed for Charlestown. But a few families fell into the hands of the savages, and by them were either murdered or made prisoners of war. While the Yamassees, with the Creeks and Apalachians, were advancing against the southern frontiers and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province, the colonists on the northern borders found the Indians down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Caroli-

nians had entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas and Cherokees, but soon found that these nations had also joined in the conspiracy and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above six thousand bowmen, and the northern of between six hundred and a thousand. Every Indian tribe from Florida to Cape Fear River had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The dispersed planters had no force to withstand such numbers, but each consulting his own safety and that of his family, fled in great consternation to the capital. They who came in, brought the Governor such different accounts of the numbers and strength of the savages, that even the inhabitants of Charlestown were doubtful of their safety. The men in it were obliged to watch every third night. The most spirited measures were pursued both for offence and defence. In the muster roll there were no more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms. The Governor proclaimed martial law, laid an embargo on all ships, and obtained an act of Assembly empowering him to impress men, arms, ammunition and stores, and to arm trusty negroes. Agents were sent to Virginia and England to solicit assistance—bills were stamped for the payment of the army and other necessary expenses. Robert Daniel was appointed Deputy Governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the meantime the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as the plantation belonging to John Kearne, about fifty miles from Charlestown, and entered his house apparently in a peaceable manner, but afterwards murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a Captain of militia, collected a party consisting of ninety horsemen, and advanced against the enemy; but was led by the treachery of an Indian guide into a dangerous ambuscade, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, they sprung from their concealment and fired upon his men. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder retreated. After this advantage, a party of four hundred Indians came down as far as Goose creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place where seventy white men and forty negroes had erected a breastwork and resolved to remain and defend themselves. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; having admitted the enemy within their works, this whole garrison was barbarously butchered. The Indians advanced still nigher to town, but meeting with

Captain Chicken and the Goose creek militia, they were obliged to retreat.

By this time the Yamassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing as far as Stono they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife and four children, Mr. Bray, his wife, two children, and six other persons, having found friends among them, were spared for some days, but while attempting to make their escape they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner. The indians made a halt in their progress to assist in tormenting their prisoners.

Governor Craven advanced against the enemy by slow and cautious steps. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars, and therefore was watchful against sudden surprises. The fate of the whole province depended on the issue of the contest. His men had no alternative but to conquer, or die a painful death. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. A sharp and bloody battle ensued. Bullets and arrows were discharged with destructive effect from behind trees and bushes. The Indians made the air resound with their horrid yellings and war-whoops. They sometimes gave way, but returned again and again with double fury to the charge. The Governor kept his troops close at their heels, and chased them from their settlement at Indian Land, until he drove them over Savannah river, and cleared the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army or of the enemy was killed, we have not been able to learn, but in this Indian war four hundred innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered.

The Yamassees, after their defeat and expulsion, went to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were received with bells ringing and guns firing, as if they had come victoriously from the field. This circumstance, together with the encouragement afterwards given them to settle in Florida, gave reason to believe that this horrid conspiracy was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement and assistance. From the lowest state of despondency Charlestown was suddenly raised to the highest pitch of joy. The Governor entered it with some degree of triumph, receiving from all, such applause as his courage, conduct and success justly merited. His prosperous expedition had not only disconcerted the most formidable conspiracy ever formed against

the colony, but also placed the inhabitants in a state of greater security than they had hitherto enjoyed. From this period the Yamassee Indians harbored the most inveterate rancour against all Carolinians. Being furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they often sallied forth in small scalping parties, and infested the frontiers. One such caught William Hooper, and killed him by cutting off one part of his body after another till he expired. Another surprised Henry Quinton, Thomas Simmons, and Thomas Parmenter, and tortured them to death. Dr. Rose fell into their hands, whom they cut across his nose with a tomahawk, and left him scalped on the spot, apparently dead; but he happily recovered. The Spaniards of St. Augustine, disappointed in their design of extirpating the English settlement in Carolina, had now no other resource left but to employ the vindictive spirit of the Yamassees against the defenceless frontiers of the province. In these incursions they were too successful; many settlers at different times fell a sacrifice to their insatiable revenge.

About the year 1718 a scalping party penetrated as far as the Euhaw lands; where having surprised John Levit and two of his neighbors, they dispatched them with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Borrows and one of her children, and carried them off. The child by the way began to cry, upon which they put him to death. The distressed mother being unable to restrain from tears on seeing her child murdered, was informed that she must not weep if she desired to live. Upon her arrival at Augustine she would have been immediately sent to prison; but one of the Yamassee Kings declared that he knew her from her infancy to be a good woman, and begged, but in vain, that she might be sent home to her husband. When Mr. Borrows went to Augustine to procure the release of his wife, he also was shut up in prison with her, where he soon after died; but she survived. On her return to Carolina she reported to Governor Johnson that the Huspah King, who had taken her prisoner, informed her that he had orders from the Spanish Governor to spare no white man, but to bring every negro alive to St. Augustine; and that rewards were given to Indians for their prisoners to encourage them to engage in such murderous and rapacious enterprises. At another time a large party of Indians moved towards Charlestown, and killed several of the inhabitants. A fort was constructed in haste at Wiltown into which the women and children were put, with a few old men, for their protection. The militia marched out to meet the Indians, but missed them. The Indians soon after appeared in force against this party, but finding they would meet with resistance left it to go against the plantations. Governor Craven at the head of a

body of militia fell in with these Indians near Stono Ferry, at the place where Lincoln, in June 1779, attacked the British troops under Provost. A general action took place, in which the Indians were entirely defeated. This was the last attempt of the Yamassees to disturb the white people to the southward of Charlestown. In a few years after the subjugation of the Yamassees, South Carolina became a royal province. The wise measures adopted by Sir Francis Nicholson, the first royal Governor, the treaties afterwards entered into with the Indians by Sir Alexander Cumming, the settlement of Georgia, and the judicious measures respecting the Indians adopted by General Oglethorpe, the Governors of Georgia and of South Carolina, together with the increasing strength of the white people, and the decreasing number of the Indians, all concurred in preserving peace with the savages, so far that for forty years subsequent to the Yamassee war in 1715, the peace of the province was preserved without any considerable or general interruption.

In the year 1752 South Carolina was nearly involved in an Indian war, but happily escaped. The Creeks having quarrelled with the Cherokees, took their revenge by killing a party of the latter near the gates of Charlestown. Some Creek warriors had also scalped a British trader. For these and other outrages, Governor Glen demanded satisfaction at a public congress held for the purpose. The Indians, by their orator Malatchee, apologized for their conduct in a speech that was deemed satisfactory, and peace was preserved.

The war between France and England, which commenced in 1754 or 1755, induced both nations to court the friendship of the Indians. The French were assiduous in connecting a chain of influence with the aborigines, from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi. The British pursued a similar line of policy, but less extensive. Governor Glen held a treaty with the Cherokees in 1755, ostensibly to brighten the chain of friendship, but really to obtain a cession of their lands and a liberty to erect forts on the western frontier, as a barrier against the French on the southwest. Both were granted, as has already been related.

In the progress of the war the French were defeated in Canada, and compelled to abandon Fort Duquesne. After they had retreated from the latter down the Ohio, and the Missippi, they had the address to involve the Indians in a serious war with Carolina. By the reduction of Fort Duquesne, the scene of action was changed from Pennsylvania and Virginia to Carolina; and the influence of the French soon appeared among the upper tribes of Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their designs. In the

successful expedition of 1758, against Fort Duquesne, the Cherokees had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. While the savages were returning home from that expedition, through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses took possession of such as came in their way. The Virginians, instead of asserting their rights in a legal manner, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of these unsuspicious warriors. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage; and when they came home, gave a highly colored account thereof to their nation. They became outrageous. Those who had lost friends and relations resolved upon revenge. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority. Nothing could restrain the ferocity of the young men. The emissaries of France among them added fuel to the flame, by declaring that the English intended to kill all the Indian men and make slaves of their wives and children. They inflamed their resentments—stimulated them to bloodshed, and furnished them with arms and ammunition to revenge themselves. Parties of young warriors took the field, and rushing down among the white inhabitants murdered and scalped all who came in their way.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George despatched a messenger to Charlestown, to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees had commenced war. Orders were given to the commanders of the militia immediately to collect their men, and stand in a posture of defence. The militia of the country were directed to rendezvous at Congarees, where the Governor resolved to join them and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations, than thirty-two of their chiefs set out for Charlestown to settle all differences. Though they could not restrain some of their young men from acts of violence, yet the nation in general was inclined to friendship and peace. As they arrived before the Governor had set out on the intended expedition, a council was called; and the chiefs being sent for, Governor Lyttleton, among other things, told them "that he was well acquainted with all the acts of hostility of which their people had been guilty, and likewise those they intended against the English," and enumerated some of them. Then he added "that he would soon be in their country, where he would let them know his demands and the satisfaction he required, which he would certainly take if it was refused. As they had come to Charlestown to treat with him as friends, they should go home in safety and not a hair of their heads should be touched; but as he had many warriors in arms, in different

parts of the province, he could not be answerable for what might happen to them unless they marched with his army." After this speech was ended Occonostota, who was distinguished by the name of the great warrior of the Cherokee nation, began to speak by way of reply; but the Governor having determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, declared "he would hear no talk in vindication of his nation, nor any proposals with regard to peace." This highly displeased the Indians.

In a few days after this conference the Governor set out for Congarees, where he mustered about fourteen hundred men. To this place the Cherokees marched with the army and were in appearance contented, but in reality burned with fury. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains were all made prisoners. To prevent their escaping, as two had already done, a Captain's guard was mounted over them. Being not only deprived of their liberty, but compelled to accompany an enemy going against their families and friends, they no longer concealed the resentment raging in their breasts. Sullen looks and gloomy countenances, showed that they were stung to the heart by such treatment. Upon the arrival of the army at fort Prince George, the Indians were all shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers.

The army being not only poorly armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, it was judged dangerous to proceed farther into the enemy's country. The Governor sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed the wisest man of the nation, and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at fort Prince George. This summons was promptly obeyed. On the 17th December, 1759, they held a congress, at which the Governor, in a long speech, stated to Attakullakulla the injuries done by the Cherokees to the white people, in violation of existing treaties—the power of the English—the weakness and many defeats of the French, and then concluded as follows: "These things I have mentioned to show you that the great King will not suffer his people to be destroyed without satisfaction, and to let you know that the people of this province are determined to have it. What I say is with a merciful intention. If I make war with you, you will suffer for your rashness; your men will be destroyed and your women and children carried into captivity. What few necessaries you now have, will soon be exhausted, and you will get no more. But if you give the satisfaction I shall ask, trade will be again opened and all things go right. I have twice given you a list of the murderers. I will now tell you there are twenty-four men of your nation whom I demand to

be delivered up to me to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of as I shall think fit. Your people have killed that number of ours and more; therefore it is the least I will accept of. I shall give you till to-morrow to consider of it, and then I shall expect your answer. You know best the Indians concerned. I expect the twenty-four you deliver up, will be those who have committed the murders."

To this long speech, Attakullakulla replied in words to the following effect: "That he remembered the treaties mentioned, as he had a share in making them. He owned the kindness of the province of South Carolina, but complained much of the bad treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia; which, he said, was the immediate cause of the present misunderstanding. That he had always been the warm friend of the English—that he would ever continue such, and would use all the influence he had to persuade his countrymen to give the Governor the satisfaction he demanded; though he believed it neither would nor could be complied with, as they had no coercive authority one over another. He desired the Governor to release some of the head men then confined in the fort to assist him, and added, "that he was pleased to hear of the success of his brothers, the English;" but could not help mentioning "that they showed more resentment against the Cherokees than they did to other nations who had disobliged them. That he remembered some years ago several white people belonging to Carolina were killed by the Choctaws, for whom no satisfaction had either been demanded or given."

Agreeably to the request of Attakullakulla, the Governor released Occonostota, Fiftoe, the chief man of Keowee town, and the head warrior of Estatoe, who next day delivered up two Indians, whom Mr. Lyttleton ordered to be put in irons. After which all the Cherokees present, who knew their connections to be weak, instantly fled; so that it was impossible to complete the number demanded. Attakullakulla being then convinced that peace could not be obtained on the terms demanded by the Governor, resolved to go home and patiently wait the event; but no sooner was Mr. Lyttleton made acquainted with his departure, than he dispatched a messenger after him to bring him back to his camp: and immediately on his return began to treat of peace. Accordingly a treaty was drawn up and signed by the Governor, by Attakullakulla, another chief, and four of the confined warriors, who, together with a few others, thereupon obtained their liberty. By one article of this treaty it was agreed "that twenty-six chieftains of the Cherokees should be confined in the fort as hostages, until the same number of Indians guilty of murder were de-

livered up to the Commander-in-Chief of the province. This was said to be done with their own consent; but as they were prisoners they could have no free choice. If they must remain confined, it was a matter of little moment under what denomination they were kept. One more Indian was delivered up, for whom one of the hostages was released. The three Indians, given up by their companions, were carried to Charlestown, where they died in confinement.

After having concluded this treaty with the Cherokees, the Governor returned to Charlestown. Perhaps the Indians who put their mark to these articles of agreement did not understand them, or conceived themselves to be so far under restraint as not to be free agents in the transaction, and therefore not bound by it. Whether either of these, or deliberate perfidy was the case, cannot be ascertained; but it is certain that few or none of the nation afterwards paid the smallest regard to it. The treacherous act of confining their chiefs, against whom no personal charge could be made, and who had traveled several hundred miles to obtain peace, was strongly impressed on their minds. Instead of permitting them to return home "without hurting a hair of their heads," as the Governor promised in Charlestown, they were confined in a miserable hut. It was said they were kept only as hostages until the number of criminals demanded was completed by their nation. It was also said to be done by the consent of the nation, as six of its chiefs had signed the articles of peace; but when the relative situation of the parties, and all circumstances are considered, nothing less could have been expected than that these wild and independent warriors would violate the articles they had signed, and retaliate for the confinement of their chiefs.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of fort Prince George, when the small pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp. As few of the army had gone through that distemper, the men were struck with terror and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse with one another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The Governor followed them, and arrived in Charlestown on January 8th, 1760. This expedition cost the province £25,000 sterling. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the campaign, yet as articles of peace were signed, the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief, was received like a conqueror with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

These rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile

of fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Governor Lyttleton had left commander of that fort. The treatment they had received at Charleston, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage of war. Occonostota, a chieftain of great influence, became an implacable enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. With a strong party of Cherokees he surrounded fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works; but finding that no impression could be made on the fort, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

He placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicions of danger, walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster. Occonostota appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charlestown to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard. To cover his dark design he had a bridle in his hand, and added he would go and hunt for a horse. Coytmore replied that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse as the journey was very long. Upon which, the Indian turning about, swung the bridle thrice round his head as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the Captain dead, and wounded his two companions. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons to prevent any further danger from them. When the soldiers were attempting to execute these orders, the Indians stabbed one and wounded two more of them; upon which the garrison fell on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered all of them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers "that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them and calling out for vengeance on their enemies." From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner and arrayed with their instruments of death. Burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies, they rushed down

among innocent and defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina; where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods and escaped the scalping knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners were carried into the wilderness where they suffered inexpressible hardships. Every day brought fresh accounts of their ravages and murders. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their Governor for relief, the small pox raged to such a degree on the sea coast, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families. In this extremity an express was sent to General Amherst the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province and imploring his assistance. Accordingly a body of fine picked troops, consisting of six companies of the Royal Scots regiment, and six companies of the seventy-second, in which were included the grenadiers and light infantry companies of several regiments, was put under the command of Colonel Montgomery and ordered immediately to Carolina.

In the meantime William Henry Lyttleton being appointed Governor of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull. Application was made to the neighboring provinces of North Carolina and Virginia for relief. Seven troops of rangers were raised to protect the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements, and to co-operate with the regulars for carrying offensive operations into the Indian country.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina and encamped at Monk's Corner. Great was the joy of the province upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of that year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina and instantly return to headquarters at Albany. Nothing was omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal for the safety of their country, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected and ordered to rendezvous at Congarees.

A few weeks after his arrival Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congarees where he was joined by the militia of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. Having little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelve Mile river he proceeded with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town, about twenty miles from his camp.

On his way there was another town called little Keowee. He ordered the light infantry to surround the latter, and to put every adult male Indian in it to the sword. He then proceeded to Estatoe which he found nearly abandoned. This town, which consisted of at least two hundred houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes. Sugartown, and every other settlement in the lower nation, shared the same fate. The surprise to every one of them was nearly equal, and so sudden and unexpected, that the savages could scarcely save themselves, far less any little property they had. In these lower towns about sixty Indians were killed and forty made prisoners, and the rest driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. Having finished his business among these lower settlements, with the small loss of three or four men, he marched to the relief of fort Prince George. Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, dspatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it as the former friends and allies of Britain. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were not yet disposed to listen to any terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little further. Dismal was the wilderness into which he entered, and many were the hardships and dangers he had to encounter from passing through dark thickets, rugged paths and narrow defiles, in which a small body of men properly posted might harrass the bravest army. He also had numberless difficulties to surmount; particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found a low valley covered so thick with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them. Through this natural ambuscade it was necessary for the army to march, though the nature of the place would not admit any number of men to act together. Captain Morison who commanded a company of rangers, well acquainted with the woods, was therefore ordered to advance and scour this thicket. He had scarcely entered it when a number of savages sprung from their place of concealment, killed the Captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light infantry and grenadiers advanced and charged the invisible enemy. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and for some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. The woods resounded with Indian war-whoops and horrible yellings. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Col. Montgomery

had twenty men killed and seventy-six wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment they had chosen it. Scarcely could the most experienced officer have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for attacking an enemy.

This action terminated much in favor of the British army, but reduced it to such a situation as made it very imprudent to penetrate further into the woods. Orders were therefore given for a retreat which was made with great regularity. A large train of wounded men was brought in safety above sixty miles through a hazardous country. Never did men endure greater hardships, with fewer complaints, than this little army. Colonel Montgomery returned to the settlement, and in August embarked for New York agreeably to his orders; but left four companies for covering the frontiers.

In the meantime the distant garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The Governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, waited to hear the news of their having done so. But so remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness where the various thickets were lined with enemies; and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had relinquished all thoughts of even making the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation. For a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. In this extremity the Commander called a council of war to consider what was proper to be done. The officers were all of opinion that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained. For this purpose Captain Stuart procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighborhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation which were signed by the Commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry. That the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia or fort Prince George, and that

a number of Indians be appointed to escort them and hunt for provisions during the march. That such soldiers as are lame or sick be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to fort Prince George. That the Indians provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with officers and soldiers for payment. That the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

Agreeably to these terms the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Occonostota, the prince of Chotè, and several other Indians; and that day went fifteen miles on their way to fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants left them. During the night they remained unmolested; but, next morning, about break of day a soldier, from an outpost, informed them that he saw a number of Indians, armed and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes and advancing to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yellings. Captain Paul Demere, with three other officers, and about twenty-six private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined. Captain Stuart and those that remained were seized, pinioned, and brought back to fort Loudon. As soon as Attakullakulla heard that his friend Stuart had escaped, he hastened to the fort and purchased him from the Indian that took him; giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands: but the soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

While these prisoners were confined at fort Loudon, Occonostota formed a design of attacking fort Prince George; and for this purpose dispatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident, a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and of ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, if

the interpreter had not assured the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition, for the seige, a council was called at Chotè; to which the captain was brought and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life. They also stated to him, that as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. He privately communicated his design to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. The old warrior taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend. That he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended soon to give another. Strong and uncultivated minds often carry their friendship, as well as their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages, family friendship is a national virtue; and they not unfrequently surpass civilized men in the practice of its most self-denying, and noblest duties.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen, that he intended to go a hunting for a few days and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison. Having settled all matters they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. They traveled nine days and nights through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course for Virginia, by the light and guidance of the heavenly bodies. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holstein river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of 300 men, sent out by Colonel Bird, for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. But this was not the case. They intended their treacherous conduct at fort Louden should serve as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment

their relations had met with at fort Prince George. Dearly had the province paid for the imprisonment and massacre of the Indian chiefs at that place. Sorely had the Cherokees suffered, in retaliation, for the murders they had committed to satisfy their vengeance for that imprisonment, and the massacre of their chiefs. Their lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery. The warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations. Several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill-humor against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and striking it into a log of wood called out, "who is the man that will take this up for the King of France?" Salonè, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain, still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk and burned with impatience for the field.

Lieutenant Governor Bull, who well knew how little Indians were to be trusted, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence, and made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the Commander-in-Chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended. Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, with a regiment from England, and two companies of light infantry from New York, received orders to embark for Carolina. Early in the year 1761, he landed at Charlestown, where he took up his winter quarters until the proper season should approach for taking the field.

In this campaign, the province exerted itself to the utmost. A provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton.* Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catawbas engaged to co-operate with the white people against the Cherokees. All possible preparations were quickly made for supplying the army with everything necessary for the expe-

* The other field officers were Henry Laurens, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Moultrie, Major. William Moultrie, Francis Marion, Isaac Huger, Andrew Pickens, Owen Roberts, Adam McDonald, James McDonald and William Mason, served in this expedition, and were there trained to further and greater services in the cause of their country. They all served in the revolutionary war, and in the course of it, the four first were promoted to the rank of general officers. Bellamy Crawford, John Huger, Joseph Lloyd, John Lloyd and Thomas Savage, also served in this expedition; and afterwards in civil departments, in and after the revolution.

dition. Great had been the expense which this quarrel with the Cherokees had already occasioned. The Carolinians now flattered themselves that, by one resolute exertion, they would free the country from the calamities of war.

As soon as the Highlanders were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant set out for the Cherokee territories. After being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered about 2,600 men. On the 27th of May, 1761, he arrived at fort Prince George; and, on the 7th of June, began his march from it, carrying with him provisions for thirty days. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodsmen, painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to advance in front and scour the woods. When near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in front observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army. An alarm was given. Immediately the savages rushing down began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported repulsed them; but they recovered their heights. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hills and drive the enemy from them. The engagement became general, and was fought on both sides with great bravery. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable, fatigued by a tedious march in rainy weather—surrounded with woods so that they could not discern the enemy—galled by the scattering fire of savages who, when pressed, always fell back, but rallied again and again. No sooner was any advantage gained over them in one quarter than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking place on the river's side, his rear was attacked; and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From 8 o'clock in the morning until 11, the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire; sometimes from one place, and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous war-whoops frequently repeated, but in different directions. At length the Cherokees gave way and were pursued. What loss they sustained in this action is unknown, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between fifty and sixty killed and wounded. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settle-

ments shared the same fate. Their magazines and cornfields were likewise destroyed; and the miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the barren mountains.

Colonel Grant continued thirty days in the heart of the Cherokee territories. Upon his return to fort Prince George the feet and legs of many of his men were so mangled, and their strength and spirits so exhausted, that they were unable to march any further. He therefore encamped at that place to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the many advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed they had been assisted by French officers. The savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts they were disconcerted. Though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame spectators of their towns in flames and their country laid desolate.

It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction. Even in time of peace they are destitute of that foresight which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are burnt and their fields destroyed, they are reduced to extreme want. The hunters, furnished with ammunition, may make some small provision for themselves; but women, children, and old men must perish from being deprived of the means of subsistence.

Soon after Colonel Grant's arrival at fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains, came to his camp and expressed a desire of peace. They had suffered severely for breaking their alliance with Britain, and giving ear to the promises of France. Convinced at last of the weakness of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war nor to supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connection with them. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed. The different articles being read and interpreted Attakullakulla agreed to them all except one, by which it was demanded "that four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at fort Prince George to be put to death in the front of his camp; or that four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights." The warrior could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel sent him to Charlestown to see whether the Lieutenant-Governor would consent to mitigate its rigor.

Accordingly Attakullakulla, and the chieftains being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charlestown to hold a

conference with Lieutenant-Governor Bull, who, on their arrival, called a Council to meet at Ashley ferry, and then spoke to the following effect: "Attakullakulla I am glad to see you, as I have always heard of your good behavior, and that you have been a good friend to the English. I take you by the hand, and not only you, but all those with you, as a pledge for their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace. I have therefore met with my beloved men to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose." A fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and all smoked together for some time in great silence and solemnity.

Attakullakulla then arose and addressed the Lieutenant-Governor and Council to the following effect: "It is a great while since I last saw your honor. I am glad to see you and all the beloved men present. I am come to you as a messenger from the whole nation. I have now seen you, smoked with you, and hope we shall live together as brothers. When I came to Keowee, Colonel Grant sent me to you. You live at the water side and are in light, we are in darkness; but hope all will yet be clear. I have been constantly going about doing good, and though I am tired, yet I am come to see what can be done for my people who are in great distress." Here he produced the strings of wampum he had received from the different towns, denoting their earnest desire of peace, and added, "as to what has happened, I believe it has been ordered by our father above. We are of a different color from the white people. They are superior to us. But one God is father of all, and we hope what is past will be forgotten. God Almighty made all people. There is not a day but some are coming into and others going out of the world. The great King told me the path should never be crooked, but open for every one to pass and repass. As we all live in one land, I hope we shall all love as one people." After which peace was formally ratified and confirmed. The former friendship of the parties being renewed, both expressed their hope that it would last as long as the sun shines and the rivers run.

Thus ended the war with the Cherokees, which had proved ruinous to them, and seriously distressful to South Carolina, without being advantageous or honorable to the contending parties. Nothing was gained by either, and a great deal was lost by both. In the review of the whole, there is much to blame, and more to regret. The Cherokees were the first aggressors by taking horses from the Virginians; but by killing them for that offence the balance of injury was on their side. They violated the laws of natural justice by retaliating on Carolinians for murders committed by Virginians; but ac-

cording to their code, the whites of both were identified as objects of retaliation. No pains had been taken to teach them better by their neighbors, who enjoyed the superior benefits of civilization and of christianity. When the storm of war was ready to burst on their heads they sent their messenger of peace to apologize, explain, and negotiate for the unauthorized murders of their lawless young warriors; but they were not heard, nor even suffered to speak. Governor Lyttleton, unwilling to be balked of his military expedition, marched with his army into their country with these messengers of peace in his train; ostensibly for their safety, and with a promise that a hair of their heads should not be hurt, but really as hostages for their countrymen; and they were afterwards, without any personal fault, confined as such till twenty-four of their nation should be delivered up to expiate by their death for the murder of the Carolinians. If this demand was right, it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. Compliance with it was impossible; for no such coercive power could be exercised over these wild and independent warriors, under their feeble system of loose government. A treaty was nevertheless made to that effect, but under circumstances that its observance could not be expected. Treachery begat treachery, and murder produced murder. The lives of these men who came originally as messengers of peace, though afterwards retained as hostages, were barbarously taken away without any fault of theirs, other than their obeying the laws of nature in resisting a military order for putting their persons in irons. A deadly hatred, and a desolating war was the consequence. Both exerted all their energies to inflict upon the opposite party the greatest possible amount of distress. The war, after incalculable mischief was done to both parties, ended in peace; but the hatred of the Cherokees to Carolina continued to rankle in their hearts. In about fifteen years after it broke out, under the auspices of the same John Stuart before mentioned, to the great distress of Carolina in its revolutionary war with Great Britain, which shall be related hereafter.

The treaty made by Sir Alexander Cumming with the Cherokees in 1730, had preserved peace between them and Carolina for thirty years. It is highly probable that moderation on the part of Governor Lyttleton would have prevented its interruption to any great extent, and most certainly the horrid scenes which have just been reviewed. The assumption of a high-toned spirit of decision on his part, carried to extremes against ignorant savages, unrestrained by social order and the precepts of religion, together with their vindictive temper and indiscriminate mode of retaliating for injuries received, produced a chain of great and reciprocal distress. The first link

of this was the petty theft of a few Virginian horses, for necessary purposes; and the last, the ruin of the Cherokee nation, the desolation of populous settlements and the murder of many Carolinians. A review of the whole demonstrates that civilized people, as well as savages, show more sound policy as well as true wisdom in abating of their just demands to a certain extent than in urging complete and peremptory satisfaction for injuries received with too high a hand, and beyond the point of moderation.

In proportion as the province increased in the number of white inhabitants, its danger from the savage tribes grew less alarming. But to prevent any molestation from Indians, and to establish the peace of the colonies on the most lasting foundation, his Brittannic Majesty, by his proclamations after the peace of 1763, took care to fix the boundaries of their hunting lands in as clear a manner as the nature of the country would admit. No settlements were allowed to extend any further backward, upon the Indian territories, than the sources of those great rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean; and all British subjects who had settled beyond these limits were ordered to remove. All private subjects were prohibited from purchasing lands from Indians; but if the latter should at any time be inclined to dispose of their property, it must, for the future, be offered to the King by the general consent of the nation, and at a public assembly held by British Governors for that purpose. All traders were obliged to take out licenses from their respective Governors for carrying on commerce with the Indians.

The French and Spaniards having by the treaty of 1763 ceded to Great Britain all their territories in the vicinity of South Carolina, nothing further was necessary than to guard the provinces against the dangers arising from the savages. It was thought proper that a superintendent of Indian affairs should be appointed for the Southern, as well as the Northern district of America. This office was given to Captain John Stuart, who was in every respect well qualified for it. The Assembly not only thanked him for his good conduct and great perseverance at fort Loudon, but rewarded him with £1,500 currency, and recommended him to the Governor as a person worthy of preferment in the service of the province. After his commission arrived, the Carolinians promised themselves for the future great tranquility and happiness. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by government with respect to the Indian tribes, and cautions were taken to guard them against oppression and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, though expensive and attended with the

sacrifice of lives, were seldom accompanied with any good effects. Such treatment rendered the savages cruel, suspicious and distrustful, prepared them for renewing hostilities, and kept alive their ferocious warlike spirit.

It was thought that by treating Indians with gentleness and humanity, they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become civilized; and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on destruction, they might eventually be rendered useful and beneficial allies.

The British government adopted this line of government after the peace of 1763. The result in some degree justified their expectations, till the revolutionary war commenced. The same ambitious cruel policy which had formerly led the Spaniards and French to set the Indians on the English settlements was then adopted by the English against their own colonists, even before they had resolved on independence. The same ruinous consequences followed. The poor unfortunate misled Indians became once more the victims of their own folly, in suffering themselves to be employed as tools to forward the ambitious views of foreign powers; as shall be hereafter explained.

The Indians on the continent of America, who were at the time of its discovery a numerous and formidable people, have since that period been constantly decreasing. For this rapid depopulation many reasons have been assigned. It is well known that population everywhere keeps pace with the means of subsistence. The Indians being driven from their possessions near the sea, as the settlements progressed, were robbed of many of the necessaries of life, particularly of oysters, crabs and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have chiefly subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps still remaining near the sea-shore. As their territorities have been gradually circumscribed by narrower bounds, the means of subsistence derived from game have become proportionably less. The provisions they raise by planting, even in the best seasons, are scanty; but in case of a failure of crops, or of their fields being destroyed, numbers of them perished by famine. The first European settlers soon discovered their natural passion for war, and turned the fury of one tribe against another, with a view to save themselves. When engaged in hostilities they always fought, not so much to humble and conquer, as to exterminate and destroy. The British, the French, and Spanish nations, having planted colonies in their neighborhood, a rivalship for influence over them took place. Each nation, having its allies among the savages, was indefatigable in instigating them against the colonies of every other Euro-

pean nation, and against its Indian allies. Hence a series of bloody and destructive wars have been carried on among these rude tribes, as instruments of the pride and ambitition of European sovereigns, which, though waged without any national object or interest on the part of the Indians, was conducted with all the rage and rancour of implacable enemies bent on the destruction of each other in defence of their nearest connections and dearest rights.

But famine and war, however destructive, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The small pox frequently proved exceedingly fatal. But of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them has been the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitution, but also created many quarrels. Most of the white traders engaged in commercial business among the Indians, instead of reforming them by examples of virtue and purity, have rather served to corrupt their morals and render them more treacherous and debauched than they originally were. The avarice and ambition of the professors of Christianity have so far debased the pristine habits and stern virtues of hardy, free and independent savages, that the few who now remain have lost in a great measure their primitive character. The vices of white people, falsely called Christians, and the diseases the consequences of the vices caught by the contaminating intercourse of such, have so nearly exterminated the native original owners of the soil, that many nations formerly populous are extinct, and their names entirely forgotten.

The principal tribes in or near to South Carolina are the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Creeks, the Chickesaws and Choctaws.

The Cherokees, till the revolutionary war, continued to inhabit that western part of South Carolina which now forms Pendleton and Greenville districts. Having taken part with the British in that contest, they drew upon themselves the resentment of the State; and were so far subdued by its troops that they were obliged by treaty, on the 20th May, 1777, to cede to South Carolina all their lands eastward of the Unacaye mountains. They now reside beyond the mountains, and are inconsiderable both in number and force.

Of twenty-eight tribes of Indians which inhabited South Carolina in 1670, when it began to be settled by white people, twenty-six have entirely disappeared. The Cherokees are permitted, during good behaviour, to reside on the west side of the Oconee mountains. The Catawbas alone have continued in the State to the present time. They occupy fifteen miles square, situated on each side of the Catawba river, near the borders of North Carolina. They mustered 1,500 fighting

men at the first settlement of the province; but at present their warriors do not exceed sixty, and the whole of their nation is scarcely two hundred. These have degenerated from the hardiness of the Indian character, and are so generally addicted to habits of indolence and intoxication, that they are fast sinking into insignificance.

The Creeks inhabit a fine country on the southwest, between four and five hundred miles distant from Charlestown, and the number of both the upper and lower nations does not exceed two thousand gun-men. The Chickasaw towns lie about six hundred miles due west from Charlestown; but the nation cannot send three hundred warriors to the field. The Choctaws are at least seven hundred miles west and southwest from Charlestown, and have between three and four thousand gun-men.

SECTION III.

Military Operations against Pirates.

The Spaniards and Indians were the first, but not the only enemies of the infant settlement of South Carolina. When the early settlers had made head against both, and raised merchantable commodities for exportation, they had little more than began to ship the same than they were deprived of the fruits of their labors by public robbers on the contiguous ocean. From privateering to piracy the transition is easy. Both rob their fellow men of their property, but with this difference: the first are licensed, but the last are not. The distinction is more in name than reality, for they who give the licenses are seldom authorized by the laws of nature or of nature's God to grant them. They who receive them rarely pay regard to the limitations under which they are obtained. Property, whether of a friend or a foe, of a countryman or a foreigner, is alike to most of them; provided, by any artifice, it can be taken with impunity.

The wars which raged in the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, made lamentable inroads on moral principles. They filled the American seas with privateers and afterwards with pirates. These public robbers were received with too much indulgence in Charlestown. They brought with them abundance of gold and silver, and by aid of these precious metals often found favor and escaped from justice. Proofs of their guilt could not easily be obtained, and the humanity of the laws would not suffer them to be punished on suspicion. Some were permitted to go at large without any restriction; others to enter into recognizance, with security, for their good behavior till the Governor shall hear whether the proprietors would grant them a general indemnity. The proprie-

tors, wishing to crush them, instructed Governor Ludwell to change the form of electing juries; and required that all pirates should be tried by the laws of England, made for the suppression of piracy. Before these orders reached Carolina the pirates, by their money and free intercourse with the people, had made so many friends that it was difficult to bring them to trial, and more so to punish them. The courts of law became scenes of altercation and confusion. The gold and silver of pirates enlisted in their behalf the eloquence of the first gentlemen of the bar; too many of whom held that every advantage, though at the expense of honor, justice, public good, and even of truth, should be taken in favor of their clients. Hence it happened that several of the pirates escaped,* purchased lands, and took up their residence in the colony. The authority of government was too feeble to check the evil, supported as it was by a tide of money flowing into the country. At length the proprietors, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates with the exception of such as had committed depredations on the dominions of the great Mogul.

The Carolinians, by the increasing culture of rice and other valuable commodities, became more vulnerable on the ocean, and of course more sensible of the benefits of uninterrupted trade, and of the injury done to mankind by sea robbers. In the last year of the 17th century, the planters had raised more rice than they could find vessels to export. Forty-five persons from different nations, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Indians, had manned a ship at the Havana, and entered on a cruise of piracy. While they were on the coast of Carolina the people felt severely the pernicious effects of that lawless trade which in former times they had indirectly encouraged. Several ships belonging to Charlestown were taken by those public robbers who sent the crews ashore, but kept the vessels as their prizes. At last, having quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, the Englishmen proving the weaker party, were turned adrift in a long boat. They landed at Sewee Bay, and from thence traveled over land to Charlestown, giving out that they had been shipwrecked, but fortu-

* These frustrations of justice added to the wealth and reputation of the lawyers, whose ingenuity had thrown a shield over guilt; but they inflicted a deep wound on the credit and interests of Carolina. The subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who were the greatest sufferers by the pirates, not only complained of the Carolinians for screening these enemies of the human race, but retaliated by instigating the Indians to harrass the English settlers, and by tempting their negroes to leave their masters and go to St. Augustine. The Spaniards apologized for their conduct by alleging that the inhabitants of Charlestown countenanced and encouraged the pirates, by permitting them to carry into their port and spend in their town that wealth which had been unjustly taken from Spanish subjects in the adjacent gulf and ocean, which was the thoroughfare between old and new Spain.

nately reached the shore in their boat. Three masters of ships happened to be at Charlestown at the time, who had been taken by them, and knew them. Upon their testimony the pirates were instantly taken up, tried and condemned. Seven out of nine suffered death.

Early in the 18th century, the island of Providence became a receptacle for vagabonds and villains of all nations. From this place of rendezvous a crew of desperate pirates had been accustomed to push out to sea, and in defiance of the laws of nations to obstruct navigation. The trade of Carolina, and that of the West Indies, suffered greatly from their depredations. From the year 1717 to 1721, we have an account of between thirty and forty vessels which had been taken on that coast. For five years those lawless robbers reigned as the masters of the Gulf of Florida, plundering and taking ships of every nation. North Carolina had also become a refuge for pirates, who carried their prizes into Cape Fear river or Providence, as best suited their convenience. Their success induced bold and rapacious spirits to join them, and in time they became so formidable that considerable force was requisite to repress them.

Merchants and masters of vessels trading to America and the West Indies, having suffered much from the depredations of pirates, complained to the King and Council of the heavy losses the trade of the nation had sustained from public robbers who had grown numerous and insolent. In consequence of which the King issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves in the space of twelve months, and at the same time ordered to sea a force for suppressing them. As they had made the island of Providence their common place of residence, Captain Woodes Rogers sailed against that island with a few ships of war, and took possession of it for the Crown. Except one Vane, who with about ninety men made their escape in a sloop, all the pirates took the benefit of the King's proclamation and surrendered. Captain Rogers having made himself master of the island, formed a Council in it, and appointed officers, civil and military, for the better government of its inhabitants, and so ordered matters that for the future the trade of the West Indies was well protected.

Though the pirates on the island of Providence were crushed, those of North Carolina still remained and were equally troublesome. Vane, who escaped from Captain Rogers, had taken two ships bound from Charlestown to London. A pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Steed Bonnett, and another commanded by Richard Worley, had taken possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, which place was now the principal

refuge of the pirates. Their station there was so convenient for blocking up the harbor of Charlestown that the trade of the colony was greatly obstructed. No soonor had one crew left the coast than another appeared, so that scarcely one ship coming in or going out escaped them. To check their insolence, Governor Johnson fitted out a ship of force, gave the command to William Rhett, and sent him to sea for the protection of trade. Rhett had scarcely got over the bar when Steed Bonnett spied him, and sensible of his inferiority made for his refuge into Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett followed him, took the sloop and brought the commander and about thirty men to Charlestown. Soon after this Governor Johnson embarked and sailed in pursuit of the other sloop of six guns, commanded by Richard Worley, which after a desperate engagement was also taken. The pirates fought till they were all killed or wounded except Worley and another man, who even then refused to surrender until they were dangerously wounded. The Governor brought these two men, together with their sloop into Charlestown, where they were instantly tried, condemned, and executed, to prevent their dying of their wounds. Steed Bonnett and his crew were also tried, and condemned. With the exception of one man, all, amounting nearly to forty, were hanged, and buried on White Point, below high water mark.*

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* Steed Bonnett, who suffered on this occasion, was said to have been a man of education and property, and to have possessed the manners and accomplishments of a gentleman. He was addressed by the title of Major. He made his escape from prison in women's clothes, but was retaken. After his condemnation he wrote a letter to Colonel Rhett, which has been preserved, and by the politeness of Judge Bee is in the hands of the author. It was as follows:

NOVEMBER 27th, 1718.

SIR:—My unhappy fate lays me under a necessity of troubling you with this letter, which I humbly beg you will be pleased to excuse, and with a tenderness of heart compassionate the deplorable circumstances I have been inadvertently led into; and though I can't presume to have the least expectations of your friendship for so miserable a man, yet I hope your good dispositon and kind humanity will move you to become an intercessor with his honor the Governor, that I may be indulged with a reprieve to stay execution of the severe sentence I have undergone, till his majesty's pleasure be known concerning me.

I have the misfortune of suffering, in the opinion of the world for many crimes and injuries done to this government and others in a piratical manner; more than I hope, God the knower of all secrets, will lay to my charge; and must intreat you to consider that I was a prisoner on board Captain Edward Thatch, who, with several of Captain Hornigold's company which he then belonged to, boarded and took my sloop from me at the island of Providence, confining me with him eleven months, in which time I was never concerned in, nor had any benefit or share by his actions, but on the contrary was a very great loser by him; notwithstanding 'tis unjustly by some believed otherwise and used as an aggravation of my offences; however, I can't but confess my crimes and sins have been too many, for which, I thank my gracious God for the blessing, I have the utmost abhorrence and aversion; and although I am become as it were a monster unto many, yet I intreat your charitable opinion of my great contrition and godly sorrow for the errors of my past life, and am so far from entertaining the least thoughts of being, by any inducement in nature, drawn into the like evil and wicked

Governor Johnson, formerly a popular man, was now become more so by his bold and successful expedition against the pirates. The coast was now happily cleared, and no pirates afterwards ventured to sea in that quarter. These two expeditions cost the province upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling, a burden which at this juncture it was ill qualified to support.

In addition to the wars which have been stated, Carolina, as an appendage to Great Britain, was implicated in all her wars. These occupied forty years of the 106 of its colonial existence. Its trade was so materially injured from frequent captures made by armed vessels of France and Spain, that its staple commodities were greatly reduced in price whenever either of these nations were at war with Great Britain. This unfortunately was the case more than one-third of the whole period between the first settlement of South Carolina, and its becoming an independent State.

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courses, if I had the happiness of a longer life granted me in this world, that I shall always retain in mind, and endeavor to follow those excellent precepts of our holy Savior—to love my neighbor as myself; and do unto all men whatsoever I would they should do unto me, living in perfect holy friendship and charity with all mankind. This I do assure you, sir, is the sincerity of my heart upon the word of a penitent Christian, and my only desire of enjoying such a transient being is, that it may for the future be consecrated to the service of my maker, and by a long and unfeigned repentance I may beseech Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to pardon and remit all my sins, and enable me to live a holy religious life, and make satisfaction to all persons whom I have any ways injured.

I don't doubt but the favor of your friendship and interest in the House of Commons may prevail on his honor to indulge me with a reprieve, if you'll be so charitable as to grant it me; which I presume to hope for, not only in tender regard of so many men having already suffered, and of my hearty and sincere repentance with full purposes of amendment of life; but in consideration of the securities and promises of favor I received from Colonel Rhett, which together with the joy I conceived of having an opportunity safely to disengage myself from all such wicked people and inhumane actions, made me the sole instrument of persuading those people to deliver themselves and arms up, which took me near twenty-four hours time and trouble to do after the engagement was over, when I knew what the two sloops were that Colonel Rhett commanded. By which means I saved the great effusion of blood which must infallibly have been spilt by these rash people, had they received Colonel Rhett's company on board, and blown us all up as they threatened, which I found much difficulty to persuade them from doing. This is what Colonel Rhett and many of his officers on board can testify.

I must confess the escape I attempted might justly increase and aggravate his honor and the government against me, for which I ask his and their pardon, and should not in the least have offered it, had not nature, as I believe it will in any man under the same circumstances, prompted me to evade, if possible, so horrid a sentence, by endeavoring to get to some private settlement and continue there till my friends could apply home for his majesty's gracious pardon.

I am fearful I have been too tedious already; therefore, shall not further trouble you than once more to repeat my earnest entreaty for your charitable favor, and to assure you that it will ever heartily devote me to your service, and oblige me always gratefully to acknowledge myself,

Sir, your most obliged, and unfortunate humble servant,
STEED BONNETT.

CHAPTER VI.

The Settlement of the Back Country.

Settlements as early as 1736 had partially progressed westward, from the sea coast, about eighty or ninety miles.* Between 1750 and 1760 two or three germs of settlement were planted 200 miles from Charlestown by emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who had advanced from north to south and in front of the eastern settlers.

Between the sea-coast settlements, and those to the westward, a considerable tract of country was for several years left in the undisturbed possession of the aborigines. These and several other circumstances, sanctioned an early distinction between the upper and lower country of South Carolina. In 1750, Colonel Clark emigrated from Virginia and settled on Pacotet river. In the course of six years he was joined by eight or ten families from Pennsylvania, all of whom settled on or near Fair Forest creek, or the three forks of Tyger river. These constituted the whole white population of that part of the province in 1755. In that year Braddock was defeated; and the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were exposed to so much danger from the French at Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, and the Indians attached to them, that their inhabitants were strongly inclined to move southwardly. In the same year Governor Glen made a treaty with the

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* Two classes of people generally advanced in front of the regular settlers or cultivators of the soil. These were the owners of cowpens, and traders with the Indians. An uncultivated country covered with canes and natural grasses, possessed many advantages for raising stock. These were greatest where the settlements were least. Central spots in which cattle might be occasionally rallied, and so far domesticated as to prevent their running wild, were sought for and improved. These were often located in front of the settlements, and were called cowpens. They did not interfere with the pursuits of the natives, and therefore seldom gave offence; though they were sometimes observed with jealousy as the precursors of settlement.

Traders advanced without ceremony into the heart of Indian settlements. Speculative men have drawn comparisons between savage and civilized life, highly colored in favor of the former. Their theories have been acted upon ever since the discovery of America, by individuals who, turning their backs upon civilized society, have voluntarily chosen a residence among the Indians. Of this description there were several who at an early day had settled among the Indians at a great distance from the white people. Anthony Park, one of the first settlers of the back country, who now lives in Newberry district, traveled in 1758 a few hundred miles among the Indians to the west of the Alleghany mountains. He found several white men, chiefly Scotch or Irish who said that they had lived as traders among the Indians twenty years; a few from forty to fifty, and one sixty years. One of these said that he had upwards of seventy children and grandchildren in the nation. If these accounts are correct, the oldest of these traders must have taken up his abode among the Indians 400 miles to the west of Charlestown before the close of the 17th century when the white population of Carolina scarcely extended twenty miles from the sea coast.

Cherokee Indians, by which much of what is now called the upper country was ceded to the King of Great Britain. Both events allured settlers to the western parts of South Carolina.

In the year 1756 Patrick Calhoun, with four families of his friends, settled on Long Cane in Abbeville. On his arrival there were only two families of white settlers, one named Gowdy the other Edwards, in that southwestern extremity of the upper country. The progress of settlement which commenced in or about 1750 was so very slow, for five years, that in the beginning of 1756, the whole number of families scarcely exceeded twenty. In that and the three following years, there was a great influx of inhabitants from the middle provinces. Carolina, though nominally at war, really enjoyed all the blessings of peace, while hostilities raged in the northern and middle provinces, and their frontiers were drenched in blood shed by the savage allies of France. The recent settlers in the upper country of Carolina, who had fled from Indian massacres in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, in the three years that followed Braddock's defeat, found that in the year 1759 they were involved in calamities similar to those from which they had escaped. The reduction of Fort Duquesne in 1758 gave the blessings of peace to the middle provinces, but entailed the miseries of war* on South Carolina. The origin of Cherokee hostilities in 1759, has been explained in the last chapter. It is here only necessary to observe that its operations in that, and the two or three following years, stunted the growth of the upper country. Several flourishing settlements were broke up. Some took to Forts, others abandoned the country, and no new settlers would venture into it. These calamities were done away by the peace of Paris in 1763, and from that period the settlements recommenced with increasing vigor. The influx of inhabitants was greater than ever, and the population was advanced with gigantic strides. Unalloyed good is not the lot of man. The war was ended,

* A few facts attested by an eye witness will give some faint idea of the sufferings of the frontier settlers. A young man was shot through the body and through the thigh, one of his arms was broke, and he was scalped. A tomahawk was stuck into his head. The muscles of his neck were so far divided that his chin lodged on his breast, and several arrows were shot into his body. In this condition after he had extracted the arrows, he walked twenty miles before he could get any assistance. Another was found wounded in the woods where he had lain nine days without bread or water, incapable of helping or even of moving himself. An attempt was made to move him but he instantly expired. When settlements were attacked by the Indians, some would escape. These would conceal or lose themselves in the woods. In this condition they have been known to wander two or three weeks, living on snakes and such articles of food as the woods afforded. Several who were scalped, and otherwise badly wounded, had the good fortune to recover; though they received no aid from regular physicians or surgeons. Women and children were oftener the subjects of these barbarities than men, for the latter by resistance for the most part obtained the superior boon of being killed outright.

but the consequences of it continued. It had tainted the principles of many of the inhabitants, so as to endanger the peace and happiness of society. When settlements were broke up, industry was at an end. The prospects of reaping were so faint, that few had the resolution to sow. Those who took up their residence in Forts had nothing to do. Idleness is the parent of every vice. When they sallied out they found much property left behind by others who had quitted their homes. To make use of such derelict articles did not appear to them in the odious colors of theft. Cattle were killed—horses were sold—household furniture, and plantation tools were taken into possession in violation of private rights. The wrong-doers lived easily at the expense of the absentees, and acquired such vicious habits that when the war was over they despised labor and became pests of society. To steal was easier than to work. The former was carried on extensively, and the latter rarely attempted. Among all kinds of theft none was so easy in execution, so difficult in detection, and at the same time so injurious in its consequences, as horse-stealing. On the labors of that useful animal, the cultivators of the soil depended for raising the provisions necessary for their support. A horse when grazing is as easily caught by a thief, as by his owner; and will as readily carry the one as the other to a distance where he might be sold or exchanged, to the serious injury of an helpless family. Practices of this kind became common, and were carried on by system and in concert with associates living remote from each other. The industrious part of the community were oppressed, and the support of their families endangered.

These difficulties were increased from an inefficient system of government. If the thieves were caught, they could not be brought to trial nearer than Charlestown. Till the year 1770, there were no courts of justice held beyond the limits of the capital. The only legal authority in this infancy of the back country was that of justices of the peace, authorized by the Governor, who always resided near the sea coast. With his scanty means of information, to select proper persons for that office was no easy matter. The greatest villians had generally the most money, and often the most friends. Instead of exerting their authority to suppress horse-stealing and other crimes, some of these justices were sharers in the profits of this infamous business. Before such it was difficult to procure the commitment of criminals. If the proofs of their guilt were too strong to be evaded, the expense of transporting them to Charlestown was great; the chances of their escape many. When brought to trial, the non-attendance of witnesses from a distance of two hundred miles, and other circumstances

were so improved by lawyers to whom the horse thieves were both able and willing to give large fees, that prosecutions, though for real crimes, seldom terminated in conviction. The inhabitants groaned under these frustrations of justice. Despairing of redress in a legal channel, they took the law in their own hands. In the year 1764 Thomas Woodward, Joseph Kirkland, Barnaby Pope, and others of the best and most orderly inhabitants, held a consultation on what was best to be done. They drew up an instrument of writing which they and their associates generally subscribed. In it they bound themselves to make a common cause in immediately pursuing and arresting all horse thieves and other criminals. Such when caught were tried in a summary way by the neighbors, and if found guilty, were sentenced to receive a number of stripes on their bare backs, more or less in proportion to their misdeeds. They were then advised to leave the neighborhood and informed that if they returned, their punishment would be doubled. This mode of proceeding was called regulation, and its authors and friends regulators.

The horse thieves, their associates, and other criminals, who, from causes already mentioned, were numerous, made a counter common cause in supporting themselves against these regulators. Most of the inhabitants favored one or other of these parties. The one justified their proceedings on the score of necessity and substantial, though irregular justice; the other alleged the rights of British subjects to a legal trial by a court and jury. Though the former meant well, yet justice is of so delicate a nature that form as well as substance must be regarded. It is therefore probable, that in some cases, the proceedings of the regulators may have so far partaken of the infirmities of human nature, as to furnish real grounds of complaint against them. Their adversaries made such high colored representations of their conduct, that the civil authority interposed. Lord Charles Greville Montague, Governor of the province, adopted measures for their suppression. With this view he conferred a high commission on a man named Scouil, whose conduct, character and standing in society, had rendered him in the opinion of his neighbors, and especially of the regulators, very unfit for the office. As if the country had been in rebellion, Scouil erected something which was intended to be a royal standard; and afterwards called upon the regulators to answer for their transgressions of the law. In addition to many other acts of severity, he arrested two of their number and sent them under a guard to Charlestown, where they were imprisoned. The regulators and the Scouilites contending for the superiority, were arranged under their leaders and formed camps in opposition to each other. A

civil war was on the point of commencing; both were armed and prepared for the last extremity. Each party was ready to return a fire from their adversaries, but both dreaded the odium of beginning hostilities. Instead thereof, a flag was sent from one to the other—a capitulation ensued, in which both agreed to break up their camps, go home and respectively petition the Governor for a redress of their grievances. This was done and eventuated in the circuit court law, passed in the year 1769. The establishment of courts of justice at Ninety-Six, now Cambridge, at Orangeburgh, and Camden, removed that necessity which was an apology for the proceedings of the regulators. These gloried in having obtained their ends for bringing criminals to justice. Their exertions henceforward took a different direction; they applied to law and ceased to regulate. In less than two years they brought thirty-two horse thieves to trial, condemnation and punishment, under the authority of the new and adjacent circuit courts. The cause of justice triumphed, and a wholesome exertion of judicial authority re-established order. The country enjoyed peace and prosperity for the five following years. At the end of that period new scenes of distress, connected with the revolution, opened on the inhabitants. The animosities between these parties continued to rankle in their hearts, but were not called into action till the year 1775. When the revolution commenced, the actors in these late scenes of contention took opposite sides; and the names of Scouilites and regulators were insensibly exchanged for the appellation of tories and whigs, or the friends of the old and new order of things. Many of the former were called Scouilites, and probably had co-operated with Scouil in opposing the regulators; but the name was applied to others as a term of reproach on the alleged similarity of their principles as being both abettors of royal government, in opposition to the struggles of the people for justice and liberty. The tories or Scouilites, for the opposers of revolutionary measures were called by both names, insisted that the King had laid no new burdens or taxes on the people, and that therefore their opposition to royal government was groundless. The act, as it respected Carolina, was true; but the conclusion drawn from it did not follow. No new burdens had been laid on the inhabitants of the province, but the most grievous had been laid on Massachusetts, in pursuance of principles which equally applied to Carolina, and struck at the foundation of all her boasted rights. This train of reasoning was too refined for selfish individuals who had not energy enough to encounter a present evil to obtain a future good. Respectable well-informed persons were sent by the council of safety to explain the nature of the controversy to these mis-

judging people, and to induce their co-operation with their fellow-citizens in the common cause of American liberty. Partial success followed their explanations, and a treaty of neutrality was granted to the disaffected. But the old grudge still subsisted, and they continued to thwart the measures of Congress. The friends of the revolution marched an army into their settlements. Opposition was subdued with little or no bloodshed, and a temporary calm succeeded. But many of the disheartened royalists abandoned their plantations, and went either to the province of Florida, or among the Indians. In both cases they were tools in the hands of the British, and ready to co-operate with them against their countrymen who favored revolutionary measures. They lent their aid to a project for attacking the western settlements of South Carolina, at the moment Charlestown was to be invaded by a powerful fleet and army. They performed their part. Under the direction of Britain, and in concert with Indians, dressed and painted like them, they began to murder the white settlers nearly on the same day Sullivan's Island was attacked by the British. Measures of discrimination had been proposed among themselves to restrain the Indians from disturbing the tories, but they were unavailing. Both classes of white people fell by a common massacre. The repulse of the British in their attack on fort Moultrie, disconcerted the tories and Indians, and gave the whigs leisure to chastise them both. This was done with spirit and effect by an army commanded by Colonel Williamson. A calm succeeded for three or four years, but guards were kept on the frontiers and the inhabitants lived in terror; for they were apprehensive of a renewed attack. After the fall of Charlestown in 1780, everything was reversed. The British, the tories and Indians, had the upper hand. Robbery, desolation and murder, became common and continued till the revolutionary war was ended. Many were killed—several fled—the country was filled with widows and orphans, and adult male population was sensibly diminished.

From the first settlement of the upper country till the peace of 1783, a succession of disasters had stunted its growth. The years 1756, 1757 and 1758, were attended with no uncommon calamity. The same may be said of the years between 1770 and 1775, but with these exceptions; the upper country was for nearly twenty years of the first thirty of its existence kept in a constant state of disturbance either by the Indians or tories, and the contentions between regulators and Scouilites. Under all these disadvantages it grew astonishingly. Prior to the revolution it had received such an increase of inhabitants, as essentially contributed to the support of that bold measure; but since the year 1783, the improvement of that part of the

State has exceeded all calculation. In the course of the revolutionary war the Cherokees, having taken part with the enemies of the State, were so completely defeated, that in 1777 they ceded to South Carolina all their lands to the eastward of the Unacaye mountains. In the year 1784 a land office was opened for the sale of this land. The price fixed was ten dollars per hundred acres, payable in debts due from the State. This low price, the fertility of the soil, and the healthiness of its climate, allured settlers to this newly acquired mountainous territory in such abundance that its population advanced with unexampled rapidity. The extention of the limits of South Carolina—the increasing population both of its old and new western territory, has within the last twenty-five years elevated the upper country from a low condition to be the most influential portion of the State. The base of South Carolina on the sea coast below the falls of the rivers, when compared with its apex above the falls, is nearly as three to two; yet its principal strength rests with the smaller section. The latter increases in wealth, population and improvement of every kind, much more rapidly than the former. What the flat sea-coast has slowly attained to in 138 years, is now within the grasp of the hilly upper country; though very little more than half a century has passed since the first germs of civilized population were planted in its western woods.

CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM A BRITISH PROVINCE TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION I.

Of Introductory Events and Taking of Arms.

In the year 1763, when the peace of Paris had strengthened the British interest in North America by the addition of the contiguous French and Spanish colonies, many thought the English American empire was established on a permanent footing. Subsequent events proved the fallacy of these speculations. Perhaps some may allege that the removal of hostile neighbors inspired the colonists with projects of independence. This opinion is also unfounded, especially in South Carolina. Happy in her connection with Britain she wished

for no change. Between her and the mother country there was no collision of interests, and there never had been any serious complaints of either against the other. Commerce and manufactures were the favorite pursuits of Great Britain, and agriculture of Carolina. No instance can be produced where the relative connection, between a colony and its parent State, was more likely to last. In none was there a stronger bond of union from a reciprocity of benefits, or a fainter prospect of contention from the interference of their respective pursuits. The colony consumed an immensity of British manufactures, which she could neither make for herself nor purchase elsewhere on equal terms, and for the payment of which she had ample means in her valuable native commodities. The exchange of one for the other, was a basis of profitable commerce. Carolina, satisfied with her political condition, did not covet independence. It was forced upon her as the only means of extrication from the grasp of tyranny, exerted to enforce novel claims of the mother country, subversive of liberty and happiness. These claims were brought forward soon after the peace of Paris; and dissipated all the hopes which were fondly indulged, that Great Britain would maintain a pre-eminent rank in America. At this inauspicious period the scheme of a revenue to be laid by the British Parliament, and collected in the colonies without the consent of their local legistatures, was introduced. The British ministry were prompted to this innovation by the immense load of national debt, incurred during the war which in that year had terminated. They conceived that every part of their dominions should pay a proportion of the public debt and that the Parliament of Great Britain, as the supreme power, was constitutionally invested with a right to lay taxes on every part of the empire. This doctrine, so plausible in itself, and so conformable to the letter of the British constitution when the whole dominions were represented in one Assembly, was reprobated in the colonies as subversive of their rights and contrary to the spirit of the same government when the empire became so far extended as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists conceived that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the people to grant or withhold taxes, and in their having a share in the enacting of the laws by which they were to be governed. In the mother country it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British Parliament should have a right of taxation over every part of their extended dominions. In the colonies it was believed that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that they could neither be free nor happy if their property could be

taken from them without their consent. The patriots in the American assemblies insisted that it was essential to liberty and happiness, that the people should be taxed by those only who were chosen by themselves and had a common interest with them. Mr. Locke's celebrated position "that no man has a right to that which another has a right to take from him," was often quoted as a proof that British taxation virtually annihilated American property.

Every thing in South Carolina contributed to nourish a spirit of liberty and independence. Its settlement was nearly coeval with the revolution in England; and many of its inhabitants had imbibed a large portion of that spirit, which brought one tyrant to the block and expelled another from his dominions. Every inhabitant was, or easily might be a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord. Having no superiors to whom he was obliged to look up, and producing all the necessaries of life from his own grounds, he soon became independent.

The first statute that roused general and united opposition to British taxation was the memorable stamp act, passed in the year 1765. By this it was enacted, that the instruments of writing which are in daily use amongst a commercial people should be void in law unless they were executed on stamped paper, or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British Parliament. A less extensive tax might have passed unobserved by the unsuspecting colonists; but the stamp act was so intimately connected with all public and private business that an united vigorous opposition to it was judged indispensably necessary. To concert an uniform line of conduct to be adopted by the differnt colonies on this trying occasion, a Congress of deputies from each province was recommended. This first step, towards continental union, was adopted in South Carolina before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measures to others who were more tardy in their concurrence. The colonies on this occasion not only presented petitions, but entered into associations against importing British manufactures till the stamp act should be repealed. On the 18th of March 1766, that favorite point was obtained. This concession had the effect of inspiring the Americans with high ideas of the necessity of their trade to Great Britain. The experiment of taxation was renewed in the year 1767, but in a more artful manner. Small duties were imposed on glass, paper, tea, and painter's colors. The colonists again petitioned and associated to import no more British manufactures. In consequence of which, all the duties were taken off excepting

three pence a pound on tea. Unwilling to contend with the mother country about paper claims, and at the same time determined to pay no taxes but such as were imposed by their own legislatures, the colonists associated to import no more tea; but relaxed in all their other resolutions, and renewed their commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

The tax on tea was in a great measure rendered a barren branch of revenue, by the American resolution, of importing none on which the parliamentary duty was charged. In the year 1773 a scheme was adopted by the East India Company, to export large quantities of that commodity, to be sold on their account in the several capitals of the British colonies. This measure tended directly to contravene the American resolutions. The colonists reasoned with themselves, that as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended if the tea was sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament as part of the purchase-money. Jealous of the designs of the mother country, and determined never to submit to British taxation, they everywhere entered into combinations to obstruct the sales of the tea sent out by the East India Company. The cargoes sent to South Carolina were stored, the consignees being restrained from exposing it to sale. In other provinces, the landing of it being forbidden, the captains were obliged to return without discharging their cargoes. In Boston, a few men in disguise threw into the river all that had been exported to that city by the East India Company. This trespass on private property provoked the British Parliament to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town. An act was immediately passed, by which the port thereof was virtually blocked up by being legally precluded from shipping or landing any goods, wares or merchandize. Other acts directed by the same policy speedily followed. One of them was entitled, "An Act for the better regulating the Government of Massachusetts." The object of this was essentially to alter the charter of the province. By it the whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people, and the nomination of all officers vested in the King or his Governor. Soon after followed an act in which it was provided that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any other capital offence committed in aiding the magistracy, that the Governor might send the person so indicted to another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. These proceedings, no less contrary to the British constitution than to the chartered rights of the colonies, were considered as the beginning of a new system of colonial government, by which the provinces were to be reduced to a much greater degree of dependence on the mother country than they had ever experienced. A general

confederacy to aid the province of Massachusetts in opposing the execution of these unconstitutional acts very soon took place.

The proceedings of parliament were no sooner known in Boston than the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest consternation. Sundry town meetings were called to deliberate on the alarming state of public affairs. At one of them, viz: on May 13, 1774, the following vote was passed:

"That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from Great Britain, and exportation to Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act for blocking up this harbor be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their exports and imports, there is high reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over justice, right, social happiness and freedom. And, moreover, that this vote be transmitted by the moderator to all our sister colonies, in the name and behalf of this town."

A copy of this vote was immediately forwarded to the other provinces. Upon its arrival in South Carolina, it was presented to a number of the principal gentlemen in Charlestown. They were of opinion that the principles of policy and self-preservation made it necessary to support the people of Boston; but the mode pointed out was a matter of too much consequence to be adopted without the general consent of the people. It was therefore determined to request a meeting of the inhabitants. That this might be as general as possible, circular letters were sent by express to every parish and district within the province. In consequence of this invitation a very great number, some of whom were from almost every part of South Carolina, met on the 6th of July, 1774, at Charlestown. The proceedings of the parliament against the town of Boston and province of Massachusetts were distinctly related to this convention of the people. On which, without one dissenting voice, they adopted resolutions declaratory of their rights, for supporting the people of Boston by voluntary contribution, and for organizing committees. They also adopted the following appropriate resolutions: "That the late act for shutting up the port of Boston, and the other late acts relative to Boston and the province of Massachusetts, are calculated to deprive many thousand Americans of their rights, properties and privileges, in a most cruel, oppressive and unconstitutional manner, are most dangerous precedents; and though levelled immediately at the people of Boston, very manifestly and glaringly show, if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into a mean submission of said acts, that the like are designed for

all the colonies; when not even the shadow of liberty to his person, or of security to his property, will be left to any of his majesty's subjects residing on the American continent.

"*Resolved*, therefore, That the soundest principles of true policy and self-preservation make it absolutely necessary for the inhabitants of all the colonies in America to assist and support the people of Boston, by all lawful ways in their power, and to leave no justifiable means untried to procure a repeal of those acts immediately relative to them, and also all others affecting the constitutional rights and liberties of America in general. As the best means to effect this desirable end,

"*Resolved*, That Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, be, and they are hereby, appointed deputies on the part and behalf of this colony, to meet the deputies of the several colonies in North America in general Congress, to consider the act lately passed, and bills depending in Parliament, with regard to the port of Boston and province of Massachusetts, which act and bills, in the precedent and consequence, affect the whole continent; also the grievances under which America labors, by reason of the several acts of Parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, with full power and authority, in behalf of us and our constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually to prosecute such legal measures by which we for ourselves, and them, most solemnly engage to abide, as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and a redress of these grievances."

This Convention of the people, and these resolutions, laid the foundation of all the subsequent proceedings, which ultimately terminated in a revolution.* The deputies appointed on this occasion, in a little time, sailed for Philadelphia, and were soon joined by others invested with similar powers by the several provinces.

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* Every atom of political power now exercised in and over the people and State of South Carolina, is a ramification derived from what was granted by the last of these resolutions. The people, by virtue of their inherent right to resist the illegal oppression of their rulers, delegated full powers to five men of their own choice to take care of their political interests, and promised to abide by what they might resolve upon. Power thus liberally granted was faithfully and judiciously used. The germ of representative government then planted, has grown up to the tree of liberty and happiness, under the shade of which the people of South Carolina enjoy as great a proportion of social blessings as in any country or age has fallen to the lot of man. On this memorable day, the aged declared their willingness to sacrifice the remnant of their days rather than submit to the oppressive acts of Britain. The young, with greater ardor, engaged to resist to the last extremity, and if they should survive all prospect of successful resistance, that they would retire from civilized society and take up their abode with the savages of the wilderness.

In this manner, by the general consent of the people and the universal alarm for their liberties, a new representative body, with powers to bind all the American provinces, was speedily constituted. The Continental Congress having, on the 26th of October, 1774, finished their deliberations, the South Carolina members returned home, and gave an account of their proceedings, the most important of which were as follows: A state of American claims, particularly of their exclusive right to tax themselves and to regulate their internal polity; a petition to the King, stating their grievances and praying a repeal of thirteen acts of Parliament, which imposed taxes on them, or interfered in their internal government, and an association to suspend importations of British goods, and the exportation of American produce, till these grievances were redressed. They also addressed the people of Great Britain and the inhabitants of the colonies. With great energy of language, they justified their proceedings to both, and endeavored to dissuade the former from aiding any attempt on their liberties, and the latter from a tame relinquishment of them. To give efficacy to the measures adopted by the deputies at Philadelphia, it was determined, by the general committee in Charlestown, to convene a Provincial Congress, by electing representatives from every parish and district in South Carolina, and to submit the proceedings of the Continental Congress to their judgment. As the measures about to be adopted depended entirely on the consent of the people, a very large representation was thought advisable. The Constitutional Assembly consisted only of forty-nine members, but this new representative body consisted of 184. The members of the Constitutional Assembly were universally members of the Congress, but with this difference, that in the latter capacity they could neither be prorogued nor dissolved by the royal Governor. This first Provincial Congress met on the 11th January, 1775, and took under consideration the proceedings of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, in the close of the preceding year. Without one dissenting voice, they gave public thanks to their late deputies to the Continental Congress, approved their proceedings, resolved to carry them into execution, and re-appointed the same delegates to the next Continental Congress. Lest the selfishness of individuals might break through the public resolutions, committees of inspection and observation were appointed, whose business it was to see that they were universally obeyed. This same body also passed an unanimous resolution, that in their opinion no action for any debt should be commenced or proceeded in without the permission of the committee where the defendant resided, and that the committee should give

permission for bringing suits where the debtors refused to renew their obligations or to give reasonable security, or were justly suspected of intentions to leave the province or to defraud their creditors. They also recommended to all the inhabitants to be diligent and attentive in learning the use of arms, and at the same time recommended to them to set apart the 17th day of February, 1775, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer before Almighty God, devoutly to petition Him "to inspire the King with true wisdom to defend the people of North America in their just title to freedom, and to avert from them the calamities of civil war," and requested the several ministers of the gospel throughout the colony to prepare and deliver suitable discourses on the solemn occasion.

These recommendations for arming and praying were carried into effect with equal zeal. A military spirit pervaded the whole country, and Charlestown soon had the appearance of a garrison town. Volunteer companies were formed, and almost daily exercised. Children, in imitation of their superiors, were often to be seen going through the manual exercise with something in the resemblance of a gun. In these times that tried men's souls, the epithets of aristocrat and democrat were never heard. The poor wished for the countenance and influence of the rich. The wise and distinguished few sought for the strength of the many. Wealth and wisdom, nerves and numbers were put in requisition for the public service. Each depended on the other, and all knew that their united vigorous exertions were indispensably necessary. Joining foot to foot and hand to hand, they, with one mind, presented the whole body of the people, a solid phalanx, opposing their energies and resources to the introduction of arbitrary power.

The first of February, 1775, was the day fixed by the Continental Congress, after which no British goods should be imported. Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the resolutions had been adopted, several vessels, loaded with British goods, arrived in the harbor after that period. It was, doubtless, presumed by many that an association so contrary to the immediate interest and convenience of such great numbers, would be either violated or evaded. But, to their great surprise, they found the resolutions so well observed that a single article could not be landed, and that they must either throw overboard or send back their cargoes.

In this manner, while the form of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people that the public good required a compliance with the resolutions of Congress, that any man who discovered an anxiety about the

continuance of trade and business was considered a selfish individual, prefering private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them frequently so far beyond the limits of moderation as to apply singular punishments to particular persons who contravened the general sense of the community.

This was the third time that a scheme of non-importation had been adopted. From its success on two former occasions, and an apprehension that the trade of America was necessary to the inhabitants of Great Britain, it was generally hoped the obnoxious acts would soon be repealed. An appeal to arms, independence, and an alliance with France, were events at this period neither intended nor expected. A bloodless self-denying opposition was all that South Carolina designed, and was all the sacrifice which, as she supposed, would be required at her hands.

During the first three months of the year 1775, hopes were entertained that Great Britain would follow the same line of policy which before had led her to repeal the stamp act. On the 19th of April, 1775, a packet from London reached Charlestown, but with intelligence subversive of the pleasing hopes of a speedy accommodation.* On that same day hostilities were commenced at Lexington, in the Massachusetts, by a detachment from the royal army at Boston, against the inhabitants of that province. A particular account of that bloody scene was soon brought to the general committee in Charlestown. No event during the war seemed so universally to interest the minds of the people. All were struck with the new face of things, and viewed the contest in a much more serious light. From every appearance, Great Britain, instead of redressing American grievances, was determined to dragoon the colonists into submission. The spirit of freedom, beating high in every breast, could not brook the idea; while reason,

* This was obtained in the following manner. A secret committee had been appointed, who agreed to watch the arrival of the British packet, and to take possession of the mail. When it arrived, it was peremptorily damanded by William Henry Drayton, John Neufville, and Thomas Corbett, the members of that committee. The post-master refused and protested, but these three gentlemen took charge of the mail and carried it off to the general committee. The private letters were returned unopened to the post office, but public dispatches from the British government to the Governors of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East Florida, were opened and read. These furnished abundant evidence of the determination of England to coerce America by a military force. About the same time a letter from Governor Wright, of Georgia, to General Gage, commander of the King's army, then in Boston, was intercepted by the secret committee. It contained a request to General Gage to send a detachment of his majesty's forces to awe the people of Georgia. The secret committee took out this letter and put another in its place, with an imitation of Wright's signature subscribed, in which General Gage was informed "that there was no occasion for sending any troops to Georgia, as the people, convinced of their error, were come again to order."

more temperate in her decisions, suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprised of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waived in triumph through the four quarters of the globe. They knew that they were exposed on their western frontiers to the irruptions of savage tribes, whose common rule of warfare is promiscuous carnage—and they were not ignorant that their slaves might be worked upon, by the insidious offer of freedom, to slay their masters in the peaceful hour of domestic security. The province, through its whole extent on the sea coast, which is nearly two hundred miles, was accessible to the fleets and armies of Great Britain. For defence, it possessed but a few fortifications, too inconsiderable for particular notice, and even these were held by the officers of the King. The royal Governor was Commander-in-Chief of the militia; and all the officers, being of his appointment, held their commissions during his pleasure. The inhabitants were quite defenceless—without arms—without ammunition—without clothing—without ships—without money—without officers skilled in the art of war. The stores of the merchants afforded no supplies, as the importation of arms had been restrained by the resolutions of Congress. That Great Britain would commence hostilities, was not imagined—that America should have recourse to arms, was not originally intended. Twelve hundred stand of muskets were in the royal magazine, but they could not be obtained without the commission of an overt act of treason. However, this alarming crisis of public affairs stripped reason of its wonted terrors. All statutes of allegiance were considered as repealed on the plains of Lexington, and the laws of self-preservation left to operate in full force. Accordingly, on the night after intelligence of actual hostilities was received, a number of the principal gentlemen in Charlestown concerted a plan to take possession of the arms and accoutrements in the royal arsenal, which they instantly carried into execution. They removed them that night from the arsenal, and afterwards distributed them among the men enlisted in the public service. Lieutenant-Governor Bull immediately offered a reward of one hundred pounds sterling, to any person who should discover the persons concerned in this business; but such as had the power had not the inclination, while the few who had the inclination were afraid to incur the risk of informing.

Hitherto the opposition to Great Britain had been entirely conducted on commercial principles; but as she turned a deaf ear to the petitions and remonstrances of the colonists, and resolved to force their obedience, they now found themselves

with no alternative left but a mean submission or a manly and virtuous resistance. Though the colonists to the southward of Boston were not immediate sufferers, yet they were sensible that a foundation was laid for every species of future oppression. The newspapers and other publications, through all the colonies, were filled with arguments and declamations to the following effect: "If a British parliament, in which we are unrepresented, has a right to shut up our ports, to tax us at pleasure, to abolish our charters, and to bind us in all cases whatsoever, we are tenants at will, depending on the good humor of our fellow subjects for all our possessions."

In this new state of matters, the Provincial Congress was immediately summoned by the general committee to meet in twenty-three days at Charlestown.

So great was the zeal of the inhabitants, and so general the alarm throughout the province, that one hundred and seventy-two members met on the day appointed, and proceeded with such assiduity that they finished a great deal of important business in a short session of twenty-two days. Great were the objects which came before this Assembly. Hitherto the only sacrifices demanded at the shrine of liberty, were a suspension of trade and business; but now the important question was agitated, whether it was better to "live slaves or die free men."

On the second day of their meeting it was unanimously resolved that an association was necessary. The following one was drawn up and signed by their President, Henry Laurens, and all the members present; and afterwards very generally by the inhabitants. It was also offered to Lieutenant Governor William Bull, who was a native of the province, and had a large estate in it; but he refused to add his name.

"The actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last, near Boston—the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic ministry—and the dread of insurrections in the colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms. We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations—the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that, under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force—do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe—hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a

reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles—an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe this association."

Within three days after, it was resolved to raise two regiments of foot and a regiment of rangers, and to put the town and province in a respectable posture of defence. These resolutions were deliberately agreed to, after counting the cost. The language of the times was, "we will freely give up half, or even the whole of our estates, for the security of our liberties." To defray these expenses, bills of credit were struck, which, without being a tender in law, and though founded on nothing but the consent and enthusiasm of the people, retained their credit undiminished for eighteen months, and answered every purpose of a circulating medium.

So great was the military ardor among the gentlemen of the province, that the candidates for commissions in the proposed regiments were four times as numerous as could be employed; and in their number were many of the first families and fortune. In making a selection among the numerous candidates that offered, care was taken to choose men of influence, decision and spirit, residing in different parts of the province, so as to unite all its energies in the common cause. Four or five had the recommendation of having served in the war of 1756, but the other candidates were preferred solely on the ground of their possessing the natural qualifications requisite for making good officers, in addition to their holding an influential rank among their fellow citizens.

In this manner, in a few weeks after the Lexington battle, the popular leaders became possessed of an army and treasury at their command. The militia officers also, having resigned their commissions under the royal Governor, were, by their own consent, subjected to the orders of the Provincial Congress. The following gentlemen were chosen a council of safety: Henry Laurens, Charles Pinckney, Rawlins Lowndes, Thomas Ferguson, Miles Brewton, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heywood, Junior, Thomas Bee, John Huger, James Parsons, William Henry Drayton, Benjamin Elliott, and William Williamson. To this council the Provincial Congress delegated authority to certify commissions,* to suspend officers, and to order courts-martial for their trial; to have the direction, regu-

* This phraseology was used as a defence against the charge of treason and rebellion. They did not grant commissions, but barely certified that such had been granted by the Provincial Congress. At this period they, and other popular leaders, considered themselves as acting with ropes about their necks; and well knew that want of success would make that a rebellion, which otherwise might be a revolution. They all knew the consequences of the battle at Culloden.

lation, maintenance and ordering of the army, and of all military establishments and arrangements; and to draw on the treasury for the demands of the public service.

During the sitting of this Congress, which had in so many instances invaded the royal prerogative, Lord William Campbell, Governor of the province, arrived, and was received with all the demonstrations of joy usual on similar occasions. The Provincial Congress waited on him with an address, in which they observed: "We declare that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the constitution of government, no lust of independence, has had the least influence upon our counsels; but, alarmed and roused by a long succession of arbitrary proceedings by wicked administrations, impressed with the greatest apprehension of instigated insurrections, and deeply affected by the commencement of hostilities by the British troops against this continent, solely for the preservation and in defence of our lives, liberties and properties, we have been impelled to associate and to take up arms.

"We only desire the secure enjoyment of our invaluable rights, and we wish for nothing more ardently than a speedy reconciliation with our mother country, upon constitutional principles.

"Conscious of the justice of our cause and the integrity of our views, we readily profess our loyal attachment to our sovereign, his crown and dignity; and, trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery.

"These things we have thought it our duty to declare, that your excellency, and through you our august sovereign, our fellow subjects, and the whole world may clearly understand that our taking up arms is the result of dire necessity, and in compliance with the first law of nature.

"We intreat and trust that your excellency will make such a representation of the state of this colony, and of our true motives, as to assure his majesty, that in the midst of all our complicated distresses, he has no subjects in his wide extended dominion who more sincerely desire to testify their loyalty and affection, or who would be more willing to devote their lives and fortune in his real service."

To this address Lord William Campbell answered, that he knew of no representatives of the people of this province, except those constitutionally convened in the General Assembly; and was incompetent to judge of the disputes which at present unhappily subsisted between Great Britain and the American colonies; and that no representation should ever be made by him but what was strictly consistent with truth and with an earnest endeavor to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the province.

Opposition having been carried much further by this Congress than was originally intended at the time of their election, they resolved to give the people a fresh opportunity to express their unbiassed judgment on the state of public affairs. They therefore determined that their own existence as a body should expire on the 6th of August following, and that a new election should be held on the two succeeding days for a new Provincial Congress. On the 22d of June, 1775, they adjourned, having first delegated a great part of their authority to the council of safety and the general committee; the former of which was in the nature of an executive, and the latter of a legislative authority. It was particularly recommended to the general committee to take effectual methods to have the association signed throughout the province, and to demand from the non-subscribers the reasons of their refusal. Excepting in that part of the country included between the Broad and Saluda rivers, the non-subscribers were comparatively few. In Charlestown, where the general committee sat, their number amounted to about forty. The greatest part of these were officers, living on salaries paid by his Britannic Majesty. They, and others in the same predicament, were advertised as inimical to the liberties of America, and all intercourse between them and the associators was interdicted. An oath of neutrality was required of all, to which some agreed. Those who refused were disarmed; and a few, who would not enter into any engagements for the public security, were confined to their houses and plantations.

The people having concurred with the views of Congress in a military opposition, various plans were suggested for the defence of the province. Some thought it necessary to obstruct the bar, by sinking vessels so as to exclude the approach of ships-of-war. Others proposed abandoning the town, and making their stand in the country. Many measurements were made and much expense incurred, to accomplish the first, but it was at last abandoned as impracticable. Nevertheless, a spirited resolution was adopted to defend the town to the last extremity.

At the time these military preparations were making, the whole quantity of powder in the province did not exceed three thousand pounds. The people not originally designing a military opposition, no care was taken to provide stores; but now, reduced to the alternative of fighting or submitting, extraordinary methods were taken to obtain a supply.

Twelve persons, authorized by the council of safety, sailed from Charlestown, and by surprise boarded a vessel near the bar of St. Augustine, though twelve British grenadiers were on board, they took out fifteen thousand pounds of powder,

for which they gave a bill of exchange to the captain, and having secured a safe retreat to themselves by spiking the guns of the powder vessel, set sail for Carolina. Apprehending that they should be pursued, they steered for Beaufort. From that place they came by the inland navigation, and delivered their prize to the council of safety, whilst their pursuers were looking for them at the bar of Charlestown. This seasonable supply enabled the people of South Carolina to oblige their suffering brethren in Massachusetts; who, though immediately exposed to the British army, were in a great measure destitute of that necessary article of defence. Though the popular leaders had determined on a military opposition, yet fort Johnson, on James island, which commanded the harbor of Charlestown, continued in possession of the King's servants for more than three months after these resolutions were adopted. The Tamar sloop-of-war, and Cherokee armed vessel of eignteen guns, belonging to his Britannic majesty, lay in Rebellion road, opposite to Sullivan's Island; but the royal officers, either from an apprehension that indiscriminate violence could not to be justified, or from a contempt of the popular party, attempted nothing vigorous or decisive.

About the middle of September, 1775, the general committee became possessed of intelligence, obtained by artifice, directly from Lord William Campbell, "that troops would soon be sent out to all the colonies." On the next evening it was resolved, "that proper measures ought to be immediately taken to prevent fort Johnson being made use of to the prejudice of the colony." Colonel Motte, with a party of the new raised provincials, was appointed to execute this first military enterprise under the authority of the council of safety. Before he landed on the Island the fort was dismantled, the guns dismounted, and the people belonging to it retired on board the Cherokee and Tamar. On the following night Captain Heyward, with thirty-five of the Charlestown artillery, landed at the fort; and notwithstanding an incessant rain, they had three guns ready for action before the dawning of day. The officers of the men-of-war, then in the harbor, discovered a strong inclination to fire upon the fort; but, for prudent reasons desisted from the attempt.

The popular leaders issued orders forbidding the King's victuallers to supply the men-of-war with provisions and water, otherwise than from day to day. After sundry letters and messages had passed on this subject, Captain Thornborough, of the sloop Tamar, gave public notice, "that if his majesty's agents in Charlestown were not permitted regularly, and without molestation, to supply the King's ships Tamar and Cherokee, with such provisions as he thought necessary to demand,

he would not from that day, so far as it was in his power, suffer any vessel to enter the harbor of Charlestown, or depart from it."

The new Provincial Congress met, agreeably to their original appointment, on the 1st of November 1775. On that day, Captain Thornborough sent his menacing letter to the chairman of the general committee. This Congress had been chosen subsequent to the late resolution for raising troops, and resisting Great Britain. The royal servants presumed that the people at large would not justify these invasions of their master's prerogative; and, as they had lately had an opportunity given by a general and free election to express their real opinions on the state of the province, that the new Congress would reverse the determinations of the former. To the great surprise of the King's officers the new Provincial Congress, instead of receding from the resolutions of their predecessors, took methods to ward off the injuries that might arise from the execution of the menaces of Captain Thornborough. They sent out two armed pilot boats with orders to cruise near the bar, and to caution all vessels destined for Charlestown to steer for some other port.

The late Congress in June had agreed to arm the colony; but many still shuddered at the idea of hostile operations against their former friends and fellow-subjects. It was at length, after much debating, resolved by the new Congress, on the 9th of November 1775, to direct the American officer commanding at fort Johnson, "by every military operation to endeavor to oppose the passage of any British naval armament that might attempt to pass." Though the fort had been in the possession of the council of safety for near two months, yet a variety of motives restrained them from issuing orders to fire on the King's ships. When this resolution was adopted, they communicated it to Captain Thornborough, commander of the Tamar sloop-of-war.

An open passage to the town, without approaching fort Johnson, was still practicable for the small royal armed vessels Tamar and Cherokee. It was therefore, at the same time, resolved to obstruct the passage through Hog Island channel. Captain Tufts was ordered to cover and protect the sinking of a number of hulks in that narrow strait. While he was engaged in this business on board a coasting schooner, which was armed for the security of the town and called the Defence, the Tamar and Cherokee warped in the night of November 12, 1775, within gun-shot of him and began a heavy cannonade. The inhabitants were alarmed, expecting that the town, in its defenceless state, would be fired upon; but about sunrise both vessels dropped down to their moorings in Rebellion

road, without having done any material injury either to the schooner or to any of her crew. The schooner Defence returned a few shot, but they were equally ineffectual. This was the commencement of hostilities in South Carolina.

On the evening of the same day, on which this attack was made, the Provincial Congress impressed for the public service the ship Prosper; and appointed a committee to fit and arm her as a frigate-of-war. On the day following they voted that a regiment of artillery should be raised, to consist of three companies with one hundred men in each. A vote was taken about the same time for a new council of safety. Ten of the former thirteen were re-elected, and Henry Middleton, David Oliphant, and Thomas Savage, added in the room of three others. Their powers were enlarged so far as to authorize them "to do all such matters and things relative to the strengthening, securing, and defending the colony as should by them be judged expedient and necessary."

Agreeably to the menaces of Captain Thornborough, the King's ships in the road seized all the vessels within their reach which were either coming to Charlestown or going from it. These seizures commenced several weeks prior to the act of parliament for confiscating American property.

After these unauthorized seizures of private property had been continued about six weeks, the council of safety took measures to drive the royal armed vessels out of the road of Charlestown.* Colonel Moultrie, with a party, took possession of Haddrell's point and mounted a few pieces of heavy artillery on some slight works. A few well directed shot from this post induced the Commanders of the Cherokee and Tamar to put out to sea. The harbor and road being clear, the council of safety proceeded in their plans of defence. They completed the fortifications at Haddrell's point, and at fort Johnson—continued a chain of fortifications in front of the town, both to the eastward and southward—and erected a new fort on James Island to the westward of fort Johnson, and a very strong one on Sullivan's Island. The militia were diligently trained; the provincial troops were disciplined, and every preparation made to defend the colony.

In addition to the four regiments ordered to be raised in the year 1775, two regiments of riflemen were voted in February 1776.

* An opinion generally prevailed that these small royal armed vessels could at any time destroy Charlestown by firing into it. As often as they bent their sails, an alarm was communicated that they were about to commence a bombardment. The inhabitants were for several months kept in daily painful expectation of such an event.

SECTION II.

Of the Extinction of Royal Authority, and of the Royalists.

The legal representatives met twice in the Constitutional Assembly after the general meeting of the inhabitants on July 6, 1774. In their first session, after that event, it was privately determined to give the sanction of their branch of the legislature to the resolutions adopted by the inhabitants at their late convention, though they were well aware that any vote for that purpose would induce the royal Governor to exert his prerogative for their dissolution. After finishing the necessary public business, the speaker of the house summoned a meeting of the members at a very early hour. A motion, previously prepared, was read and agreed to without any debate; which gave the sanction of the Assembly to the resolutions adopted by the people at their late general meeting in July. The same words were used by the people in their general meeting, and by the legal representative in the constitutional Assembly; and the same persons were members of both bodies. Lieutenant-Governor Bull endeavored to dissolve them while they were ratifying this resolution, but the business was completed before a council could be convened.

His majesty's justices made their last circuit in the spring of 1775. On this occasion William Henry Drayton, one of the assistant judges, and the only one who was born in America, in his charge to the grand jury inculcated the same sentiments which were patronized by the popular leaders. Soon after, he was elected President of ther Povincial Congress, and devoted his great abilities with uncommon zeal to the support of the measures adopted by his native country. Before the next circuit, his colleagues having refused to sign the association, were disarmed and advertised as inimical to the liberties of America. Not long after, he was appointed Chief Justice by the voice of his country.

Throughout the year 1775, and the first months of the year 1776, the popular assemblies by words avowed their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. Even while they were arming themselves they endeavored to reconcile this conduct with their allegiance, alleging it was only in self-defence against ministerial tyranny and not for purposes hostile to the King of Great Britain. After the Provincial Congress had raised regular troops Lord William Campbell gave commissions to the officers of volunteer companies of militia, which were formed and trained on the recommendation of the popular leaders. His Lordship also convened an assembly, and transacted

public business with officers in the new provincial regiments who were also members of the Constitutional Legislature; but he dissolved them on the 15th of September 1775, and never afterwards issued writs for a new election. For three months after his arrival he was unmolested, though indefatigable in secretly fomenting opposition to the popular measures. About the middle of September Captain Adam M'Donald had the address to get himself introduced to his lordship under the feigned name of Dick Williams, a supposed confidential messenger from the back country royalists to the Governor. In this assumed character he was informed that his lordship had on the day before, received a letter from the King of Great Britain; setting forth, "that his majesty was determined speedily to send out troops to execute his schemes from one end of the continent to the other." With a view of encouraging the royalists, the Governor gave an exaggerated account of the power of Britain and of her fixed resolution to compel the submission of America. He interspersed his discourse with the severest reflections on the new-fangled Congresses and committees. This conversation being speedily reported to the general committee they sent a deputation from their body, of which Captain M'Donald was one, to demand a communication of his lordship's late dispatches from England and a perusal of his correspondence with the back country. All these requisitions being peremptorily refused, it was moved in the committee to take the Governor into immediate custody; but the proposition was rejected by a considerable majority. His lordship, mortified at the deception which had been passed upon him and distrustful of his personal safety in Charlestown, took the province seal with him, and retired on board the Tamar sloop-of-war. In about a fortnight after, the general committee sent a deputation from their body with an address, inviting his return to Charlestown; in which they assured him, that while, agreeably to his own repeated declarations, he should take no active part against the good people of the colony, in the present arduous struggle for the preservation of their liberties, they should, to the utmost of their power, secure to his excellency that safety and respect for his person and character which the inhabitants of Carolina had ever wished to show to the representative of their sovereign. But his Lordship thought it most prudent to continue on board.

Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers were insensibly transferred from their usual channels to a Provincial Congress, council of safety, and subordinate committees. The inhabitants, generally alarmed for their liberties, took sundry steps for their preservation. From their own impulse they met and chose their representatives in committees and Congresses.

The power of these bodies was undefined; but by common consent it was comprised in the old Roman maxim: "To take care that the commonwealth should receive no damage." The ardor of the people, and their jealousy of the designs of Great Britain, gave the force of laws to their determinations. The voice of an approving country gave efficacy to the proceedings of the committees. They supported the Provincial Congress; which, in its turn, gave an active energy to the resolutions of the Continental Congress.

In this manner, without annihilating the forms of the ancient regal constitution, a new government was in a short time introduced by the general consent of the people.

Though this new establishment was effected by the voice of a great majority—great in number, and in weight and in influence greater still; yet, it was not wholly without opposition. Among the inhabitants of the back country, which had not been settled more than twenty years, many were uninformed or misinformed. In some neighborhoods their affections were enstranged from each other by local hostilities and party divisions; which, a few years before, had been urged to the extremes of reciprocal hatred and violence, as has been related.

There were also among them a considerable number who had settled on lands granted by the bounty of government. These had brought from Europe the monarchical ideas of their holding their possessions at the King's pleasure. They were therefore easily made to believe, that the immediate loss of their freeholds would be the probable consequence of their acceding to the American measures.

Among a people who had so many reasons to love and fear their King, and who were happy under his government, it was no difficult matter for Lord William Campbell to gain votaries to support the royal interest.

His Lordship was unremitting in his endeavors to persuade these uninformed back settlers, that the power of Britain could never be effectually resisted by the feeble American colonies: that the whole dispute was about a trifling tax on tea, which, as they were not in the general habit of using, could not to them be interesting. It was frequently insinuated that the gentlemen on the sea coast, in order to obtain their tea free from tax, were adopting measures which would involve the back country in the want of salt and imported necessaries; and that the expenses of the new raised regiments would be infinitely more than the trifling taxes imposed by the British Parliament.

The people generally felt themselves secure in their persons and property. It was therefore easy to offer arguments against

renouncing present comforts, to ward off future evils. The popular leaders could not urge the inhabitants to the dangers and expenses of war, otherwise than on speculation to prevent the more alarming consequences which would probably take place at a future time, if the proceedings of the British Parliament, against Boston and the province of Massachusetts, were suffered to pass into precedent. Distant evils weigh so little in the estimation of the multitude, that great scope was given to those who wished to head a party for submitting to the demands of Great Britain.

Though there were some royalists in every part of the province the only settlement in which they out-numbered the friends of Congress, was in the fork between Broad and Saluda rivers. When it was determined to raise troops, the inhabitants of that part of the province could not be persuaded that the measure was necessary. Feeling themselves happy and free from present oppression they were averse from believing that any designs, inimical to American liberty, had been adopted by the British government. Instead of signing the association, they signed papers, at their general musters, declaring their unwillingness to concur in the measures recommended by Congress. The council of safety sent William Henry Drayton, and William Tennent, into their settlement, to explain to them the nature of the dispute and to bring them over to a co-operation with the other inhabitants. They had several public meetings, and much eloquence was exerted to induce them to sign the association. Some were convinced and subscribed that bond of union; but the greater number could not be persuaded that there was any necessity for Congresses, committees, or a military establishment. Suspicion began to exert her mischievous influence. The friends of the old government doubted the authenticity of all pamphlets, and newspapers, which ascribed to the British troops in Boston, or to the British government, any designs injurious to the rights of the colonists. They believed the whole to be an imposition. The friends of Congress suspected the leading men of the royalists to be in the pay of Governor Campbell. Reports were circulated by one party, that a plan was laid to seize the commissioners sent by the council of safety; by the other, that the third provincial regiment was brought up to compel the inhabitants to sign the association. Motives and designs were reciprocally attribued to each other of the most ungenerous nature and mischievous tendency. The royalists embodied for reasons similar to those which had induced the other inhabitants to arm themselves against Great Britain. They suspected their adversaries of an intention to dragoon them into a compliance with the measures of Congress; and

they, in their turn, were suspected of a design to commence hostilities against the associators for disturbing the established royal government. Camps were formed in opposition to each other, and great pains were taken to increase their respective numbers. Moderate men employed their good offices to prevent bloodshed. After some days, the leaders on both sides met in conference. Several explications having taken place a treaty was reciprocally agreed to; by which it was stipulated that the royalists should remain in a state of neutrality. Both parties retired to their homes, and a temporary calm succeeded. Mr. Robert Cunningham, who had been a principal leader among the royalists, continued to encourage opposition to the popular measures; and declared that he did not consider himself as bound by the treaty. This declaration was construed as an evidence of a fixed intention to disturb the peace by another insurrection. To prevent anything of that kind he was apprehended, brought to town, and committed to goal. Patrick Cunningham instantly armed a party of his friends, and pursued with the expectation of rescuing his brother. The party collected on this occasion seized a thousand pounds of power, which was at that juncture passing through their settlement. This was public property, and had been sent by the council of safety as a present to the Cherokee Indians. To inflame the minds of the people, some designing men among the royalists propagated a report that the powder was sent to the Indians accompanied with instructions to kill every man who should refuse to sign the association. This charge, entirely false in itself, was not believed by any of the well-informed inhabitants; nevertheless it answered the purposes of party among some of the ignorant multitude. Great pains were also taken to exasperate the inhabitants against the council of safety, for furnishing the Indians with powder at a time when the white people could not be supplied with that necessary article.

Major Williamson, who commanded the militia in favor of Congress, went in quest of the party which had taken the public powder, but was soon obliged to retreat before their superior numbers. The royalists, irritated by the capture of Cunningham, and flushed with success in seizing the powder, were at this time more numerous than at any other period. Major Williamson was reduced to the necessity of retreating into a stockade fort, in which he and his party were confined without any water, till after three days by digging they obtained a scanty supply. The royalists possessed themselves of the gaol of Ninety-Six, and from that station fired into the fort, but very little execution was done. After some days the assailants hoisted a flag, and proposed a truce. Reciprocal permission

was given to forward expresses from the royalists to the Governor, and from Major Williamson to the council of safety. Both parties once more dispersed, and retired to their homes.

Domestic division at this time was particularly to be dreaded. An invasion from Great Britain was soon expected. A British fleet and army in front, and disaffected inhabitants in rear, threatened destruction to the friends of Congress. Lord William Campbell had uniformly recommended to the royalists to remain quiet till the arrival of a British force. This advice, so well calculated to distract the views of the popular leaders, had been providentially frustrated. Similar reasons of policy to those which induced the royal Governor to recommend inaction to the royalists, operated with the council of safety to crush their intestine foes before that force should arrive. It was therefore judged necessary, for the public safety, to march an army into their settlements before that event should take place. To remove prejudices, a declaration was circulated throughout their settlements stating the views and designs of Congress—the necessity of the measures they had adopted, and the wisdom and policy of co-operating with them in defence of their common country.

The Provincial Congress enforced their measures with an army sufficiently numerous to intimidate opposition. They sent a large body of militia and new raised regulars, under the command of Colonels Richardson and Thomson. They were also joined by nine hundred men from North Carolina. In a little time Congress had an army of two or three thousand men under their direction, with instructions "to apprehend the leaders of the party which had seized the powder, and to do all other things necessary to suppress the present and prevent future insurrections." Colonel Richardson proceeded in the execution of these orders with great moderation and propriety. A demand was made that the persons who had seized the powder should be delivered up to the justice of their country. Assurances were publicly given that no injury should be done to inoffensive persons, who would remain quietly on their plantations. The leaders of the royalists found great difficulty in persuading their followers to embody. They were cut off from all communication with Governor Campbell. Unconnected with their brethren, in other parts, there was no union in their measures. They were 'a rope of sand' without order and subordination, and without that enthusiasm which inspired the friends of Congress. Their leaders were destitute of political knowledge and without military experience. The unanimity of the whigs, and the great numbers which, from all sides, invaded the settlements of the royalists, disheartened them from facing their adversaries in the field of

battle. They saw resistance to be vain, and that the new government had much greater energy than they had supposed. The whigs acted by system, and in concert with their brethren in the adjacent States, and were directed by a council of safety composed of the wisest men in the province. They easily carried every point—seized the leaders of the royalists, and dispersed their followers. This decided superiority gave confidence to the popular leaders, and greatly strengthened their hands. The vanquished royalists retired to their plantations; but on all occasions discovered as much obstinacy in opposing their countrymen, as their countrymen did firmness in opposing Great Britain. Several of them, and of others who were averse from fighting, retired over the mountains, where, remote from the noise and bustle of war, they enjoyed that independence for which so many were contending. In the year 1778, when every inhabitant was called on to take an oath of allegiance to the State, many of them voluntarily abannoned their country for East Florida. In the same year, when the alliance between France and the United States of America was published, others of them nominally joined the Congress. After the reduction of Savannah, a considerable party rose a second time in favor of royal government; but they were completely routed on their way to the British emcampments in Georgia. They afterwards remained quiet till the British obtained possession of Charlestown.

Excepting these ill-concerted insurrections no public body in the province, prior to the British conquests in the year 1780, gave avowed evidence of their disapprobation of the popular measures. Several in private, no doubt, complained; but they contented themselves with secret murmurings. The number of slaves within the province, and of Indians on the western frontier, together with the large extent of unprotected sea coast, were, in the opinion of some worthy men, insuperable obstacles to success in contending with Great Britain. Several, influenced by reasoning of this sort, would rather have tamely submitted to the encroachments of the mother country than risked the vengeance of her arms.

The selfish, among the merchants and planters whose gains were lessened by the cessation of trade, wished for the return of business; but the main body of both classes most heartily concurred with the popular measures. A great majority of the people determined to sacrifice ease, pleasure, and fortune; and to risk life itself, to obtain permanent security for American rights. They believed their liberties to be in danger. Roused with this apprehension, they were animated to the most self-denying exertions. Beside their superiority in numbers, there was an animation in the friends of Congress which

was generally wanting in the advocates of royal government. Men of ardor for the most part sided with the former; but the latter were chiefly composed of the ignorant, the selfish, and the timid. Vigorous and decisive measures characterized the popular party, while their opposers either acted without system, or from timid counsels which were feebly executed.

No revolution was ever effected with greater unanimity, or with more order and regularity. The leading men in every part of the province, with very few exceptions, from the first moments of the contest, exerted themselves in the cause of their country. Their abilities and influence gave union and system to the proceedings of the people. A few persons in the colony hated republican governments; and some ignorant people were induced to believe that the whole was an artful deception, imposed upon them for interested purposes, by the gentlemen of fortune and ambition on the sea coast. But among the independent enlightened freemen of the province, who loved liberty and had spirit to risk life and fortune in its support, there were very few to be found who took part with the royalists.

SECTION III.

Of the Formation of a Regular Constitution.

Till the year 1776, the opposition to Great Britain was conducted on such temporary principles, that the repeal of a few acts of parliament would have immediately produced a reinstatement of British government—a dissolution of the American army—and a recommencement of the mercantile intercourse between the two countries. The refusal of Great Britain to redress the grievances of the colonies, suggested to some bold spirits, early in 1776, the necessity of going much greater lengths than was originally intended.

A few penetrating minds foresaw that the love of dominion in the parent state, and the unconquerable love of liberty in America, would forever obstruct a cordial reconciliaiton; but the bulk of the people still flattered themselves with the fond hopes of a re-union.

Public affairs were in confusion for want of a regular constitution. The impropriety of holding courts of justice under the authority of a sovereign against whom all the colony was in arms, struck every thinking person. The impossibility of governing a large community by the ties of honor, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. But, notwithstanding the pressing weight of all these considerations, the formation of an independent constitution had so much the

appearance of an eternal separation from a country, by a reconciliation with which many yet hoped for a return of ancient happiness, that a great part of the Provincial Congress opposed the necessary measure. At the very time when they were suspended on this important debate, an express arrived from Savannah, with an act of parliament, passed December 21, 1775, confiscating American property, and throwing all the colonists out of his majesty's protection. This turned the scale—silenced all the moderate men who were advocates for a reconciliation—and produced a majority for an independent constitution. In less than an hour after that act was read in the Provincial Congress, an order was issued to seize for the public, the Port Henderson, a Jamaica vessel loaded with sugar, which had put into Charlestown on her way to London; though she had the day before obtained leave to pass the forts, and would have sailed the same afternoon on her intended voyage.

A law of the national parliament, which had thrown the colonies out of his majesty's protection, convinced the most lukewarm that America, legally discharged from her allegiance to the King of Great Britain, must now take care of herself.

So strong was the attachment of many to Great Britain, which they fondly called the mother country, that though they assented to the establishment of an independent constitution, yet it was carried, after a long debate, that it was only to exist "till a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies should take place." The friends of reconciliation believed that it was the dictate of sound policy, and in no respect incompatible with the true honor and dignity of the parent state, to redress the grievances of the American colonies. The great body of the people would have rejoiced at such an event, and would with cheerfulness have returned to the class of peaceable citizens in the ancient line of subordination. They therefore only framed a temporary constitution, consisting of three branches, on the model of the British government. The Provincial Congress which formed this constitution, in conformity to the example of their revolutionary predecessors in 1719, voted themselves to be the General Assembly of South Carolina. They elected thirteen of their most respectable members to be a Legislative Council: they also elected a President and vice president; six privy counsellors to advise the president; a chief justice and three assistant judges; an attorney general; secretary; ordinary; judge of the admiralty; register of mesne conveyances.* The newly elected Presi-

* These several offices were filled as follows: Members of the Legislative Council—Charles Pinckney, Le Roy Hammond, George Gabriel Powel, William Moultrie, Rawlins Lowndes, Stephen Bull, Thomas Shubrick, Richard Richard-

dent, John Rutledge, took an oath to discharge his duty faithfully, and made an impressive speech on the occasion. The Legislative Council and General Assembly presented an affectionate address to the President, by which they engaged to "support him with their lives and fortunes." A solemn compact was thus established between the people and their chief magistrate. Every department of government was organized on the representative system, and went into immediate operation.

From this time forward, the public business was conducted agreeably to the fixed rules of the temporary constitution. Instead of resolutions of the congresses and committees, bills were brought in and debated, both in the Assembly and Legislative Council, deliberating apart and uninfluenced by each other. On their being agreed to by both houses, they were presented to the President for his assent. When duly enacted by the three branches of Legislature, they were carried into execution by the President and privy council. An act of Assembly was passed in this session 'for preventing sedition and punishing insurgents and disturbers of the public peace.'

By this law, treason and rebellion assumed a new form, and the penalties of these crimes were legally denounced against the aiders and abetters of British government.

The courts of justices which had been shut for twelve months, were, with great solemnity, opened on the 23d of April, 1776, under the sanction of this temporary constitution. On that occasion, William H. Drayton, Chief Justice, under the appointment of the Provincial Congress, gave an interesting charge to the grand jury, in which he vindicated the proceedings of his native country as just in themselves, and justified by what was done in England in 1688. The charge concluded thus: "I think it my duty to declare in the awful seat of justice, and before Almighty God, that, in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favor, their own virtue, and their being so prudent as not to leave it in the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side, and the jealousies entertained, and which, in the nature of things, must daily increase against us on the other, demonstrate to a mind

son, Thomas Ferguson, John Kershaw, Henry Middleton, David Oliphant, Thomas Bee.

John Rutledge, President. Henry Laurens, Vice President. W. H. Drayton, Chief Justice. Thomas Bee, John Mathews and Henry Pendleton, Assistant Judges. Alexander Moultrie, Attorney General. John Huger, Secretary. William Burrows, Ordinary. Hugh Rutledge, Judge of the Admiralty. George Speed, Register of Mesne Conveyances.

Members of the Privy Council—James Parsons, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, William H. Drayton, Charles Pinckney, Rawlins Lowndes.

in the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconcilement never can exist between Great Britain and America: the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain: let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish His purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of her enemies who think her prosperity and power already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labors in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious and a happy people!

"And now, having left the important alternative, political happiness or wretchedness under GOD, in a great degree in your own hands, I pray the Supreme Arbiter of the affairs of men so to direct your judgment as that you may act agreeably to what seems to be his will revealed in his miraculous works in behalf of America bleeding at the altar of liberty!"

The sentiments contained in this charge, from the bench of justice, were re-echoed from the grand juries in the different districts. This first General Assembly, agreeably to the constitution they had framed, was dissolved by their own act and a general election for members of the Legislature was immediately held throughout the State. Such was the union of the people, and so general their acquiescence in the measures adopted by their representatives, that the former members were almost universally returned. The new Assembly met on the 6th of December, 1776, and in a few days after, rechose the former President and Vice President. The government had energy, and was cheerfully obeyed. So much tranquility reigned in every part of South Carolina, that after the departure of the British fleet and army in July, and the termination of the Cherokee expedition in October, 1776, events which shall hereafter be more particulary explained, the bulk of the people were scarcely sensible of any revolution or that the country was at war.

The policy of the rulers in departing as little as possible from ancient forms and names, made the change of sovereignty less perceptible. The inhabitants had long been in the habit of receiving laws from a General Assembly and Council. The administration of the government in times past, on the demise of the Governor, had been uniformly committed to one of the Council, under the title of President. The people felt themselves secure in their persons and properties, and experienced all the advantages of law and government. These benefits were communicated under old names,

though derived from a new sovereignty. Their ancient laws and customs were generally retained. The kingly office was dropped, and the revolution took place without any violence or convulsion.

South Carolina was the first of the united colonies that formed an independent constitution; it rested on the fundamental point, that the voice of the people was the source of law, honor and office. Criminal prosecutions, which were formerly carried on in the name of the King, were, from that era, carried on in the name of the State. The same offices, with nearly the same duties and powers that had existed under the royal government, were continued under the popular establishment, but with this difference, that the officers obtained their places by the vote of the Legislature, and not from the appointment of the Crown. The majesty of the people took the place that had formerly been occupied by the kingly office. By this substitution, a change of government was easily and almost insensibly effected. The respect which, for time immemorial, had been attached to Kings as the vicegerents of deity, and contributed to the support of their power, was transferred to those who, by public suffrages, were brought forward as substitutes of the people. Each individual thought that by honoring and supporting the men thus elected to public office, he honored himself as an unit in the mass of common sovereignty from which all power was derived.

SECTION IV.

Of the Attack of the Fort on Sullivan's Island, by Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, and the Invasion of the Cherokees by Colonel Williamson.

Soon after a regular form of government was adopted, a formidable attack from Great Britain gave an opportunity of ascertaining its energy. Governor Campbell, from the time of his abandoning the province, had been assiduous in his attempts to procure a military force to reduce it to obedience. He represented the friends of royal authority as needing only the countenance of a small military force to give them an opportunity of embodying for the establishment of British government; that Charlestown might be easily reduced, and that the reduction of it would restore the province to its former tranquility; Crown officers and their friends, the royalists, associating chiefly with one another, and not knowing or not believing the numbers, the resources, nor the enthusiasm of the opposite party, deceived themselves and communicated their delusions to the rulers in Great Britain.

In the close of the year 1775, and the beginning of the year 1776, great preparations had been made in Great Britain to invade the American colonies with a force sufficient to compel submission. With this view, early in 1776 upwards of fifty thousand men were employed in active operations against America. Part of this force was ordered to the southward, to carry into effect in that quarter the designs of the British ministry. In South Carolina every exertion had been made to put the province, especially its capital, in a respectable posture of defence. As one means conducing thereto, the popular leaders had erected works on Sullivan's Island. This is a very convenient post for annoying ships approaching the town. At the time the British fleet appeared off the coast, about twenty-six heavy cannon, twenty-six eighteen and nine pounders were mounted at Sullivan's Island, on a fort constructed with palmetto. This is a tree peculiar to the Southern States, which grows from twenty to forty feet high, without branches, and then terminates in something resembling the head of a cabbage. The wood of it is remarkably spongy. A bullet entering it makes no splinters nor extended fracture, but buries itself without injuring the parts adjacent.

On the first of June, 1776, advices were received in Charlestown that a fleet of forty or fifty sail were at anchor about six leagues to the northward of Sullivan's Island. The next day the alarm was fired, and expresses sent to the officers commanding the militia in the country to repair to Charlestown. In a few days after, several hundreds of the troops from the British fleet were landed on Long Island. This is situated to the eastward of Sullivan's Island, and separated from it by a creek. On the fourth of June, thirty-six of the transports crossed the bar, in front of Rebellion road, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island; two of them ran aground in crossing, one of which got off, but the other went to pieces. On the 10th of June, the Bristol, a fifty gun ship, her guns being previously taken out, got safely over. About this time a proclamation was sent ashore, under the sanction of a flag, in which the British General, Sir Henry Clinton, promised pardon to the inhabitants in case of their laying down their arms and quietly submitting to the re-establishment of royal government. This produced none of the effects expected from it. The militia of the country repaired in great numbers to Charlestown. The regular regiments of the adjacent northern States, having been ordered to the assistance of their southern neighbors, arrived at this critical juncture. The two continental General officers, Armstrong and Howe, came about the same time. The whole was put under the orders of Major-General Lee. In a few days the Ameri-

cans, including the militia of the town and country, amounted to five or six thousand men. The first South Carolina regular regiment, commanded by Colonel Gadsden, was stationed at Fort Johnson. This is situated about three miles from Charlestown, on the most northerly point of James' Island, and is within point blank shot of the channel. The second and third regular regiments of South Carolina, commanded by Colonels Moultrie and Thomson, occupied the two extremities of Sullivan's Island. The other forces had their posts assigned them at Haddrell's point, James' Island, and along the Bay in front of the town. The streets near the water were, in different places, strongly barricaded. The stores on the wharves were pulled down, and lines of defence were continued along the water's edge. Domestic conveniences were exchanged for blankets and knapsacks, and hoes and spades were in the hands of every citizen. In a few days, by their labor, in conjunction with a number of negroes, such obstructions were thrown in the way as would have greatly embarrassed the royal army attempting to land in the town.

On the 25th, the Experiment, a fifty gun ship, arrived near the bar; and on the 26th, her guns being previously taken out, she got safely over.

On the 28th the fort on the Island was briskly attacked by the two fifty-gun ships, Bristol and Experiment, four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay, Syren, each of twenty-eight guns, the Sphynx, of twenty guns, the Friendship, an armed vessel of twenty-two guns, Ranger sloop, and Thunder-Bomb, each of eight guns. Between ten and eleven o'clock the Thunder-Bomb began to throw shells. The Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay, came boldly on to the attack. A little before eleven o'clock the garrison fired four or five shot at the Active while under sail. When she came near the fort she dropped anchor, and poured in a broad-side. Her example was followed by the three other vessels, and a most tremendous cannonade ensued. The Thunder-Bomb, after having thrown about sixty shells, was so damaged as to be incapacitated from firing. Colonel Moultrie, with three hundred and forty-four regulars, and a few volunteer militia, made a defence that would have done honor to experienced veterans. During the engagement the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands at their respective posts, prepared to receive the British wherever they might land. Impressed with high ideas of British bravery, and diffident of the maiden courage of their own new troops, they were apprehensive that the forts would either be silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. The various passions of the mind assumed alternate sway, and marked their countenances with anxious fears or cheerful

hopes. Their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to Heaven and preferring death to slavery.

General Clinton was to have passed over to Sullivan's Island with the troops under his command on Long Island; but the extreme danger to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt. Colonel Thompson, with seven hundred men, an eighteen pounder, and a field piece, were stationed at the east end of Sullivan's Island to oppose their crossing; but no serious attempt to land on Sullivan's was made, either from the fleet or by the detachment on Long Island. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were sent round to attack the western extremity of the fort. This was so unfinished as to afford very imperfect cover to the men at the guns in that part, and also so situated as to expose the men in the other parts of the fort to a very dangerous cross-fire. Providence, on this occasion, remarkably interposed in behalf of the garrison and saved them from a fate, which, in all probability, would otherwise have been inevitable. About twelve o'clock, as the three last mentioned ships were advancing to attack the western wing of the fort, they all got entangled with a shoal called the Middle Ground; two of them ran foul of each other. The Acteon stuck fast. The Sphynx, before she cleared herself, lost her bowsprit; but the Syren got off without much injury. The ships in front of the fort kept up their fire till near seven o'clock in the evening without intermission; after that time it slackened. At half-past nine the firing on both sides ceased; and at eleven the ships slipped their cables. Next morning all the men-of-war, except the Acteon, had retired about two miles from the Island. The garrison fired several shot at the Acteon; she at first returned them, but soon after the crew set her on fire and abandoned her; leaving her colors flying, guns loaded, and all her ammunition and stores. She was in a short time boarded by a party of Americans, commanded by Captain Jacob Milligan. While flames were bursting out on all sides they fired three of her guns at the commodore, and then quitted her. In less than half an hour after their departure she blew up.* The Bristol had forty men killed and seventy-one wounded. Every man, who was stationed in the beginning of the action on her quarter deck, was either killed or wounded. The Experiment had twenty-three killed and seventy-six wounded. Lord William Campbell, the late Governor of the

* Her guns were afterwards raised and planted on the lines of Charlestown for purposes of defence · but on being fired they burst. This was supposed to be the consequence of a change their metal had undergone from their falling into the cold water of the harbor, when they were heated by previous discharges.

province, who, as a volunteer, had exposed himself in a post of danger, received a wound which ultimately proved mortal. The fire of the fort was principally directed against the Bristol and Experiment; and they suffered very much in their hulls, masts, and rigging. Not less than seventy balls went through the former. The Acteon had Lieutenant Pike killed, and six men wounded. The Solebay had eight men wounded. After some days the troops were all re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York.

The loss of the garrison was ten men killed and twenty-two wounded. Lieutenants Hall and Gray were among the latter. Though there were many thousand shot fired from the shipping, yet the works were little damaged: those which struck the fort were ineffectually buried in its soft wood. Hardly a hut or tree on the Island escaped.

When the British appeared off the coast there was so scanty a stock of lead, that to supply the musketry with bullets, it became necessary to strip the windows of the dwelling houses in Charlestown of their weights. Powder was also very scarce. The proportion allotted for the defence of the fort was but barely sufficient for slow firing. This was expended with great deliberation. The officers in their turn pointed the guns with such exactness that most of their shot took effect.* In the beginning of the action the flag-staff was shot away. Sergeant Jasper of the grenadiers immediately jumped on the beach, took up the flag and fastened it on a sponge-staff. With it in his hand he mounted the merlon; and, though the ships were directing their incessant broad-sides at the spot, he deliberately fixed it. The day after the action President Rultedge presented him with a sword, as a mark of respect for his distinguished valor. Sergeant M'Donald, of Captain Huger's company, was mortally wounded by a cannon ball. He employed the short interval between his wound and his death, in exhorting his comrades to continue steady in the cause of liberty and their country.

This ill-conducted expedition contributed greatly to estab-

* On the third day after the action, the lady of Colonel Bernard Elliott presented an elegant pair of colors to the second regiment which had so bravely defended fort Moultrie. Her address on the occasion concluded thus: "I make not the least doubt, under Heaven's protection, you will stand by these colors as long as they waive in the air of liberty." In reply a promise was made, "that they should be honorably supported, and never should be tarnished by the second regiment." This engagement was literally fulfilled. Three years after they were planted on the British lines at Savannah. One by Lieutenant Bush who was immediately shot down. Lieutenant Hume in the act of planting his, was also shot down; and Lieutenant Gray in supporting them received a mortal wound. The brave Serjeant Jasper on seeing Lieutenant Hume fall, took up the color and planted it. In doing so he received a wound which terminated in death; but on the retreat being ordered he brought the colors off with him. These were taken at the fall of Charlestown, and are said to be now in the tower of London.

lish the popular government which it was intended to overset. The friends of America triumphed. Unacquainted with the vicissitudes of war, some of them began to flatter themselves their work was done and their liberties established. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that American might effectually resist a British fleet and army. The diffident grew bold in their country's cause, and looked forward to the completion of their wishes for its liberty and independence. The advocates for the omnipotence of the British navy confessed their mistake. Those who, from interested motives, had abetted the royal government, ashamed of their opposition to the struggles of an infant people for their dearest rights, retired into obscurity. Mr. Cunningham, and other leaders of the royalists, who, on the defeat and dispersion of their party in the latter end of 1775, had been taken and committed to close confinement, obtained their discharge soon after the departure of the British fleet. The State wished to conciliate them to the popular measures, and therefore in this moment of triumph received from them assurances of fidelity to their country, and restored them to the rights and privileges of free citizens.

Soon after the engagement, when the British troops were re-embarked for their departure, the transport ship Glasgow, mounting six four-pounders, with fifty-six highlanders on board, ran aground near Long Island. Captain Pickering, Benjamin Waller, Cornelius Dewees, William Dewees, and twenty-one seamen, all volunteers, came alongside of her in a wood-boat, on which were mounted one eighteen-pounder and some smaller guns, and took the whole crew of the Glasgow prisoners. After stripping her of everything that could be brought off, they set her on fire. This successful defence gave to South Carolina a respite of three years from the calamities of war. In that season of leisure two expeditions were projected against Florida, but they both proved abortive. The energies of the State were applied with more success against the Cherokee Indian nation, which inhabit lands not far distant from the western settlements of Carolina. On the first appearance of a rupture between Great Britain and her colonies, the attention of both parties were engaged to secure the friendship of Indians. Many circumstances had concurred to give them unfavorable impressions of the Americans. For several years the management of them had been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and wholly devoted to the royal interest. Being in the immediate service of his Britannic majesty, he conceived himself under obligations to exert his influence to attach the Indians to the royal interest. The state of public affairs in the colonies furnished

him with many plausible arguments subservient to this design. The non-importation agreement adopted by the Americans, not only disabled them from supplying the wants of the Indians, but precluded the possibility of their receiving royal presents. This interruption of the commerce usual between the white inhabitants and their savage neighbors, gave Mr. Stuart an opportunity of exasperating the Indians against the friends of Congress.

In the years 1760 and 1761, a war with the Cherokee Indians had involved the inhabitants of South Carolina in such distress that they courted the aid of the King's troops in America. In fifteen years after, when the people of the same country dared to resist the parent state, it was supposed by the friends of royal government that the horrors of an Indian war would once more bring the province to sue for British protection.

The above mentioned Mr. John Stuart, very early in the contest, retired from South Carolina to West Florida; and from that province employed his brother Henry Stuart, Mr. Cameron, and others, to penetrate into the Indian country to the westward of Carolina. A plan was settled by him, in concert with the King's Governors, and other royal servants, to land a British army in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontiers of the Southern States, and there, in conjunction with the tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of the revolution, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea-coast. Moses Kirkland, a leader of the party for royal government in the back parts of South Carolina, was confidentially employed by John Stuart, Governor Tonyn, and other royal servants to the southward, to concert with General Gage, the commander of the British forces in Boston, the necessary means for accomplishing the above mentioned scheme. The whole plan was fully detected by the providential capture of the vessel which was conveying Kirkland to Boston. The letters found in his possession were published by the order of Congress, and produced conviction in the minds of the Americans, that the British administration, in order to effect their schemes, had employed savages, who indiscriminately murder men, women and children, to commence hostilities on their western brethren. Though the discovery of the British designs, and the capture of Kirkland, who was to have had an active share in the execution of them, in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal servants, yet so much was carried into effect, that the Cherokee Indians began their massacres two days after the British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's Island.

The Americans very early paid attention to their savage

neighbors. They appointed commissioners to explain to them the grounds of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, and to cultivate with them a friendly correspondence. As far as they possibly could, they supplied their wants. They endeavored to persuade the Indians that the quarrel was by no means relative to them, and that therefore they should take part with neither side. These moderate propositions were overruled by the superior influence of the royal superintendent, who had their previous confidence and more ample means of administering to their necessities. An Indian war commenced, and was carried on with its usual barbarity. Their massacres caused a general alarm. It was known that the Indians were excited by royal agents, and aided by some of the tories. The inhabitants were for the most part destitute of arms, and government could afford them no supply. For present safety they betook themselves to stockade forts. Colonel Williamson was charged with the defence of the country, but so general was the panic, that in sixteen days he could not collect 500 men. An engagement took place on the 15th of July, between a party of Indians and tories, and a party of militia commanded by Major Downs. The former were defeated and fled. They were pursued, and thirteen of their number being taken, were found to be white men painted like Indians. Intelligence of the repulse of the British at Sullivan's Island on the 28th of June, arrived in the back country at this critical time, and produced very happy effects. The tories were intimidated, and the inhabitants turned out with so much alacrity that Williamson soon found himself at the head of 1,150 men. With 330 horsemen he advanced to attack a party of tories and Indians, which was encamped at Occnore creek. On his way he was attacked both in front and flank by savages who had formed an ambuscade, and from it kept up a constant fire. Williamson's horse was shot under him; Mr. Salvador fell by his side, and his whole party was thrown into disorder. Colonel Hammond rallied about twenty men, and, directing them to reserve their fire, marched rapidly with them to the fence behind which the Indians were covered, fired upon them, and immediately jumped over and charged. The Indians fled from the approaching bayonet. Williamson burned the Indian town on the east side of Keowee river, but his men could not be induced to pass the river till Colonel Hammond crossed before them. They then followed, and without delay destroyed all the houses and provisions they could find. Williamson returned to his main body and advanced with them to Eighteen Mile creek, where he encamped on the 2d of August. As he advanced, he sent off detachments to lay waste the Indian set-

tlements, who, by the fifteenth, had completed the destruction of all their lower towns. On the 13th of September, Williamson, with an army of two thousand men, partly regulars and partly militia, marched into the country of the Cherokees, whose warriors were said to be equally numerous. The invaders again fell into an ambuscade. They entered a narrow valley enclosed on each side by mountains. Twelve hundred Indians occupied these heights, and from them poured in a constant and well directed fire. Detachments were ordered to file off and gain the eminences above the Indians, and to turn their flanks. Others, whose guns were loaded, received orders from Lieutenant Hampton to advance, and after discharging to fall down and load. The Indians being hard pressed, betook themselves to flight. The army proceeded without further interruption, and on the 23d of September arrived in the vallies. Penetrating through them, they destroyed whatever came in their way. All the Cherokee settlements to the eastward of the Apalachian mountains, were so rapidly laid waste, that the business of destruction was completed, and Williamson's army disbanded early in October. Above five hundred of the Cherokees were obliged, by their distress for want of provisions, to take refuge with John Stuart, in West Florida, where they were fed at the expense of the British government. The Indian settlements to the northward were at the same time invaded by a party of Virginia militia, commanded by Colonel Christie, and nineteen hundred North Carolina militia, commanded by General Rutherford; and to the southward by the Georgia militia, commanded by Colonel Jack. Dismal was the wilderness through which the Americans had to pass. Their route was over pathless mountains, whose ascents were so steep that they could not be scaled without serious danger. At other times they had to march through thickets so impenetrable that the rays of the sun scarcely ever reached the surface of the earth. They were incessantly occupied for five days in advancing twenty-five miles. Notwithstanding all these fatigues, not one died of disease, and only one was so sick as to be unable to march.

The unfortunate misled Indians, finding themselves attacked on all sides, sued in the most submissive terms for peace. They had not the wisdom to shun war, nor the cunning to make a proper choice of the party with whom they made a common cause. About fifteen years before, by taking part with the French, they had brought on themselves a severe chastisement from the British and Americans. At this time, in consequence of joining the British and the tories, their country was laid waste, and their provisions so far destroyed

as to be insufficient for their support. And they were compelled, as a conquered people, to cede to South Carolina all their lands to the eastward of the Unacaye mountains, which now form the populous and flourishing districts of Pendleton and Greenville. These former lords of the soil have ever since been cooped up in a nook in the southwest angle of South Carolina, though the best part of that State was, about sixty years ago, their exclusive property. To preserve peace and good order, a fort called fort Rutledge was erected at Seneca, and garrisoned by two independent companies. A friendly intercourse between the savages and white inhabitants took place, and everything remained quiet till the year 1780.

None of all the expeditions before undertaken against the savages had been so successful as this first effort to the newborn commonwealth. In less than three months the business was completed, and the nation of the Cherokees so far subdued as to be incapable of annoying the settlements. The loss of the Americans in the expedition was thirty-three killed, and seventy-two wounded. The Cherokees lost about two hundred men.

From the double success of this campaign, in repelling the British and conquering the savages, the people of South Carolina began to be more and more convinced that the leading strings of the mother country were less necessary than in the days of their infancy. Through the whole of this year, though the arms of the British were successful to the northward, their interest to the southward declined. Every plan, for their acting in concert with the tories and Indians, proved abortive. Hard would it have been for the whigs of South Carolina to have opposed so formidable a combination could the friends of Britain have succeeded in their scheme of acting at one and the same time: but, through the kindness of heaven, the favorers of the revolution had the opportunity of attacking them separately, and of successively pouring their whole force, and also that of a considerable aid from their neighbors, on the tories, the British, and the Indians. The first, from their premature insurrection, were crushed before their British friends arrived. The last were abandoned to the resentment of the State, by the royal fleet and army precipitately leaving the coast, and under the smiles of heaven, all three were vanquished by the infant American republics. The means adopted by the British to crush the friends of the Congress were providentially overruled, so as to produce the contrary effect. Their exciting Indians to massacre the defenceless frontier settlers increased the unanimity of the inhabitants, and invigorated their opposition to Great Britain. Several who called themselves tories in 1775 became active whigs in 1776, and cheerfully took up arms in

the first instance against Indians, and in the second against Great Britain, as the instigator of their barbarous devastations. Before this event some well-meaning people could not see the justice or propriety of contending with their formerly protecting parent State; but Indian cruelties, excited by royal artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers.

The expedition into the Cherokee settlements diffused military ideas, and a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. It taught them the necessary arts of providing for an army, and gave them experience in the business of war. The new arrangements, civil and military, were followed with that energy and vigor which is acquired by an individual or a collective body of people acting from the impulse of their own minds. The peaceable inhabitants of a whole State were in a short time transformed from planters, merchants, and mechanics, into an active militia, and a well regulated self-governed community.

SECTION V.

Of Independence and the Alliance with France.

Notwithstanding the nominal existence of royal authority in South Carolina, an independent government had a virtual operation from the 6th of July 1774. This was at first by conventions, committees, and congresses, whose resolutions had the fullest force of law on a people who thought that their liberties were endangered, and that their only safety consisted in union. It was afterwards reduced into a more regular form in March 1776; but all these institutions were temporary, and looked forward to an accommodation with Great Britain. The act of final separation from the mother country could not be the work of any one State. Everything of that magnitude was referred to the Continental Congress, to whose general superintendence the individual colonies had voluntarily submitted. That august assembly, at their first meeting in 1774, petitioned the King, and addressed the people of Great Britain for a redress of their grievances. In the year 1775 they renewed their supplications to their sovereign, in which they prayed that his majesty would be pleased "to direct some mode by which the united application of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the meantime measures might be taken for preventing the further destruction of his majesty's subjects." They also a second time addressed the people of Great Britain, in which

they apprised them of their fixed resolution to defend their liberties, but at the same time disclaimed every wish of independence, or any thing more than the secure enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges. They asked for peace, but the sword was tended—for liberty, but nothing short of unconditional submission was offered. Their petitions received no answer. And all the inhabitants of the colonies were, by an act of parliament passed December 21, 1775, thrown out of the King's protection. This was a legal discharge from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and placed the colonies in a state of nature, at full liberty to provide for their own safety, by entering into any new social compact which they approved. Though the refusal of protection was a legal justification of their conduct in withholding allegiance, yet independence was untried ground, and could not at once gain the plenary approbation of colonies which had long flourished under royal protection. The minds of the inhabitants were overcast with fears, and tossed in a tumult of uncertainty. Their resolution was fixed never to submit to the claims of the British parliament, but how to extricate themselves from surrounding difficulties was a question that embarrassed their wisest politicians. While they were in this state of feverish anxiety, a pamphlet, under the signature of Common Sense, written by Mr. Thomas Paine, made its appearance. It proved the necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence. It satisfied a great majority of the people that it was their true interest immediately to cut the gordian knot which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, and to open their commerce as an independent people, to all the nations of the world. Nothing could be better timed than this performance. It found the colonists greatly exasperated against the mother country, most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer everything that bid fairest for their establishment. In unison with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced astonishing effects. It was read by almost every American, and in conjunction with the cruel policy of Great Britain, was by the direction of Providence, instrumental in effecting an unexampled unanimity in favor of independence. The decisive genius of Christopher Gadsden in the south, and of John Adams in the north, at a much earlier day, might have desired the complete separation of America from Great Britain—but till the year 1776—the rejection of the second petition of Congress—and the appearance of Mr. Paine's pamphlet—a reconciliation with the mother country was the unanimous wish of almost every other American.

Before the Congress ventured on the important step of

changing the sovereignty of the colonies, they sent forth a resolution on the 15th of May, 1776, recommending to all of them to institute forms of government. This was intended to ascertain the sense of the inhabitants on the important question of independence. In adopting this measure, Congress, instead of leading, only followed the voice of the people. South Carolina had for near two months been in possession of a regular government. Independence was finally decided on in Congress, and declared in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776. In this declaration, South Carolina most heartily concurred, and the same was subscribed on her part by her representatives, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Arthur Middleton.

From this moment everything assumed a new appearance. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered, enslaved provinces, or free and independent States. This decisive measure was adopted without assurances of aid from any foreign power, and in the face of a British force of fifty thousand men. In a few days it was received in Charlestown, and proclaimed in the most solemn manner to the troops under arms. This was followed with the firing of guns, ringing of bells, acclamations of the people, and all the usual parade of a public rejoicing. The Declaration of Independence arrived in Charlestown at a most favorable juncture. It found the people of South Carolina exasperated against Great Britain for her late hostile attack, and elevated with their successful defence of Fort Moultrie. It was welcomed by a great majority of the inhabitants. In private it is probable that some condemned the measure, as rashly adventurous beyond the ability of the State; but these private murmurs never produced to the public ear a single expression of disapprobation.

After the termination of the unsuccessful attack on the fort on Sullivan's Island in June, 1776, the British arms were for more than two years wholly employed to the northward. During this period, South Carolina felt very few of the inconveniences which were then grinding their brethren to the northward. They were in possession of a lucrative commerce, and comparatively happy. In the year 1777 and 1778 Charlestown was the mart for supplying with goods most of the States to the southward of New Jersey. Many hundred wagons were employed in this inland traffic. At no period of peace were fortunes more easily or more rapidly acquired.

While Congress vigorously opposed Great Britain from their own resources, they did not neglect the important business of negotiation. The friendship of foreign powers, particularly of the ancient and powerful monarchy of France, was, from the Declaration of Independence, earnestly desired by the new-formed States of America. On the 6th of February, 1778, his most christian majesty, Louis the Sixteenth, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the American commissioners at Paris, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. Such a powerful ally, added to the natural force of America, alarmed the fears of Great Britain, and induced her to make an effort in the way of negotiation to recover her late colonies. Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, were appointed commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to come to America and to offer Congress a relinquishment of the parliamentary exercise of taxation, and to confirm them in every immunity consistent with an union of force. So expeditious was the court of Great Britain in proposing these overtures, that the bills containing them were read in Congress eleven days before any information was received by that body of their alliance with France. A firm determination, under no change of fortune whatever to recede from their Declaration of Independence, prompted Congress in the first instance to reject the proposals of a RE-UNION with Great Britain. After their connection with France was known, gratitude and national faith were additional incentives to continue in the same line of conduct.

When the alliance with France was announced in South Carolina, it diffused a general joy. It not only gave confidence to all in the final establishment of their independence, but reconciled them to the calamities of war. They viewed their misfortunes only as temporary, and looked forward to a speedy peace, when all their wishes in favor of their country would be realized. The conduct of Congress, in instantly rejecting the offers of the commissioners, was in all companies applauded. The second petition of Congress had not asked so much as was then offered. At that period the propositions of Great Britain would have been gladly accepted, but to that petition the King of Great Britain refused an answer. After the colonies had declared themselves independent States—had pledged their honor to abide by that declaration—had, under the smiles of heaven, maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid—after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence—after all this to degrade themselves from the rank of freemen to that of subjects—from sovereign States to dependent provinces—were propositions no where less relished than

by the citizens of South Carolina. The tide was fairly turned. Instead of that hankering after Great Britain which had made a separation painful, the current of popular opinions and prejudices ran strong in an opposite direction.

On a review of the transactions between Great Britain and America from the year 1774 to the year 1778, an attentive observer cannot but remark four different periods, in each of which the contest between the two countries assumed a new complexion. The parliamentary claims of unlimited supremacy—the Boston port act—the abolition of the charter of Massachusetts, and the other acts of the like tendency, passed about the same time, roused the colonies in 1774 to the appointment of a Congress, and to a declaration of their exclusive right to tax themselves, and regulate their own internal polity. To obtain a repeal of thirteen acts of parliament, which infringed upon these claims, they petitioned the King of Great Britain, and associated to suspend all trade till this repeal should be obtained. The success that had followed two former attempts of this kind, flattered them that their present wishes would soon be fully gratified. They therefore very generally came into the measure, without foreseeing all the consequences, and without intending anything further than such a commercial opposition as would interest the West Indians and British merchants in their behalf. The refusal of this first petition, and the subsequent commencement of hostilities on the part of Great Britain, produced in the colonists a determination to oppose force to force. A military opposition was therefore adopted about the middle of the year 1775, but without a design of effecting a separation from Great Britain. At this second stage of the quarrel, the Congress prepared a second petition, praying for the repeal of the obnoxious acts. To give weight to this renewed application to the throne, and to rouse the people of England to a sense of the probable consequences of their persisting in the war, they formed a temporary army, and published to the world their resolution of defending their liberties at every hazard. Still nothing further was intended than a redress of grievances. The rejection of this second petition—the determination to wage war in full form against the colonists—and the act of parliament putting the whole of them out of the King's protection, gave birth to a third and unforeseen measure—the Declaration of Independence. Without this they must either have submitted with their grievances unredressed, or carried on a war under the appellation of subjects in arms against their acknowledged sovereign, in which case no foreign power could have openly assisted them. After this measure was adopted, a federal union might have taken place between Great Britain and America. Instead of

proposing anything of this kind, Great Britain carried on the war for the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, professedly with a view to reduce them to unconditional submission, and offered nothing to the United States before April 1778, which they could with safety accept. After a treaty had been concluded between France and America, Great Britain sent out commissioners to offer Congress more than a repeal of the acts which were at first the source of the dispute. By this conduct she virtually acknowledged she had been hitherto in the wrong, and also gave the United States an opportunity of evincing to their new ally the sincerity of their engagements.

From this time forward commenced the fourth period of the contest. The colonies were not only lost to Great Britain, but their whole weight was thrown into the opposite scale of France.

Though the continental Congress, in conducting the opposition to the mother country, did little more than give an efficient operation to the wishes of their constituent, yet the British commissioners flattered themselves that an application to the local Legislatures and the people at large, would be more successful. They therefore next addressed themselves to the individual States, and denounced the extremities of war on those who continued to prefer the alliance with France to a re-union with Great Britain. This did not produce the intimidation expected from it, nor were their proposals more favorably received by the local Legislatures, or the people, than they had been by the Continental Congress. When the flag arrived with their overtures separately addressed to the Governor, the Assembly, the military, the clergy, and the people of South Carolina, it was detained in the road near the harbor of Charlestown, till President Lowndes convened his council, and the heads or leading men of the different orders of the inhabitants, to whom they were addressed. As soon as the letters of the British commissioners were read to the gentlemen convened on this occasion, an unanimous resolution was adopted to order the flag-vessels immediately to depart the State. This was accompanied with a reprimand for attempting to violate the constitution of the country, by offering to negotiate with the State in its separate capacity.

SECTION VI.

Campaign of 1779.

Soon after the British commissioners were convinced of the inefficacy of negotiation to effect a re-union of the colonies with Great Britain, the war recommenced, but entirely on a new system. Hitherto the conquest of America had been at-

tempted by proceeding from north to south; but that order was from this period inverted. The northern States in their turn obtained a diminution of their calamities, while South Carolina and the adjacent settlements, became the principal theatre of offensive operations.

The reduction in Savannah in December, 1778, by Colonel Campbell, and the rapid extension of British conquests over Georgia, were among the first consequences of this new plan of warfare. South Carolina was thereby made a frontier; the proximity of the enemy called for redoubled exertions to be prepared for every event.

At the request of the delegates from South Carolina, Congress appointed Major General Lincoln to take the command of all their forces to the southward. This officer was second in command in the campaign of 1777, when General Burgoyne and his army surrendered to General Gates. He brought to the southward great reputation, and there, though under many disadvantages, acquired the further honor of checking the British conquests, and preserving the State for upwards of fifteen months against a superior enemy. His plans were well formed; but his little army, mostly consisting of militia, was not able to contend with superior numbers and the discipline of British regular troops. The continentals under his command did not exceed six hundred men, and all the rest of his force was made up of draughts from the inhabitants of the country, changed every second or third month.

Upon advice received of the intentions of the British to invade the southern States, President Lowndes, in order to keep as great a force as possible in the country, laid on a general embargo, and prohibited the sailing of vessels from any port of the State. He also ordered "the proprietors of neat cattle, sheep and hogs, on the sea-islands and other parts immediately exposed to the incursions of the enemy, to remove them off the said islands or exposed places, that the British might be prevented from obtaining a supply of provisions." And also addressed the Legislature in an animated speech of which the following is a part. "Our inveterate and obdurate enemy being foiled in the northern States, and by the valor and good conduct of the inhabitants compelled to abandon their hopes of conquest there, have turned their arms more immediately against these southern States, in hopes of better success. They are now in possession of Savannah, the capital of Georgia, from whence, if not prevented, an easy transition may be made into this country. This situation of danger, gentlemen, calls for your most serious consideration. Our whole force and strength should be exerted to stop the progress of the enemy." These spirited sentiments were re-echoed

by the House of Representatives in an address, of which the following is a part. "That our cruel and ambitious enemies should turn their arms against these southern States is a circumstance not unexpected. But this last nefarious struggle of our desponding foes will, we trust, under the assistance of Divine Providence, in the end tend more to show their impotent malice, than the wisdom of their counsels or the valor of their arms; for that same spirit which once animated our countrymen to drive them disgraced from our coasts, will again be exerted to effect the like happy consequences. We conceive ourselves bound by all the difference there is between the horrors of slavery and the blessings of liberty, to use every means in our power to expel them from our country."

General Lincoln established his first post at Purysburgh, a small village on the northern banks of the river Savannah. A large proportion of the militia of the State of South Carolina was draughted, put under the command of Colonel Richardson, and marched for the American head quarters. Their numbers were considerable, but they had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languors of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence on their freeholds, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline.

The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by troops from St. Augustine, its commanders formed a scheme of extending a part of their forces into South Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, was detached to take possession of Port Royal Island. Soon after he landed General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of men in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off the Island. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces which were well served by a party of the Charlestown militia artillery, under the command of the Captains Heyward and Rutledge. The British lost almost all their officers, and several prisoners were taken by a small party of Port Royal militia commanded by Captain Barnwell. The Americans had eight men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Among the former, Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins was the theme of universal lamentation. His country regretted the fall of a worthy man, and an excellent officer. A numerous young family sustained a loss which to them was irreparable.

This success of the Americans checked the British, and for the present prevented their attempting any enterprise against South Carolina; but they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. Their next object were to strengthen themselves by the addition of the tories. Emissaries were employed

to encourage them to a general insurrection. Several hundreds of them accordingly embodied and marched along the western frontiers of the State. Colonel Pickins, with about three hundred men, immediately followed and came up with them near Kettle creek; where an action took place which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories gave way, and were totally routed. Colonel Pickins had nine men killed, and several wounded. The royalists had about forty killed; in which number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head these insurgents. By this action the British were totally disconcerted. The tories were dispersed all over the country. Some ran to North Carolina, some wandered not knowing whither. Many went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of the new government. Soon after this defeat, the British retreated from Augusta towards Savannah; and for the remainder of that season the whole upper country, of both South Carolina and Georgia, enjoyed domestic security.

The insurgents on this occasion were the subjects of the State of South Carolina, and owed obedience to its laws. They were therefore tried in a regular manner, by a jury, under the direction of the Courts of Justice appointed by the republican government. Seventy of them were condemned to die by the laws of the State, enacted since the abolition of royal government; but the sentence of the court was executed only on five of their principals, and all the rest were pardoned.

This second unsuccessful insurrection damped the spirit of the tories. Their plans were ill laid, and worse executed. They had no men of ability capable of giving union to their force. They were disappointed in their expectations of aid from the royal army, and had the mortification to see a few of their ringleaders executed for treason and rebellion against the State.

As the British extended their posts up the river Savannah on the south side, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp and opposite to Augusta. From these posts he crossed the river at Augusta and at Zubly's ferry in two divisions, with the view of limiting the British to the sea coast of Georgia. In the execution of this design General Ash, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and a few Georgia continentals, crossed the Savannah river on the 28th of February 1779; and immediately marched down the country as far as Briar creek. At this place, on the fourth day after his crossing, he was surprised at three o'clock in the afternoon by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost. This detachment of the royal army, having crossed Briar creek fifteen miles above General Ash's encampment, came unexpectedly on his rear. The

American militia, completely surprised, were thrown into confusion and fled at the first fire, Several were killed, and a considerable number taken. None had any chance of escaping but by crossing the river, in attempting which many were drowned; of those who got over safe, a great part returned home. The few continentals, about 60 under Colonel Elbert, fought with the greatest bravery; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. The whole that remained and rejoined the American camp, did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. This event deprived General Lincoln of one-fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of South and North Carolina.

Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were frequently subject to those reverses of fortune which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprised; and had to learn, by repeated misfortunes, the necessity of subordination and the advantages of discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable; but such is the difference of the state of society, and of the population in the old and new world, that in America a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with those which, in European States, would have called into the field many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and five hundred millions of acres of land; and yet, from the remote situation of the invading power and the thin population of the invaded States, this momentous question was materially affected by the consequences of battles in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British in Georgia, occasioned among the inhabitants of South Carolina many well founded apprehensions for their safety. The Assembly of the State, desirous of making a vigorous opposition to the extension of the British conquests, passed a very severe militia law. Hitherto the penalties for disobedience of orders were inconsiderable, but as the defence of the country, in a great measure, depended on the exertions of its inhabitants, much heavier fines were imposed on those who either neglected to turn out or who misbehaved or disobeyed orders. Every effort was made to strengthen the continental army. Additional bounties and greater emoluments were promised as inducements to encourage the recruiting service. The extent and variety of military operations in the open country pointed out the advantages of

cavalry; a regiment of dragoons was, therefore, raised and put under the command of Colonel Daniel Horry.

In this time of general alarm, John Rutledge, by the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, was called to the chair of government. To him and his council was delegated, by the Legislature, power "to do everything that appeared to him and them necessary for the public good." In execution of this trust he assembled a body of militia. This corps, kept in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service might require, was stationed near the centre of the State, at Orangeburg. From this militia camp, Colonel Simmons was detached with a thousand men, to re-inforce General Moultrie, at Black Swamp. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Lincoln marched with the main army up the Savannah river, that he might give confidence to the country, and lead into Georgia a body of militia encamped in South Carolina, under the command of General Williamson. A small force was left at Black Swamp and Purysburgh, for the purpose of defending Carolina, while offensive operations were about to be commenced in Georgia. General Prevost availed himself of the critical time, when the American army was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, and crossed over into Carolina from Abercorn to Purysburgh with two thousand men. In addition to this number of regular troops, a party of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the royal army. Lieutenant-Colonel Macintosh, who commanded a few continentals at Purysburgh, not being able to oppose this force, made a timely retreat. It was part of Prevost's plan to attack Moultrie at Black Swamp, to effect which he made a forced march the first night after he landed on the Carolina side, but he was three hours too late. Moultrie had changed his quarters, and being joined by Macintosh's party, took post at Tulifinny Bridge, to prevent the incursion of the British into the State and to keep between them and its capital. General Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached Colonel Harris, with two hundred and fifty of his best light troops, for Charlestown, but crossed the river Savannah, near Augusta, with the main army, and marched for three days down the country towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention from an idea that Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him from his intended operations in Georgia, by a feint of attempting the capital of South Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah would occasion very little additional delay in repairing to the defence of Charlestown. Prevost proceeded in his march by

the main road, near the sea coast, without opposition, as far as Coosawhatchie bridge. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighteen continentals and a much larger number of militia, was detached to dispute this difficult pass. That gallant officer persevered till he was wounded and had lost one-half of his continentals. The British fired in security under the cover of houses on the opposite bank, and had the advantage of a field piece. On this, the first time of their being in danger, the American militia could not be persuaded to stand their ground. A retreat took place, and was conducted by Captain Shubrick, over a long causeway, in the face of a superior foe.

As the British army advanced into the country, they committed many outrages and depredations. The day before the skirmish just mentioned, they burnt all the buildings on Major Butler's plantation, at the Eutaws. The day after, they burned the Episcopal Church, in Prince William's Parish, and General Bull's house, at Sheldon.

The position of General Moultrie at Tulifinny was by no means a safe one, for the British might easily have crossed above him and got in his rear. A general retreat of his whole force towards Charlestown was, therefore, thought advisable. This was conducted with great propriety, though under many disadvantages. Moultrie had no cavalry to check the advancing foe, and, instead of receiving re-inforcements from the inhabitants as he marched through the country, many of the militia left him and went home. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. Several, after providing for their wives and children, rejoined Moultrie in Charlestown, but the greater number sought security by staying on their plantations. The retreating Americans destroyed all the bridges in their rear, but there was scarce any other interruption thrown in the way of the British in their march through the country. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plundering and devastations of the invaders, and, above all, the dread of the royal auxiliaries, the Indian savages, whose constant practice is to murder women and children, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants, and induced many of them to apply to the British for their protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavored to ingratiate themselves with their protectors by representing the capital as an easy conquest. This flattering prospect induced General Prevost, contrary to his original intention, to pursue his march. Governor Rutledge, with the militia lately encamped at Orangeburg, had set out to join Moultrie at Tulifinny bridge, but, on the second day of their march, advice was received of Moul-

trie's retreat, and that Prevost was pushing towards Charlestown. This intelligence determined the Governor to march with all the force under his command to the defence of the capital.

When Prevost crossed the Savannah river, Charlestown Neck was almost wholly defenceless. An invasion on the land side, by an army marching through the country, was an event so unexpected that no proper provision had been made against it. The British did not continue their march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, but halted two or three days when they had advanced more than half the distance. In this short interval, Lieutenant-Governor Bee, and the gentlemen of the council, made the greatest exertions to fortify the town on the land side. All the houses in the suburbs were burnt. Lines and an abbatis were, in a few days, carried from Ashley to Cooper rivers. Cannon were mounted at proper intervals across the whole extent of Charlestown Neck. The militia in the vicinity were summoned to the defence of Charlestown, and they generally obeyed. Public affairs now appeared in a very singular situation. Lincoln was marching unmolested towards the capital of Georgia, while Prevost was advancing with as little interruption towards the capital of South Carolina. The hurry and confusion that prevailed in the State, and particularly in Charlestown, exceeds all description. The whole country seemed to be in motion. In the north the militia were pushing for the capital. In the south no less than five armies were, at the same time, but for very different purposes, marching through the State. General Moultrie, with a force originally 1,200, but daily diminishing, was retreating before General Prevost, at the head of a British army of 2,000 men. General Lincoln, with an American army of 4,000 men, having re-crossed Savannah river, was in the rear of Prevost, pursuing him with hasty strides to save Charlestown, while Governor Rutledge, with 600 militia men, and Colonel Harris, with a detachment of 250 continental troops, were both hastening, the one from Orangeburg and the other from the vicinity of Augusta, to get in front of Prevost, and either to re-inforce Moultrie or defend the capital, as circumstances might require. Moultrie, Rutledge and Harris, with their respective commands, all reached Charlestown on the 9th and 10th of May, the last having marched nearly forty miles a day for four days successively. Their arrival, together with that of the militia from the northern parts of the State, gave hopes of a successful defence.

On the 11th, 900 of the British army, their main body and baggage being left on the south side of Ashley river, crossed the ferry, and in a few hours appeared before the lines. On

the day that they marched down Charlestown Neck, the infantry of an American legionary corps crossed Cooper river and landed in Charlestown. This was commanded by Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, a Polander of high birth. The men under his command had scarcely arrived two hours when he led them out, and engaged the British cavalry with so much resolution, that the second in command, Colonel Kowatch, and most of his infantry, were killed or wounded. The survivors with difficulty effected their retreat. Pulaski had several successful personal rencontres with individuals of the British cavalry, and on all occasions discovered the greatest intrepidity. The gallant example of this distinguished partizan, courting danger on every occasion, had a considerable influence in dispelling the general panic, and in introducing military sentiments into the minds of men who had heretofore been peaceable citizens.

The British advanced to Watson's, about a mile from the lines. As they were unfurnished for a siege, and had nothing to depend on but the chance of a sudden assault, this was therefore so confidently expected that the whole garrison continued standing to their arms all night. That it might not be made by surprise, tar barrels were lighted up in front of the works. When it was dark, some fancied they saw the enemy near the lines; a false alarm was instantly communicated, and a general discharge of cannon, field-pieces and musketry took place. By this unfortunate mistake, Major Benjamin Huger, a brave officer, an able statesman, and a highly distinguished citizen, was killed by his countrymen. He was without the lines on duty with a party, twelve of whom were either killed or wounded. It was presumed by the garrison that Lincoln, with the army under his command, was in close pursuit of Prevost, but his present situation was unknown to every person within the lines. To gain time in such circumstances was a matter of great consequence. A message was sent to the British commander, requesting to be informed on what terms he was disposed to grant a capitulation, to which he returned an answer offering "peace and protection;" and to such as declined acceptance of the same, "that they might be received as prisoners of war, and their fate be decided by that of the rest of the colonies. On the 12th, General Prevost was informed that his proposal was so dishonorable to the garrison, that it could not be agreed to, and an interview between officers from both armies was requested, to confer on terms. At this interview the officers from the garrison were instructed to propose—"A neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America; and that the question whether the State shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the

United Sates, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers. This proposition being made to Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, acting as a commissioner in behalf of General Prevost, he answered "that they did not come in a legislative capacity." On a second interview, Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost ended the conference by saying, "That as the garrison was in arms, they must surrender prisoners of war." This being refused, preparations were made for sustaining an immediate assault. The inhabitants, as well as the regular troops, were determined to stand to the lines and defend their country. The next morning, the 13th, at daylight, to the great joy of the whole garrison, it was resounded along the lines, "the enemy is gone." It is probable they began their retreat immediately after the termination of the conference, and were restrained from making the threatened assault by intelligence derived from an intercepted letter from Lincoln, about fifty miles distant, to Moultrie in Charlestown, which was dated May 10th, and concluded thus: "Pray stimulate your people to every exertion for the defence of the town, until the troops here can arrive. Our men are full of spirits. I think they will do honor to themselves, and render service to the public. Do not give up, nor suffer the people to despair."

Count Pulaski, with his cavalry, pursued the British, but they had crossed Ashley river before he came to it. Expresses were sent to General Lincoln to inform him of the retreat of the enemy, and a thousand men were ordered to hold themselves in immediate readiness to go out to his aid. To avoid being between two fires, the British filed off from the main road, by which they came and took post on James Island and the other islands on the sea-coast. While they were encamped on James Island, their motions were constantly watched from the steeple of St. Michael's church, by Peter Timothy, and minutely reported to the commanding officer. The British collected a number of boats, and seemed to be making preparations to invade the town on its water side. The inhabitants expecting an attack every night, were kept in a constant state of alarm, and the little army was subdivided into a number of small guards, posted round the town to prevent a surprise.

While the British were encamped on James Island, about seventy or eighty of the Americans were posted nearly opposite to them, at the plantation of Mr. Matthews on John's Island. On the 20th of May a party of the troops commanded by General Prevost crossed over the narrow river which separates the two islands, surprised the out-sentinel of the Americans, and extorted from him the countersign. Possessed of this criterion, they advanced in security to the second sentinel

and bayonetted him before he could give any alarm. Without being discovered, they then surrounded the house of Mr. Mathews, rushed in on the unprepared Americans, and put several of them, though they made no resistance, to the bayonet. Among the rest, Mr. Robert Barnwell, a young gentleman who adorned a very respectable family by his many virtues, good understanding and sweetness of manners, received no less than seventeen wounds; but he had the good fortune to recover from them all, and still lives an ornament to his country. The British having completed this business, burned the house of Mr. Mathews.

The British and American armies encamped within thirty miles of Charlestown, watching each other's motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made on the part of the British army, entrenched at Stono ferry. A feint was to have been made from James Island with a body of militia from Charlestown, at the same time that General Lincoln began the attack from the main; but from mismanagement, and a delay in providing boats, the militia from Charlestown did not reach their place of destination till several hours after the action. The American army consisted of about twelve hundred men. The British force consisted of six or seven hundred men. They had three redoubts, with a line of communication, and field pieces very advantageously posted in the intervals, and the whole secured with an abbatis. That they might be harassed or lulled into security, for several nights preceding the action they were alarmed by small parties. When the real attack was made, two companies of the Seventy-first regiment sallied out to support the pickets. Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson ordered his light-infantry to charge them, on which they instantly retreated. Only nine of their number got safe within their lines. All the men at the British field pieces between their redoubts, were either killed or wounded. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had manifestly the advantage; yet the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James Island was intended, made a retreat necessary.

The loss of the Americans on this occasion, in killed and wounded was about one hundred and fifty. Among the former was the gallant Colonel Roberts, whose superior abilities as an artillery officer, commanded the approbation of his countrymen, and rendered his early fall the subject of universal regret.

Soon after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their plantations, generally returned to their homes. About the same time the British left the islands in

the vicinity of Charlestown, retreating from one to another till they arrived at Port Royal and Savannah. The sea-coast of South Carolina, to the southward of Charlestown, is so chequered with islands and intersected with creeks and marshes, as to make the movements of an army extremely difficult. The British were much better provided with boats than the Americans, and therefore could retire with expedition and safety. Various projects were attempted to enable General Lincoln to pursue them. Boats on wheel-carriages, so constructed as to suit the variegated face of the country, were proposed; but before anything of this sort could be completed, the British had retreated to places of security.

This incursion into South Carolina, and subsequent retreat, contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause; but it added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces under the command of General Prevost marched though the richest settlements of the State, where are the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves. The hapless Africans, allured with hopes of freedom, forsook their owners and repaired in great numbers to the royal army. They endeavored to recommend themselves to their new masters by discovering where their owners had concealed their property, and were assisting in carrying it off. All subordination being destroyed, they became insolent and rapacious, and in some instances exceeded the British in their plunderings and devastations. Collected in great crowds near the royal army, they were seized with the camp fever in such numbers that they could not be accommodated either with proper lodgings or attendance. The British carried out of the State, it is supposed, about three thousand slaves, many of whom were shipped from Georgia and East Florida, and sold in the West Indies. When the the British retreated, they had accumulated so much plunder that they had not the means of removing the whole of it. The vicinity of the American army made them avoid the main land, and go off in great precipitation from one island to another. Many of the horses which they had collected from the inhabitants were lost in ineffectual attempts to transport them over the rivers and marshes. For want of a sufficient number of boats, a considerable part of the negroes were left behind. They had been so thoroughly impressed by the British with the expectation of the severest treatment, and even of certain death from their owners, in case of their returning home, that in order to get off with the retreating army they would sometimes fasten themselves to the sides of the boats. To prevent this dangerous practice, the fingers of some

of them were chopped off, and soldiers were posted with cutlasses and bayonets to oblige them to keep at a proper distance. Many of them, laboring under diseases, afraid to return home, forsaken by their new masters, and destitute of the necessaries of life, perished in the woods. Those who got off with the army were collected on Otter Island, where the camp fever continued to rage. Without medicine, attendance, or the comforts proper for the sick, some hundreds of them expired. Their dead bodies, as they lay exposed in the woods, were devoured by beasts and birds, and to this day the island is strewed with their bones. The British carried with them several rice-barrels full of plate, and household furniture in large quantities, which they had taken from the inhabitants. They had spread over a considerable extent of country, and small parties visited almost every house, stripping it of whatever was most valuable, and rifling the inhabitants of their money, rings, jewels, and other personal ornaments. The repositories of the dead were in several places opened, and the grave itself searched for hidden treasure.* Feather-beds were ripped open for the sake of the ticking. Windows, china-ware, looking-glasses and pictures were dashed to pieces. Not only the larger domestic animals were cruelly and wantonly shot down, but the licentiousness of the soldiery extended so far that, in several places, nothing within their reach, however small and insignificant, was suffered to live. The gardens which had been improved with great care, and ornamented with many foreign productions, were laid waste, and their nicest curiosities destroyed. The houses of the planters were seldom burnt, but in every other way the destruction and depredations committed by the British were enormous.

Soon after the affair at Stono, on the 20th of June, the continental forces under the command of General Lincoln retired to Sheldon. Both armies remained in their respective encampments till the arrival of the French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

After the conquest of Grenada, in the summer of 1779, Count D'Estaing with the force under his command retired to Cape François. Thence he sailed for the American continent and arrived early in September with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for Savannah;

* Several of the first settlers of Carolina laid off spots of ground on their plantations for the interment of their dead, when there were no, or very few, public church yards. These private cemeteries are still used by their descendants and others for the same purpose.

and orders were issued for the militia of South Carolina and Georgia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, who had a small command at Sunbury, and Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, who was in force at Beaufort, were ordered to repair to Savannah. Count D'Estaing made repeated declarations, that he could not remain more than fifteen days on shore. Nevertheless the fall of Savannah was considered as certain. It was generally believed that in a few days the British would be stripped of all their southern possessions. Flushed with these romantic hopes, the militia turned out with a readiness that far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. Every aid was given from Charlestown, by sending small vessels to assist the French in their landing; but as the large ships of Count D'Estaing could not come near the shore, this was not effected till the 12th of September. On the 16th, Savannah was summoned to surrender. The garrison requested twenty-four hours to consider of an answer. This request was made with a view of gaining time for the detatchment at Beaufort, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, to join the royal army in Savannah. An enterprise was undertaken to prevent this junction, but it proved unsuccessful. Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland pushed through by Dawfuskies, dragged his boats through a gut, and joined Prevost before the time granted for preparing an answer to D'Estaing's summons had elapsed. The arrival of such a reinforcement, and especially of the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, determined the garrison to risk an assault. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or of besieging the garrison. On the evening of the 23d they broke ground. On the 4th of October the besiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and sixteen from the water. These continued to play with short intervals for four or five days, but without any considerable effect.

It was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on D'Estaing by his marine officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet in its present unrepaired condition on such a dangerous coast in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore that it might be surprised by a British fleet. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances no further delay could be admitted. To assault or to raise the seige was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter; but a sense of honor determined to adopt the

former. The morning of the 9th of October was fixed upon for the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia; and a real attack on the Spring Hill battery with 2,500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the Charlestown militia, led by Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys did such execution as threw the front of the column into confusion. A general retreat of the assailants took place after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing received two wounds; 637 of his troops, and 257 continentals were killed or wounded; of the 350 Charlestown militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, six were wounded and Captain Shepherd killed. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling as they fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia almost universally went to their homes. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops, artillery and baggage, and left the continent; and General Lincoln's army marched to Charlestown.

Thus ended the campaign of 1779, without anything decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the State of Georgia for one hundred and fifty miles from the coast and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charlestown, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by repeated disappointments, were thoroughly broken. The arrival of the French fleet protracted the execution of a plan formed for turning the force of the war against the southern States. The want of success in the attack on Savannah induced the British commander in New York, soon after Count D'Estaing's departure, to resume it.

SECTION VII.

Campaign of 1780.

No sooner was the departure of the French fleet from the coast of America known at New York, than Sir Henry Clinton set on foot a grand expedition against Charlestown. The campaigns of 1778 and 1779 to the northward, had produced nothing of importance. But he regaled himself with flattering prospects of more easy conquests among the weaker States. The almost uninterrupted march of General Prevost

through the richest parts of South Carolina to the gates of the capital; the conduct of the planters who, on that occasion, were more attentive to secure their property by submission, than to defend it by resistance, together with the recent successful defence of Savannah, all invited the British arms to the southward.

Unfortunately for Carolina, the most formidable attack was made on her capital, at a time when she was least able to defend it. In 1776 a vote of her new government stamped a value on her bills of credit, which in 1780 could not be affixed to twenty times as much of the same nominal currency. At this important juncture, when the public service needed the largest supplies, the paper bills of credit were of the least value. To a want of money was added a want of men. The militia were exhausted with an uninterrupted continuance of hard duty. The winter, to others a time of repose, had been to them a season for most active exertions. The dread of the small pox which, after seventeen years absence, was known to be in Charlestown, discouraged many from repairing to the defence of the capital. The six continental regiments, on the South Carolina establishment, in the year 1777, consisting of 2,400 men; but in the year 1780 they were so much reduced by death, desertion, battles, and the expiration of their terms of service, that they did not exceed 800. Government had neither the policy to forgive nor the courage to punish the numbers who, in the preceding campaign, deserting their country's cause, had repaired for protection to the royal standard of General Prevost. They who stayed at home and submitted, generally saved some part of their property. They who continued with the American army were plundered of everything that could be carried away, and deprived of the remainder as far as was possible by wanton destruction. After events of this kind, it was no easy matter to call forth the militia from their homes to the defence of Charlestown. The repulse at Savannah, impressed the inhabitants with high ideas of the power of Britain. The impossibility of a retreat from an invested town, created in many an aversion from lines and ramparts. The presence of Sir Henry Clinton who, as Commander-in-Chief, could order what reinforcements he pleased, and who would naturally wish by something brilliant to efface the remembrance of his defeat in 1776, concurred with the causes already mentioned to dispirit the country. The North Carolina and Virginia continentals, amounting to 1,500 men, and also two frigates, a twenty-gun ship, and a sloop-of-war, were ordered from the northward for the defence of Charlestown. This was all the aid that could be expected from Congress. The resolution was nevertheless unanimously

taken, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

The royal army, destined for the reduction of Charlestown, embarked at New York on the 26th of December 1779. They had a tedious and difficult passage, in which they sustained great damage. This, with their touching at Savannah, made it as late as the 11th of February, 1780, before they landed at the distance of thirty miles from Charlestown. The Assembly, then sitting, immediately broke up, and delegated, "till ten days after their next session, to the Governor, John Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do everything necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." Invested with this authority, he immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was soon after issued, "requiring such of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation." This severe, though necessary measure, produced very little effect. Had Sir Henry Clinton pushed immediately for the town, he might have possessed himself of it in four days after his landing; but that cautious commander adopted the slow method of a regular investiture. At Wappoo, on James Island, he formed a depot and erected fortifications, both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of the town. On the 29th of March he passed Ashley river, and the third day after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards, and at successive periods erected five batteries on Charlestown Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for their defence. The works that had been thrown up in the spring of the year 1779, were strengthened and extended. Lines of defence and redoubts were continued across Charlestown Neck from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the lines was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch picketted on the nearest side. Between the abbatis and the lines deep holes were dug at short distances from each other. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. In the centre a strong citadel was erected. Works were thrown up on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable. The continentals, with the Charlestown battalion of artillery, manned the lines in front of the British on the Neck between Ashley and Cooper rivers. The works on South Bay and other parts of the town, not immediately exposed to danger, were defended by the militia. The marine force of

the State had been increased by converting four schooners into gallies, and by the armed ships Bricole and Truite, which for that purpose had been lately purchased from the French. The inferior numbers of the garrison forbade any attempts to oppose Sir Henry Clinton before his landing on the main. Immediately after which Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with a corps of light infantry, briskly attacked his advanced guards. In this skirmish, Captain Bowman was killed, Major Hyrne, and seven privates wounded. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels, and made his advances with the greatest circumspection. From the third to the tenth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after, the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and an almost incessant fire kept up.

A British fleet, commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot consisting of the Renown of fifty guns, the Romulus and Roebuck each of forty-four, the Richmond, Le Blonde, Raleigh, Virginia, each of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road on the 20th of March, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The force opposed to this was the Bricole of forty-four guns, the Providence and Boston, each of thirty-two guns, the Queen of France of twenty-eight, L'Avanture and the Truite, each of twenty-six, the Ranger and brig General Lincoln, each of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of Commodore Whipple, who commanded the American naval force, was to prevent Admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar; but on the near approach of the British fleet he retreated to fort Moultrie, and in a few days after to Charlestown. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except the Ranger, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. On the 9th of April Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and taking advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, with three hundred men, kept up a brisk and severe fire on the ships in their passage. Twenty-seven seamen were killed or wounded. The Richmond's fore-topmast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage. The Acetus transport ran aground near Haddrell's point. Captain Gadsden, detached with two field-pieces, fired into her with such effect that the crew set her on fire, and retreated in boats to the other vessels. The royal fleet came to anchor, in about two hours, near the remains of fort Johnson on James Island, within long shot of the town batteries. To prevent their running up Cooper river,

from which they might have enfiladed the lines, was the next object. With this intention eleven vessels had been sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The Ranger frigate and two galleys were stationed to the northward of it, to cooperate with the batteries on shore in defending these obstructions, and to attack any armed vessels that might force a passage through Hog-Island channel.

Though the greatest exertions had been made by the gentlemen in power to reinforce the garrison, and to strengthen the lines, yet their endeavors were not seconded by the people. No more country militia could be brought into the town, and very few could be persuaded to embody in the country. Seven hundred continentals, commanded by General Woodford, who had marched five hundred miles in twenty-eight days, arrived in Charlestown on the 10th of April. This was the only reinforcement the garrison received during the siege, though the communication between the town and country was open until the middle of April.

The fire of the besiegers soon discovered itself to be much superior to that of the beseiged. The former had the advantage of twenty-one mortars and royals; the latter only of two. While the lines of approach advanced with such rapidity that the second parallel, at the distance of three hundred yards, was completed on the 20th, the lines of the beseiged in many places sustained great damage. On the 14th, the American cavalry, as shall be more particularly hereafter related, was surprised at Monk's Corner, and totally routed. The British immediately extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river, and took post with two hundred and fifty cavalry, and five hundred infantry, in the vicinity of Wappetaw. On the 16th General Lincoln called a council of officers, who were of opinion that the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack this separate corps. The only practicable route of an evacuation was to the right of the town. To deter Lincoln from attempting this change of position, the British continued to extend and increase their force in that quarter. On the 20th and 21st, a council of officers was again called to deliberate on the important subject of an evacuation. They were of opinion, "that it was unadvisable, because of the opposition made to it by the civil authority and the inhabitants, and because, even if they should succeed in defeating a large body of the enemy posted in their way, they had not a sufficiency of boats to cross the Santee before they might be overtaken by the whole British army." The council of war recommended a capitulation with the besiegers as the most eligible mode of effecting the desired evacuation. In this it was proposed that the security of the in-

habitants, and a safe unmolested retreat for the garrison, with baggage and field-pieces to the northeast of Charlestown, should be granted on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, as an equivalent for the quiet possession of the town, its fortifications and dependencies. These terms were instantly rejected, and from that time the dispirited garrison made a languid resistance.

The inferior numbers of the besieged forbade repeated sallies. The only one made during the siege was on the 24th of April, soon after the rejection of the offered terms of capitulation. This was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, who led out two hundred men, and attacked the advanced working-party of the British, killed several, and took eleven prisoners. In this affair Captain Moultrie, of the South Carolina line, was killed. The only plan now left for an evacuation, was to withdraw privately under cover of the night. A council of war held on the 26th pronounced this measure impracticable with the present numbers of the garrison. While General Lincoln was pressed with these difficulties, the British flag was seen flying on fort Moultrie. After the ships had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, was withdrawn from that post to reinforce the besieged army in Charlestown. The feeble remainder of that garrison, mostly militia, on the 6th of May surrendered without firing a gun, to Captain Hudson of the British navy. On the next day Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence, and renewed his former terms. At this time all the flesh-provisions of the garrison were not sufficient to furnish rations for the space of a week. There was no prospects either of reinforcements, or of supplies from the country. The engineers gave it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by assault in ten minutes. The same obstacles in the way of an evacuation still existed with increased force. General Lincoln was disposed to close with the terms offered, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made in behalf of the citizens. Sir Henry Clinton insisted on their being all prisoners on parole. He also evaded any determinate answer to the article which requested leave for those who did not choose to submit to the British government, to sell their estates and leave the province. The royalists in the State having had this indulgence at all times since the abolition of regal government, it was hoped that on a proper representation of these matters, in a free Conference, the generosity of the beseigers would soften their demands. This Conference was asked by General Lincoln, without directly refusing what was offered. Contrary to the expectation of the besieged, an answer was returned that hostilities should re-

commence at eight o'clock. When that hour arrived the most vigorous onset of the besiegers was immediately expected by the garrison, But instead of this neither army fired a gun for some time. Both seemed to dread the consequences of an assault, and to wish for a continuance of the truce, and a reconsideration of the proposed articles. At nine P. M., firing commenced from the garrison, and was kept up on both sides for several hours with unusual briskness, and did more execution than had taken place in the same length of time since the commencement of the siege. Shells and carcasses were thrown incessantly into almost all parts of the town. Several houses were burnt, and many more were with difficulty saved. By this time the British had completed their third parallel. Besides the cannon and mortars which played on the garrison at the distance of less than a hundred yards, rifles were fired by the Hessian jagers with such effect, that very few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. On the 11th the British crossed the wet ditch by Sap, and advanced within twenty-five yards of the lines of the besieged. On this day petitions were presented from a great majority of the inhabitants, and of the country militia, praying General Lincoln to accede to the terms offered by Sir Henry Clinton. Under these circumstances Lincoln found it necessary to assent to the articles as proposed without any conference or explanation.

This was the first instance in the American war of an attempt to defend a town; and the unsuccessful event, with its consequences, makes it probable that if this method had been generally adopted the independence of America could not have been so easily supported.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on General Lincoln for risking his army within the lines. Though the contrary plan was undoubtedly the best in general, yet he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the American army. The reinforcements promised him were fully sufficient for the security of the town. The Congress and the governments of North and South Carolina gave him ground to count upon nine thousand nine hundred men. From a variety of causes, some of which have been already stated, this paper army, including the militia of both Carolinas, was very little more than one-third of that number. Notwithstanding this unfortunate termination of his command in the southern district, great praise is due to General Lincoln for his judicious and spirited conduct, in baffling, for three months, the greatly superior force of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charlestown and the southern army were lost, yet, by their long protracted defence, the British plans were not only retarded, but

deranged; and North Carolina, as will hereafter be made evident, was saved for the remainder of the year 1780.

The return of prisoners transmitted by Sir Henry Clinton, on the surrender of Charlestown, was very large. It comprehended every adult free man of the town, between two and three thousand sailors who had been taken from the shipping and put into the batteries, and the militia of both Carolinas, then in garrison. These swelled the number to upwards of 5,000, and afforded ample materials for a splendid account of the importance of the conquest; but the real number of the privates of the continental army was 1,977, and of these 500 were in the hospitals. The number of the captive officers was also great. During the thirty days of the siege, only twenty American soldiers deserted. The militia and sailors were stationed in those batteries which were not much exposed, and therefore they suffered very little. Of the continentals who manned the lines in front of the besiegers, eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and thirty-eight wounded; among the former were Colonel Parker, an officer who had often distinguished himself by his gallantry and good conduct, and Captain Peyton, both of the Virginia line; Philip Neyle, Aid-de-Camp to General Moultrie; Captains Mitchel and Templeton, and Lieutenant Gilbank. The Charlestown militia artillery, who were stationed at the lines and did equal duty with the continentals, had three men killed; Adjutant Warham and seven privates wounded; about twenty of the inhabitants who remained in their houses, were killed by random-shot in the town. Upwards of thirty houses were burnt, and many others greatly damaged.

After the British took possession of the town, the arms taken from the army and inhabitants, amounting to five thousand, were lodged in a laboratory near a large quantity of cartridges and of loose powder. By the imprudence of the guard in snapping the guns and pistols, this powder took fire, blew up the house, dispersed the burning fragments of it, which set fire to and destroyed the workhouse, the jail and the old barracks. The British guard, consisting of fifty men, stationed at this place, was destroyed, and their mangled bodies dashed by the violent explosion against the neighboring houses in Archdale street. Several persons in the vicinity shared the same fate. Many of the fire-arms were loaded; they, with the cartridges going off, sent the instruments of death in all directions. Upwards of a hundred persons lost their lives on this occasion.

In the tedious and difficult winter passage of the royal army from New York to Charlestown, the horses destined to mount the British cavalry were lost. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton,

after he landed, in a little time obtained a fresh supply and began the career of his victories. Soon after he had procured horses to mount his cavalry, he joined a body of about a thousand men, who had marched through the country from Savannah, under the command of General Patterson. On the 18th of March, 1780, a detachment from his corps surprised a party of American militia, about eighty in number, at Saltcatcher bridge, killed and wounded several of them and dispersed the remainder. Five days after, Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with his legion, fell in with another small party of mounted militia, near Ponpon, who immediately retreated. In the pursuit, three were killed, one wounded, and four taken prisoners. His next rencontre was on the 27th with Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, at the head of his regular corps of horse, between the ferry on Ashley river and Rantowle's bridge, on Stono. The Americans had the advantage, took seven prisoners and drove back the cavalry of the British legion; but for want of infantry, durst not pursue them. At the beginning of the siege, General Lincoln ordered the regular cavalry, amounting to three hundred men, to keep the field; and the country militia were ordered to act as infantry in their support. The militia, on various pretences, refused to attach themselves to the cavalry. This important body of horse, which was intended to cover the country, and keep open a communication between it and the town, was surprised on the 14th of April, at Monk's corner, by a strong party of British, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Tarleton and Webster. A negro slave, for a sum of money, conducted the British from Goose creek, in the night, through unfrequented paths. About twenty-five of the Americans were killed or taken. They who escaped, were obliged for several days to conceal themselves in the swamps. Upwards of thirty horses were lost, and became a seasonable supply to the British, who were but badly mounted. After this catastrophe, all armed parties of Americans, for some time, abandoned that part of the State which lies to the southward of Santee.

Soon after this surprise, Colonel Anthony Walton White arrived, and took the command of the remains of the cavalry. At the head of this corps, mounted a second time with great difficulty, he crossed to the southward of the Santee, and, on the 6th of May, 1780, came up with a small British party, took them prisoners and conducted them to Lanneau's ferry. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a party of horse, was dispatched to the ferry and arrived there in a few minutes after the American cavalry, and instantly charged them with a superior force. From the want of boats and of infantry, a retreat was impracticable, and resistance unavailing. A route

took place. Major Call and seven others, escaped on horseback, by urging their way through the advancing British cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, Major Jameson, and five or six privates, saved themselves by swimming across the Santee. About thirty were killed, wounded, or taken. The remainder got off by concealing themselves in the swamps. The British prisoners, who were in a boat crossing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, rose on their guard and were released.

After the landing of the British in 1780, depredations similar to those already described, recommenced. As the reduction of Carolina was then confidently expected, they did not commit such wanton wastes as General Prevost's army; but it is hard to tell which exceeded the other in plundering. As the royal army of 1780 was much more numerous, and extended over the country on all sides of Charlestown, and had the convenience of a large fleet on the coast to carry off their spoil, they made much greater collections of bulky articles. They possessed themselves in particular of indigo to the value of many thousand dollars. From mistaken policy, the merchants and others had stored the greater part of their commodities without the lines, and very often on or near the water. These collections very generally fell into the hands of the conquerors. The British, on this occasion, plundered by system, formed a general stock, and appointed commissaries of captures. Spoil collected this way was disposed of for the benefit of the royal army. The quantity brought to market was so great that, though it sold uncommonly low, yet the dividend of a Major General was upwards of four thousand British guineas. The private plunder of individuals, on their separate account, was often more than their proportion of the public stock. Over and above what was sold in Carolina, several vessels were sent abroad to market, loaded with rich spoil, taken from the inhabitants. Upwards of two thousand plundered negroes were shipped off at one embarkation. Several private gentlemen lost in the invasions of 1779 and 1780, from five hundred to two thousand dollars worth of plate, and other property in proportion. The slaves a second time flocked to the British army, and, being crowded together, were visited by the camp fever. The small pox, which had not been in the province for seventeen years, broke out among them, and spread rapidly. From these two diseases, and the impossibility of their being provided with proper accommodations and attendance in the British encampments, great numbers of them died, and were left unburied in the woods.

Never did any people more mistake their true interest than the inhabitants of South Carolina, in permitting the British

to obtain foothold in their country. Exhausted with the fatigues, and impoverished by the consequences of a war into which they had been gradually drawn, without any intention originally of pushing it so far, some flattered themselves that the reduction of Charlestown would terminate their sufferings; but that event proved to them the commencement of still greater evils.

The capital having surrendered, the next object was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end the victors posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched with a large body of their troops over the Santee towards that extremity of the State which borders on the most populous settlements of North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans who had advanced into the upper parts of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one commanded by Colonel Buford, which consisted of three or four hundred continental infantry and a few horsemen. Colonel Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, was dispatched in quest of this party. That enterprising officer, having mounted his infantry, marched one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals taken in Charlestown. This being refused, an action immediately ensued. Buford committed two capital mistakes in this affair. One was his sending his wagons and artillery away before the engagement. The wagons might have served as a breast-work to defend his men against the attacks of the cavalry. Another mistake was ordering his men not to fire till the enemy were within ten yards. A single discharge made but little impression on the advancing British horsemen. Before it could be repeated, the assailants were in contact with their adversaries, cutting them down with their sabres. The Americans, finding resistance useless, sued for quarters, but their submission produced no cessation of hostilities. Some of them, after they had ceased to resist, lost their hands, others their arms, and almost every one was mangled with a succession of wounds. The charge was urged till five in six of the whole number of the Americans were, by Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, either killed or so badly wounded as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and by the same account this took place, though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill five and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprise, and recommended him in a special manner to

royal favor. This barbarous massacre gave a more sanguinary turn to the war. Tarleton's quarters became proverbial, and in the subsequent battles a spirit of revenge gave a keener edge to military resentments.

This total route of all the continental troops of the southern States, which were not made prisoners by the capitulation of Charlestown, together with the universal panic occasioned by the surrender of that capital, suspended for about six weeks all military opposition to the progress of the British army. In this hour of distress, to the friends of independence the royal commander, by proclamation, denounced the extremity of vengeance against those of the inhabitants who should continue, by force of arms, to oppose the re-establishment of British government. The conquerors did not rest the royal cause exclusively on threats. On the first of June, nineteen days after the surrender of Charlestown, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace to the revolted colonies, by proclamation, offered "to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a re-instatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation except by their own legislatures." These specious offers, together with the impossibility of their fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the State might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of further resistance. The militia to the southward of Charlestown sent in a flag to the commanding officer of the royal detachment at Beaufort, and obtained terms similar to those granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden, the inhabitants met the British with a flag, and negotiated for themselves. The people of Ninety-Six assembled to deliberate on what course they should pursue. Being informed that the British were advancing to that part of the State, they sent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned that Sir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to Captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles of capitulation were immediately proposed, and soon after ratified, by which they were promised the same security for their persons and property which British subjects enjoyed. Excepting the extremities of the State, which border on North Carolina, the inhabitants who continued in the country generally preferred submission to resistance. The difference between evacuating and defending towns became apparent, and fully proved that the first was the best plan of defence for America.

Though the progress of the British arms was rapid, yet it

was far short of what was originally expected. Their schemes had been deranged as to time, and new events made it necessary for them to divide their forces and to alter their plans. Intelligence was received by Sir Henry Clinton, about the time of the surrender of Charlestown, that a large number of land forces, and a French fleet, consisting of seven sail-of-the-line and five frigates, commanded by M. De Ternay, was to have sailed from France so early in the year that its arrival on the American coast might be soon expected. This induced the Commander-in-Chief of the royal army to re-embark for New York early in June, with the greatest part of his army. Though the French fleets gained at this time no direct advantages for their American allies, yet they completely deranged the plan of British operations.

On the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from Charlestown, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the southern department, with about four thousand men. This force, though far short of what was originally intended for southern operations, was deemed fully sufficient for the purpose of extending the British conquests.

The object hitherto pursued by the British commanders with regard to the inhabitants of South Carolina, was to induce them to remain peaceably at their homes. To this end they accepted of their submission on very easy terms. All, with a few exceptions, who applied, obtained either paroles as prisoners or protections as British subjects. They who preferred the latter were required to subscribe a declaration of their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but in the hurry of business this frequently was omitted, and the privileges of British subjects were freely bestowed on some without any engagements.

The general submission of the inhabitants was followed by an unusual calm. The British believed that the State of South Carolina was thoroughly conquered, but they soon found that the disguise which fear had imposed subsisted no longer than the present danger. Their experience in America had not yet taught them enough of human nature to distinguish a forced submission, in a temporary panic, from a cordial return to their former allegiance. Subsequent events proved that a country is unsubdued as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile spirit.

All military opposition being suspended, the royal commanders, supposing their work in South Carolina to be completely finished, began to extend their views to the adjacent States. To facilitate their future operations, they conceived a scheme of obtaining substantial service from their new subjects. In the prosecution of this business, their policy soon lost what arms had gained. While some of the inhabitants

were felicitating themselves in having obtained a respite from the calamities of war, they were no less astonished than confounded by a proclamation, in which they were called upon to take arms in support of royal government. All paroles given to prisoners not taken by capitulation, and who were not in confinement at the surrender of Charlestown, were declared, on the third of June, 1780, by the Commander-in-Chief, "to be null and void after the twentieth of the same month, and the holders of them were called upon to resume the character of British subjects, and to take an active part in forwarding military operations, or to be considered and treated as rebels against his majesty's government." This extraordinary step was taken without any pretence of violation of parole on the part of the prisoners. With this proclamation, and the enrollment of the militia, commenced the declension of British authority. Many had applied for paroles and protection from the fond expectation that they should be indulged with a residence on their estates, and be at full liberty to prosecute their private business. Numbers who, from motives of fear or convenience, had submitted, still retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. A great number, considering themselves released from their parole by the proclamation, conceived that they had a right to arm against the British, and were induced to do so from the royal menace, that they who did not enroll themselves as British subjects must expect to be treated as enemies. A greater number found it convenient to exchange their paroles for protection. To sacrifice all and leave the country, required a degree of fortitude that is the lot of few. To take protection, and to enroll themselves as militia under the royal standard, were events wholly unexpected when they submitted as prisoners of war. They conceived themselves reduced to a very hard alternative. They submitted, but their subsequent conduct made it probable that this was done, in many cases, with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory tie when a proper opportunity should present itself. If this severe alternative had never been imposed, and if the people had been indulged in the quiet possession of their property and domestic ease, it would have been difficult for Congress to have made adequate exertions for rescuing the State out of the hands of the British. But from a concurrence of causes, about this time, there was formed a strong party disposed to do and suffer more for the expulsion of their new masters than they could be persuaded to do six months before to prevent the country from falling into their hands.

The situation of the inhabitants of the town was different

from that of the country. As they had a right, by the capitulation, to remain at their homes on parole they were excepted from the alternative offered by the proclamation of the third of June; other methods were therefore used to compel them to become British subjects. Immediately after the surrender of Charlestown a few persons, attached to the British government, prepared an address to the General and Admiral, congratulating them on their conquest. This was signed by two hundred and ten of the inhabitants; the greater part of whom had been in arms against the British during the seige, and among whom were a few who had been leaders in the popular government. In answer to their address they were promised the privileges and protection of British subjects, on subscribing a test of their allegiance and of their willingness to support the royal cause. These addressers, who thus decidedly took part with the British, immediately made an invidious distinction between subjects and prisoners and became the instigators of every severity against those who chose to remain on parole. As they had revolted from the cause of America, that they might be kept in countenance, they labored to draw others into the same predicament. This example of exchanging paroles for protection was soon followed by many of their fellow-citizens. Those of them who owned estates in the country, had no security by capitulation, for any property out of the lines unless they became subjects. This induced persons so circumstanced to join their conquerors. To oblige them universally to return to their allegiance, there was a succession of proclamations, each abridging the privileges of prisoners. Subjects were allowed to sue for their debts before the British board of police, but prisoners were denied all benefit of that court. Though they were liable to suits they had no security for the payment of their debts, but the honor of their debtors. The paroles granted to prisoners, after the surrender of the town, were much more limited than might have been expected. The citizens of the town were restrained from going out of the lines, or on the water, without special permission. This, when applied for, was sometimes wantonly refused; and on other occasions might be obtained for money. Ineffectual attempts were made to obtain more generous limits, but no extension was granted; and they who seemed averse from signing the offered paroles were informed that, in case of an absolute refusal, they must expect close confinement. These shackles sat very uneasy on free citizens who had heretofore been accustomed to the fullest enjoyment of personal liberty; but no relaxation could be obtained on any other condition than that of professing a return to their allegiance. The conquerors, in the most perfect confidence of keeping the province and of

extending their conquests, valued themselves much upon their generosity in being willing to receive as British subjects the citizens whom they viewed in the light of vanquished rebels. Under the influence of this opinion they laughed at the folly, and resented the ingratitude and impudence of those who chose to remain in the character of prisoners. Such persons met with every discouragement, and at the same time the door of readmission to the privileges of subjects was thrown wide open. This made some martyrs, but more hypocrites. A numerous class of people were reduced to the alternative of starving or suing for protection. Those inhabitants of Charlestown, who were of the Hebrew nation, and others who were shopkeepers, were, while prisoners, encouraged to make purchases from the British merchants who came with the conquering army; and after they had contracted large debts of this kind, were precluded by proclamation from selling the goods they had purchased unless they assumed the name and character of British subjects. Mechanics and others were allowed, for some months after the surrender, to follow their respective occupations; but, as they could not compel payment for their services, repeated losses soon convinced them of the convenience of British protection. Great numbers in all communities are wholly indifferent what form of government they live under. They can turn with the times, and submit with facility to the present ruling power whatsoever it may be. The low state of American affairs in the summer of 1780 induced a belief among many of the inhabitants that Congress, from necessity, had abandoned the idea of contending for the Southern States. The resolutions of that body, disavowing this imputation, were carefully concealed from the prisoners. Many believing that South Carolina would finally remain a British province, and being determined to save their estates under every form of government, concluded that the sooner they submitted the less they would lose. The negroes and other property of individuals had been seized by the British during the siege. Prisoners on parole had no chance of repossessing themselves of any part of this plunder, though subjects were allowed to put in their claim, and were sometimes successful. A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the State, rejoiced in the revolution, and sincerely returned to their allegiance; but their number was inconsiderable in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The inhabitants of the country, for the most part, lay more at the unconditional mercy of the conquerors than the citizens of the capital. Those who refused to give up their paroles,

and did not flee out of the country, were generally removed from their families and confined to some of the islands on the sea-coast; while their property became the spoil and plunder of a rapacious army. In this trying situation, the various ruling passions of individuals appeared without disguise. Some men of the largest fortunes and who had been promoted to exalted stations, both civil and military, relinquished the service of the State for present ease and convenience. A few of this character, who were entirely out of the way of personal danger, and in the full enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, voluntarily returned and bowed their necks to the conquerors. In direct contradiction to the whole tenor of their past conduct, they attempted to apologize for their inconsistency by declaring that they had never aimed at independence, and were always averse from an alliance with France. The mischievous effects of negro slavery were, at this time, abundantly apparent. Several who had lived in ease and affluence from the produce of their lands, cultivated by the labor of slaves, had not fortitude enough to dare to be poor. Sentiments of honor, and love of their country, made them wish to preserve a consistency of conduct by refusing submission to British government; but the impossibility of supporting themselves by their own exertions, counteracted every generous resolution. The conflict of contrary passions, and the distress of the times, drove several to the excessive use of spirituous liquors, which proved the source of diseases and often destroyed life.

Though numbers broke through the solemn ties by which they had voluntarily bound themselves to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty; several submitted to a distressing exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of some of the best estates in South Carolina suffered them to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors, rather than stain their honor by deserting their country. The rich staked their fortunes; but in the humble walks of obscurity were found several of the middling and poorer class of citizens, who may be truly said to have staked their lives on the cause of America; for they renounced the comforts subservient to health in warm climates, and contented themselves with a scanty portion of the plainest necessaries of life in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South Carolina conducted themselves with more than spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies; and though they withstood repeated solicitations to grace public entertainments, with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen.

While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies in general discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honor and patriotism. Among the numbers who were banished from their families and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where, though they had long been in the habit of giving, they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity. They renounced the present gratifications of wealth, and the future prospects of fortunes for their growing offspring—adopted every scheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themselves to labor.

Whilst the conquerors were indefatigable in their endeavors to strengthen the party for royal government by the addition of new subjects, the American were not inattentive to their interests. During the siege of Charlestown, General Lincoln in the most pressing manner, requested Governor Rutledge, with his council, to go out of town; on the idea that the civil authority of the State would be exerted to much greater advantage in the country than in the besieged metropolis. On the 12th of April, 1780, he left Charlestown. Every exertion was made by him to embody the country militia, and to bring them forward for the relief of the besieged capital. Failing in this, he attempted to make a stand to the north of the Santee. The reduction of the town, with the army enclosed, occasioned such a general panic among the militia that they could not be persuaded to second his views. Governor Rutledge in a

little time retired to the northward, where he was more successful in his negotiations with North Carolina, Virginia, and Congress. Soon after, he returned to South Carolina, and gave vigor, union, and force to the inhabitants in their exertions against British government.

During the siege, expresses were sent by General Lincoln to Congress, the States of North Carolina and Virginia, representing the unpromising appearance of affairs in South Carolina. In consequence of these several requisitions, Congress determined that a considerable detachment from their main army should be immediately marched to the southward. The State of North Carolina, also, ordered a large body of their militia to take the field, and to be relieved every three months. These stamina of a second southern army were originally designed to compel the British to raise the siege of Charlestown; but being too late for that, they became a respectable check to the extension of their conquests.

As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of the determined friends of independence retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel Sumpter, a gentleman who had formerly commanded one of the continental regiments, and who was known to possess a great share of bravery and other military talents. In a very little time after he had forsaken his home, a detachment of the British turned his wife and family out of doors, burned the house and every thing that was in it. A party of these exiles from South Carolina, who had convened in North Carolina, made choice of Colonel Sumpter to be their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen he soon returned to his own State, and took the field against the victorious British. He made this gallant effort at a time when the inhabitants had generally abandoned the idea of supporting their own independence, and when he had every difficulty to encounter. The State was no longer in a condition to pay, clothe, or feed the troops who had enrolled themselves under his command. His followers were, in a great measure, unfurnished with arms and ammunition, and they had no magazines from which they might draw a supply. The iron tools on the neighboring farms were worked up for their use by common blacksmiths, into rude weapons of war. They supplied themselves, in part, with bullets by melting the pewter with which they were furnished by private housekeepers. They sometimes came to battle when they had not three rounds a man; and some were obliged to keep at a distance, till, by the fall of others, they were supplied with arms. When they proved victorious, they were obliged to rifle the dead and wounded of their arms and ammunition

to equip them for their next engagement. At the head of these volunteers Colonel Sumpter penetrated into South Carolina, and recommenced a military opposition to the British after it had been suspended for about six weeks. This unlooked-for impediment to the extension of British conquests roused all the passions which disappointed ambition can inspire. The late conquerors having in their official dispatches asserted, "that the inhabitants from every quarter had repaired to the detatchments of the royal army, and to the garrison of Charlestown, to declare their allegiance to the King, and to offer their services in arms in support of his government; that in many instances they had brought in as prisoners their former oppressors or leaders; and that there were few men in South Carolina that were not either their prisoners or in arms with them;" and now, finding armed parties suddenly appearing in favor of independence, were filled with indignation. Their successes had flattered them with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America; but these unexpected hostilities made them fear that their names would be enrolled among those who, by pompous details of British victories, and exaggerated pictures of American sufferings, had deceived the people of England into a continued support of an expensive and ruinous war. Forgetting their experience in the northern States, they had believed the submission of the inhabitants to be sincere; making no allowance for that propensity in human nature which leads mankind, when in the power of others, to frame their intelligence with more attention to what is agreeable than to what is true; the British for some time conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience convinced them of the fallacy of their hopes, they were transported with rage against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves for their policy in constraining men to an involuntary submission, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery. Lenient measures were laid aside for those which were dictated by the spirit of revenge. Nor were opportunities long wanting for the indulgence of this malignant passion. Lord Rawdon, whose temper was soured by disappointment, and whose breast was agitated with rage against the new subjects for their unmeaning submissions, on the first rumor of an advancing American army, called on the inhabitants in and near Camden to take up arms against their approaching countrymen; and confined in the common jail those who refused. In the midst of summer, upwards of one hundred and sixty persons were shut up in one prison; and twenty or thirty of them, though citizens of the most respectable characters, were loaded with irons. Mr. James Bradley, Mr.

Strother, Colonel Few, Mr. Kershaw, Captain Boykin, Colonel Alexander, Mr. Irwin, Colonel Winn, Colonel Hunter, and Captain John Chesnut, were in the number of those who were subjected to these indignities.

The friends of independence having once more taken the field in South Carolina, a party of the corps commanded by Colonel Sumpter, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three men, on the 12th of July, 1780, engaged at Williams' Plantation, in the upper parts of South Carolina, with a detachment of the British troops and a large body of tories commanded by Captain Huck. They were posted in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the same time by the Americans. In this unfavorable position they were speedily routed and dispersed. Colonel Ferguson, of the British militia, Captain Huck, and several others, were killed. This was the first advantage gained over the royal forces since their landing in the beginning of the year. At the very moment this unexpected attack was made, a number of women were on their knees, vainly soliciting Captain Huck for his mercy in behalf of their families and property. During his command he had distressed the inhabitants by every species of insult and injury. He had also shocked them with his profanity. In a very particular manner he displayed his enmity to the Presbyterians, by burning the library and dwelling-house of their clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Simpson, and all bibles which contained the Scots translation of the psalms. These proceedings, no less impolitic than impious, inspired the numerous devout people of that district with an unusual animation. A warm love for independence blended itself with a religious fervor, and these two passions reciprocally added strength to each other. The inhabitants of that part of the State generally arranged themselves under the command of Colonel Sumpter, and opposed the British with the enthusiasm of men called upon to defend not only their civil liberties, but their holy religion. The effects of this ardor were very sensibly felt. Colonel Sumpter was soon reinforced to the number of six hundred men. At the head of this party, on the 30th of July, 1780, he made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on the British post at Rocky Mount. Without delay he marched in quest of other British detachments, and in eight days after successfully attacked one of their posts at the Hanging Rock, in which was a considerable force of regulars and tories. The Prince of Wales' regiment, which defended this place, was nearly annihilated, and a large body of tories, which had advanced from North Carolina under Colonel Brian, was completely routed and dispersed.

It had been for some time known that an American army

was marching from the northward for the relief of their southern brethren. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charlestown was daily abating. The whig militia, on the extremities of the State, formed themselves into small parties under leaders of their own choice; and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but much more frequently those of their own countrymen who were turning out as royal militia. These American parties severally acted from the impulse of their own minds. They set themselves in opposition to the British without the knowledge of each other's motions, and without any preconcerted general plan. Colonel Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, in particular, was indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congress in that settlement. With these he frequently harassed the conquerors. On the 18th of August 1780 he attacked a considerable party of British and tories, at Musgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. Colonel Innis, of the South Carolina royalists, was wounded; and the whole of his party obliged to retire.

During the siege of Charlestown fourteen hundred continental troops, consisting of the Delaware and Maryland line, commanded by Major General Baron DeKalb, were by Congress, ordered to the southward. They marched from headquarters at Morristown, in New Jersey, on the 16th of April 1780, embarked at the head of Elk in May, and landed soon after at Petersburg in Virginia; and from thence proceeded by land towards South Carolina. The country was thinly inhabited and poorly cultivated. The last year's crop was nearly expended, and the present one was not sufficiently ripe. The troops subsisted principally on lean cattle collected in the woods. The officers were so distressed for the want of flour that they made use of hair-powder to thicken their soup, but soon found a more savory substitute in green corn. Peaches were also used, and became a seasonable supply. The whole army was sometimes supplied for twenty-four hours in this way without either meat or flour.

A considerable number of the militia of North Carolina had taken the field, and had agreed to rendezvous at Anson Court House on the 20th of July, that they might be in readiness to co-operate with the continental army. On the approach of the Americans Major M'Arthur, who commanded on the Peedee, called in his detachments and marched directly to join the main body of the royal army at Camden. On the day that the British relinquished this part of the country, the inhabitants, distressed by their depredations and disgusted with their conduct, generally took arms. Lord Nairne, and one hundred and six British invalids, going down the Peedee, were made

prisoners by a party of the Americans, commanded by Major Thomas, who had lately been received as loyal subjects. A large boat coming up from Georgetown, well stored with supplies for Major M'Arthur's party, was seized for the use of the American army. All the new made British militia officers, excepting Colonel Mills, were made prisoners by their own men. For some time past the people were daily growing more and more dissatisfied with the British. Tired of war, they had submitted to their government with the flattering expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The protection they received as the recompense of their submissions, was wholly inadequade to the purpose of securing their property. When the British first took possession of the country, they considered themselves as having a right to seize on the property of rebels. Their commissaries, and quartermasters, took provisions and all other things wanted by the army, wherever they were to be found. Though articles taken this way was all charged to the British government, yet very few of the persons from whom they were taken ever received any satisfaction. After the State had generally submitted, the same practice was continued. The rapacity of the common men, the indigence and avarice of many of the officers, and the gains of the commissaries and quartermasters, all concurred to forbid any check to this lucrative mode of procuring supplies. They found it much more profitable to look on the inhabitants in the light of rebels, whose property was forfeited, than as reclaimed subjects who were reinstated in the protection of government. When they applied in the latter character to claim their rights, and to remonstrate against British depredations, they much oftener received insults than redress. People who had received this kind of treatment, and who believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal, conceived themselves released from their late engagements, and at full liberty to rejoin the Americans.

Though the inhabitants of Charlestown had not the same opportunity of showing their resentment against their conquerors, yet many of the new-made subjects and the prisoners were very soon disgusted with their conduct. Every ungenerous construction was put on an ambiguous capitulation, to the disadvantage of the citizens; and their rights founded thereon were, in several instances, most injuriously violated. Continental officers were stripped of their property, on the pretence that they were soldiers, and had no right to claim under the character of citizens. The conquerors deprived the inhabitants of their canoes by an illiberal construction of the article which gave them the shipping in the harbor. Many slaves, and a great deal of property, though secured by

the capitulation, were carried off by Sir Henry Clinton's army in June 1780. Immediately after the surrender, five hundred negroes were ordered to be put on board the ships for pioneers to the royal forces in New York. These were taken where ever they could be found, and no satisfaction was made to their owners. The common soldiers, from their sufferings and services during the siege, conceived themselves entitled to a licensed plunder of the town. That their murmurings might be soothed, the officers connived at their reimbursing themselves for their fatigues and dangers at the expense of the citizens. Almost every private house had one or more of the officers or privates, of the royal army quartered upon them. In providing for their accommodation very little attention was paid to the convenience of families. The insolence and disorderly conduct of persons thus forced upon the citizens, were in many instances intolerable to freemen heretofore accustomed to be masters in their own houses. To induce a people who had tasted of the sweets of independence to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This more delicate and difficult task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine than on promoting a re-union of the dissevered members of the empire. The general complexion of the officers serving in the royal army against America, was very different from what had been usual in better times. In former wars, dignity, honor and generosity, were invariably annexed to the military character. Though the old officers of the British regiments in America were for the most part gentlemen, and eminently possessed these virtues, yet several vacancies both at the commencement and in the progress of the American war had been filled up by a new set, greatly inferior in education and good breeding. Several new corps had been raised in America, in which commissions had been promised by public advertisement to any person who would recruit a given number of men. They who possessed most of that low cunning, which is necessary to wheedle the vulgar, were of course most successful in procuring these commissions. From an army abounding with such unworthy characters, and stationed among a people whom they hated as rebels, and from the plunder of whom they hoped to make fortunes, it was not reasonable to expect that winning behavior which was necessary to conciliate the affections of the revolted States. The royal officers, instead of soothing the inhabitants into good humor, often aggravated intolerable injuries by more intolerable insults; they did more to reëstablish the independence of the State than

could have been effected by the armies of Congress, had the conquerors guided themselves by maxims of sound policy. The high spirited citizens of Carolina could not brook these oppressions and insults, but most ardently wished to rid the country of the insulting oppressors. From motives of this kind, and a prevailing attachment to the cause of their country, many broke through all ties to join the advancing American army and more most cordially wished them success.

Major General Baron DeKalb commmanded the continentals sent from the northward, till the 27th of July, when Major General Gates arrived with the orders of Congress to take the command. Great were the expectations of the public from this illustrious officer. The cloud that had for some time overshadowed American affairs, began to disperse. Nothing short of the speedy expulsion of the British from the State, came up to the wishes and hopes of the friends of independence. While the American army advanced towards Camden, Colonel Sumpter was to the westward of the Wateree, and daily augmenting his corps from the revolting inhabitants who enrolled themselves under his standard. On receiving intelligence that an escort of clothing, ammunition and other stores for the garrison at Camden, was on the road from Charlestown, and that the whole must pass the Wateree ferry under cover of a small redoubt which the British occupied on the south side of the river, he formed a successful plan for reducing the redoubt and capturing the convoy. On the 15th of August, General Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, joined General Gates. The whole of the American army now amounted to three thousand six hundred and sixty-three; of which about nine hundred were continental infantry, and seventy cavalry.

The arrival of this force being quite unexpected, Lord Cornwallis was distant from the scene of action. No sooner was he informed of the approach of General Gates, than he prepared to join his army at Camden. He arrived, and superseded Lord Rawdon in command, on the 14th. His inferior force, consisting of about 1,700 infantry and 300 cavalry, would have justified a retreat; but, considering that no probable event of an action would be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he chose to stake his fortune in a contest with the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the fifteenth, he marched out with his whole force to attack the Americans; and at the same hour, General Gates put his army in motion, with a determination to take an eligible position between Sanders' creek and Green Swamp, about eight miles from Camden. The advanced parties of both met about midnight, and a firing commenced. In this skirmish, Colonel

Porterfield, a very gallant officer of the State of Virginia, received a mortal wound. After some time both parties retreated to their main bodies, and the whole lay on their arms. In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. The American army was formed in the following manner: The second Maryland brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Gist, on the right of the line, flanked by a morass; the North Carolina militia, commanded by Major General Caswell, in the centre; and the Virginia militia, commanded by Brigadier General Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North Carolina militia, light infantry and a morass. The artillery was posted in the instertices of brigades, and on the most advantageous grounds. Major General Baron DeKalb commanded on the right of the line, and Brigadier General Smallwood commanded the first Maryland brigade, which was posted as corps-de-reserve two or three hundred yards in the rear. In this position, the troops remained till dawn of day. As soon as the British appeared about two hundred yards in front of the North Carolina troops, the artillery was ordered to fire, and Brigadier General Stevens to attack the column which was displayed to the right. That gallant officer advanced with his brigade of militia in excellent order within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing, and then called out to his men, "my brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, we'll charge them." At that moment the British infantry charged with a cheer, and the Virginians, throwing down their arms, retreated with the utmost precipitation. The militia of North Carolina followed the unworthy example, except a few of General Gregory's brigade, who paused a very little longer. A part of Colonel Dixon's regiment fired two or three rounds, but the greater part of the whole militia fled without firing a single shot. The whole left wing and centre being gone, the continentals, who formed the right wing, and the corps of reserve, engaged about the same time and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, gained ground, and had taken no less than fifty prisoners. The first brigade being considerably out-flanked, were obliged to retire; but they rallied again, and with great spirit renewed the fight. This expedient was repeated two or three times. The British directed their whole force against these two devoted corps, and a tremendous fire of musketry was continued on both sides with great steadiness. At length Lord Cornwallis observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, poured in his dragoons and ended the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of this action; but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieutenant Colonel

Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

Major General Baron DeKalb, an illustrious German in the service of France, who had generously engaged in the support of the American independence, and who exerted himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds, of which, though he received the most particular assistance from the British, he in a short time expired. Lieutenant-Colonel DuBuysson, Aid-de-Camp to Baron DeKalb, embraced his wounded General, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. Brigadier-General Rutherford, a valuable officer of the most extensive influence over the North Carolina militia, surrendered to a party of the British legion, one of whom, after his submission, cut him in several places. Of the South Carolina line, that brave and distinguished officer Major Thomas Pinckney, acting as Aid-de-Camp to Major General Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket ball, and fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The Americans lost eight field pieces, the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greatest part of their baggage. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was about three hundred. The royal army fought with great bravery; but their success was in a great measure owing to the precipitate flight of the militia, and the superiority of their cavalry.

The militia composed so great a part of the American army, that General Gates, when he saw them leave the field, lost all hopes of victory, and retired in order to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the continentals, but the further the militia fled, the more they were dispersed. Finding nothing could be done, he continued his retreat into North Carolina. On his way he was soon overtaken by an officer from Colonel Sumpter, who reported that the colonel had fully succeeded in his enterprise against the British post at the ferry, had captured the garrison, and intercepted the escort with the stores; but no advantage could be taken of this event, as the successful party of the Americans was on the opposite side of the river. A few of the Virginia militia were halted at Hillsborough; but in a little time their tour of service was out, and they were discharged. The North Carolina militia went different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them. Almost all the American officers were separated from their com-

mands. Every corps was broken in action, and dispersed through the woods. Major Anderson, of the Third Maryland regiment, was the only infantry officer who kept together any number of men. The retreat of the heavy baggage was delayed till the morning of the action, and the greatest part of it fell into the hands of the British, or was plundered in the retreat. The pursuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; even at the distance of forty miles, teams were cut out of the wagons, and numbers promoted their flight on horseback. The road by which they fled was strewed with arms and baggage, which in their trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with sick, the wounded and the dead.

On the 17th and 18th of August, Brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, and several other officers, arrived at Charlotte. At this place also had rendezvoused upwards of one hundred regular infantry of different corps, besides Colonel Armand's cavalry, and a small partizan corps of horse, which took the field on this occasion under the command of Major Davie. Some provisions having been collected there, proved a most seasonable refreshment. The drooping spirits of the officers began to revive, and hopes were entertained that a respectable force might soon again be assembled from the country militia, and from the addition of Colonel Sumpter's victorious detachment. All these prospects were soon obscured by intelligence that arrived on the 19th, of the complete dispersion of that corps. On hearing of General Gates' defeat, Colonel Sumpter began to retreat up the south side of the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. Lord Cornwallis dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, to pursue him. This was done with so much celerity and address, that he was overtaken on the 18th at Fishing Creek. The British horse rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The Americans having been four days without sleep or provisions, were more obedient to the calls of nature than attentive to her first law—self-preservation. Colonel Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his videttes were so fatigued, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few of them to make a short stand, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. The British prisoners, about three hundred, were all retaken and conducted to Camden. Colonel Sumpter lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed.

Every hope of making a stand at Charlotte being extinguished, a resolution was soon taken for retreating to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would complete the picture of distress. The officers suffered much for want of

horses to carry off their wounded companions. The citizens of that part of the north State were reduced to great difficulties in removing their families and effects. It was expected that every day would bring intelligence of Lord Cornwallis pursuing his fugitive enemies. The inhabitants generally meant to flee before the approaching conquerors. The confusion that took place among all orders is more easily conceived than expressed.

The loss of Charlestown, and the capture of an army within its lines, had reduced American affairs in South Carolina low; but the complete rout of a second army, procured with great difficulty for the recovery of the State, sunk them much lower, and filled the friends of independence with fearful anxiety for the future fate of their country.

The British were unusually elated, and again flattered themselves, that all opposition in South Carolina was effectually subdued. Though their victory was complete, and there was no army to oppose them, yet the extreme heat of the weather, and sickliness of the season, restrained them for some time from pursuing their conquests. Much was to be done in the interior police of the country. To crush that spirit of opposition to British government, which discovered itself on the approach of an American army, engaged the attention of Lord Cornwallis.

By the complete dispersion of the continental forces the country was in the power of the conquerors. The expectation of aid from the northward was now less probable than immediately after the reduction of Charlestown. Several of the revolted subjects had fallen as prisoners into the hands of the British, and the property of others lay at their mercy. This situation of public affairs pointed out the present moment of triumph, as a most favorable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to the cause of independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the forces of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence were chargeable with the complicated guilt of ingratitude, treason, and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. In almost every district their progress was marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as reflected disgrace on their arms. Nor were these barbarities

perpetrated in a sudden sally of rage, or by officers of low rank. Major Weyms, of the sixty-third regiment of his Britannic majesty's army, deliberately hung Mr. Adam Cusack in Cheraw district, who had neither taken parole as a prisoner, nor protection as a British subject, though charged with no other crime than refusing to transport some British officers over a ferry, and shooting at them across a river. The immediate authors of executions pleaded no less authority than that of Earl Cornwallis, for deliberately shedding the blood of their fellow-men. In a few days after the defeat of General Gates, his lordship stained his military fame by the following letter, addressed to the Commandant of the British garrison at Ninety-Six.

"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor; and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have likewise ordered, that compensation should be made out of their estates to the persons who have been injured or oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man, who has borne arms with us and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter relative to the inhabitants of this country.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS."

Similar orders were addressed to the Commanders of different posts, and executed with the same spirit with which they were dictated. At or near Camden, Samuel Andrews, Richard Tucker, John Miles, Josiah Gayle, Eleazer Smith, with some others whose names are unknown, were taken out of gaol and hung without any ceremony. Some were indulged with a hearing before a court martial, but the evidences against them were not examined on oath, and slaves were both permitted and encouraged to accuse their masters. Not only at Camden, but in other parts of South Carolina, and at Augusta in Georgia, the same bloody tragedies were acted, and several of the inhabitants fell sacrifices to this new mode of warfare.

The warm zeal of Earl Cornwallis to annex the States of America to the British empire, prompted him to measures not only derogatory to his character, but inconsistent with the claims of humanity. The prisoners on parole had an undoubted right to take arms; for, by proclamation, after the 20th of the preceding June, as has been stated, they were released from every engagement to their conquerors. Of those

it may be affirmed, that they were murdered in cold blood. The case of those who had taken British protection is somewhat different. His lordship could allege, in vindication of his severity to them, an appearance of right; but it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. These men were under the tie of an oath to support American independence; but had been overcome by the temptation of saving their property to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. By a combination of circumstances they were in such a situation that they could not do otherwise, without risking the support of their families. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these protections. These men naturally reasoned thus: "that as the contract was first violated on the part of the conquerors, it could not be so highly criminal for them to recede from it." They had also submitted on the idea that they should not be called on to fight against the Americans; but finding themselves compelled to take up arms, and under the necessity of violating their engagements either to their countrymen or their conquerors, they choose to adhere to the former. To treat men thus circumstanced with the sanguinary severity of deserters and traitors might be politic, but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British arms in the summer of 1780, several of the citizens, respectable for their numbers, but more so for their weight and influence, continued firm to the cause of independence. It was no less mortifying to Lord Cornwallis than unfriendly to his future schemes, that these remained within the British lines in the character of prisoners. Though they were restrained by their paroles from doing anything injurious to the interest of his Britannic majesty; yet the silent example of men, who were revered by their fellow-citizens, had a powerful influence in restraining many from exchanging their paroles as prisoners for the protection and privileges of British subjects. To remove every bias of this sort, and to enforce a general submission to royal government, Lord Cornwallis, soon after his victory at Camden, gave orders to send out of the province a number of the principal citizens prisoners on parole in Charlestown. On the 27th of August Christopher Gadsden, Lieutenant-Governor of the State, Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cochran, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, George Flagg, William Hasel Gibbs, William Hall, Thomas Hall, Thomas Heyward, junior, Isaac Holmes, Richard Hutson, William Johnson, Rev. John Lewis, William Livingston, John Loveday, Rich'd Lushington, William Massey, Edward McCready,

Alexander Moultrie, John Mouatt, John Neufville, Edward North, Joseph Parker, John Earnest Poyas, David Ramsay, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sansum, Thomas Savage, Thomas Singleton, Josiah Smith, James Hamden Thompson, Peter Timothy, John Todd, and Anthony Toomer, were taken up early in the morning out of their houses and beds by armed parties and brought to the Exchange; from whence, when collected together, they were removed on board the Sandwich guard-ship, and in a few days transported to St. Augustine. The manner in which this order was executed was not less painful to the feelings of gentlemen, than the order itself was injurious to the rights of prisoners entitled to the benefits of a capitulation. Guards were left at their respective houses. The private papers of some of them were examined. Reports were immediately circulated to their disadvantage, and every circumstance managed so as to induce a general belief that they were all apprehended for violating their paroles, and for concerting a scheme for burning the town and massacreing the loyal subjects. On the very first day of their confinement they remonstrated to Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, the Commandant of Charlestown, asserting their innocence, and challenging their accusers to appear face to face with their charges against them.

To this no answer was directly obtained; but a message from the Commandant, delivered officially by Major Benson, acknowledged that this extraordinary step had been taken "from motives of policy."

The British endeavored to justify this removal by alleging the right of the victors to remove prisoners whithersoever they pleased, without regarding their convenience. Few such instances can be produced in the modern history of any civilized nation with whom it is an established rule to construe capitulations, where ambiguous, in favor of the vanquished. The conquerors, in their great zeal to make subjects, forgot the rights of prisoners. To express his indignation at this ungenerous treatment, Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden refused to accept an offered parole in St. Augustine; and with the greatest fortitude bore a close confinement in the castle of that place for forty-two weeks, rather than give a second one to a power which had plainly violated the engagement contained in the first. The other gentlemen, who renewed their paroles in St. Augustine, had the liberty of the town; but were treated with indignities unsuitable to their former rank and condition. Cut off from all communication with their countrymen, they could receive no intelligence of public affairs but through British channels. In this forlorn situation, they were informed of several decisive battles, which were represented as having

completely annihilated every prospect of American independence; and they were taught to expect the fate of vanquished rebels. They also heard from high authority, that the blood of the brave but unfortunate Andrè would be required at their hands. They were told that Lieutenant-Colonel Glazier, Commandant of the garrison in St. Augustine, had announced his fixed resolution instantly to hang up six of them, if the exasperated Americans should execute their threats of putting to death Colonel Brown, of the East Florida rangers. To all these indignities and dangers they submitted, without an application from a single individual of their number for British protection.

From the time that the citizens before mentioned were sent off from Charlestown, St. Augustine was made use of to frighten prisoners to petition for the privileges of subjects. They who delayed their submission were repeatedly threatened with banishment from their families and estates. To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to banish all who refused to become subjects, an additional number, who still remained prisoners on parole, was shipped off on the 15th of November following. Their names were as follows: Joseph Bee, Richard Beresford, John Berwick, Daniel Bordeaux, Benjamin Cudworth, Henry Crouch, John Splatt Cripps, Edward Darrell, Daniel DeSaussure, George A. Hall, Thomas Grimball, Noble Wimberly Jones, William Lee, Wm. Logan, Arthur Middleton, Christopher Peters, Benjamin Postell, Samuel Prioleau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Waller, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkinson. In addition to these citizens of South Carolina, most of whom were entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charlestown, General Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs of the State of North Carolina, who had been taken near Camden in August, 1780, were at the same time shipped off for St. Augustine. The only charge exhibited against them as the reason of their exile was that "they discovered no disposition to return to their allegiance and would, if they could, overturn the British government." Lord Cornwallis did not stop here; but being determined to use every method to compel the re-establishment of British government, as well by rewarding its friends as punishing its opposers, his lordship proceeded to the sequestration of all estates belonging to the decided friends of America. In the execution of this business John Cruden was appointed to take possession of the estates of particular persons designated in warrants issued by Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour.

In the year 1778, when the then recent capture of General Burgoyne's army, and the alliance with France inspired all

ranks of men in Carolina with confidence in the final establishment of their independence, the Legislature of that State gave to all the friends of royal government their free choice; of either joining them, or going where they pleased with their families and property. In the year 1780, when the British arms had the ascendant, the conquerors gave no alternative, but either to join them, and to fight against their countrymen and consciences, or to be banished under every restriction of prisoners of war. Instead of being allowed to carry their estates with them, they whose property made it worth while, were stripped of every thing; and all, whether their estates were sequestered or not, were deprived of the privileges of recovering their debts, and of selling or removing their property without the permission of the conquerors. An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. The temptation was too great to be resisted by those who were attached to their interest and ease. Numbers who formerly professed great zeal in the support of their country, and who continued their adherence to the cause of America after the surrender of Charlestown, yielded to these temptations and became British subjects. To discourage the other States from any further attempts in behalf of Carolina, an address to Lord Cornwallis was drawn up, in which the subscribers "congratulated him for his glorious victory at Camden; and expressed their indignation at Congress for disturbing the citizens of Carolina, who were represented as having broken off from the union, and re-united themselves to the British empire." Though every method was used to obtain signers to this address, yet no more than one hundred and sixty-four could be procured. Notwithstanding these discouragements, the genius of America rose superior to them all. At no time did her sons appear to greater advantage, than when they were depressed by successive misfortunes. They seemed to gain strength from their losses; and, instead of giving way to the pressure of calamities, to oppose them with more determined resolution.

Hitherto the British arms to the southward have been attended with almost uninterrupted success. The royal standards we have seen overspreading all the country, penetrating into every quarter, and triumphing over all opposition. Their defeats at the Hanging Rock and at Williams's, in the upper parts of South Carolina, made but little impression on an army familiar with victories. Checks indeed they were, but nothing more; and the only check they had sustained since their landing in the State. The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the delusive hopes of subjugating America. New plans were

formed, and great expectations indulged of speedily re-uniting the dissevered members of the empire. The rashness of General Burgoyne, and the languor of Sir William Howe, were assigned as the only causes of that shame and disappointment which had already disgraced five successive campaigns. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a Commander as Lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, an useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army under General Gates overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom. But the day of prosperity to the United States began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victory, the conquerors became more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence, thoroughly alarmed at their danger, became resolute and determined. We have seen Sumpter penetrating into South Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event he was promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier-General. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the northeastern extremities of the State successfully prosecuted the same plan. Unfurnished with the means of defence, he was obliged to take possession of the saws of the sawmills, and to convert them into horsemen's swords. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a show of numbers to the enemy. For several weeks he had under his command only seventy men, all volunteers from the militia. At one time hardships and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five; yet with this inconsiderable force he secured himself, in the midst of surrounding foes. Various methods were attempted to draw off his followers. Major Weyms burned scores of houses belonging to the inhabitants living on Peedee, Lynch's creek, and Black river, who were supposed to do duty with him, or to be subservient to his views. This measure had an effect contrary to what was expected. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism to make these ruined men keep the field. The devouring flames sent on defenceless habitations by blind rage and brutal policy, increased not only the zeal

but the number of his followers. For several months he and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the thick recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats he sallied out whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy or of serving his country presented itself. This worthy citizen, on every occasion, paid the greatest regard to private property, and restrained his men from every species of plunder. On the whole, he exhibited a rare instance of disinterested patriotism, in doing and suffering everything subservient to the independence of his country.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumpter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the State. The inhabitants of that part of South Carolina which is now called York district, never were paroled as prisoners; nor did they take protection as subjects. From among these people Sumpter had recruited a considerable part of his men. After his defeat, on the 18th of August, 1780, several of them repaired to that settlement, and kept in small parties for their own defence. Some of them also joined Major Davie, an enterprising young gentleman who commanded fifty or sixty volunteers, who had equipped themselves as dragoons. This was the only American corps which at that time had not been beaten or dispersed. The disposition to revolt which had been excited on the approach of General Gates' army, was not extinguished by its defeat. By that check the spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolters who were taken had been treated, induced many others to persevere and to seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants, in the summer of 1780, pains were taken to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. Commissions in the militia were given by the British commanders to such of the inhabitants as they supposed had influence, and were most firmly attached to their interest. They persuaded the people to embody, by representing to the uninformed, that American affairs were entirely ruined, and that further opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses. They endeavored to reconcile those who had families, and were advanced in life, to the bearing of arms, by considerations drawn from the necessity of defending their property and of keeping their domestics in proper subordination. From young men without families more was expected. Whilst Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, Colonel Ferguson, of the

seventy-first British regiment, had undertaken personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field. With these, at a proper season, he was to join the main army and co-operate with it in the reduction of North Carolina. This corps had been chiefly collected from the remote parts of the State, and was induced to continue for some time near to the western mountains, with the expectation of intercepting Colonel Clark on his retreat from Georgia. Among those who joined Colonel Ferguson were several disorderly, licentious persons, who took the opportunity of the prevailing confusion to carry on their usual depredations. As they marched through the country, on the pretence of promoting the service of his Britanic majesty, they plundered the whig citizens. Violences of this kind, frequently repeated, induced many persons to consult their own safety by fleeing over the mountains. By such lively representations of their sufferings as the distressed are always ready to give, they communicated an alarm to that hardy race of republicans who live to the westward of the Alleghany. Hitherto these mountaineers had only heard of war at a distance, and had been in peaceable possession of that independence for which their countrymen on the sea-coast were contending. Alarmed for their own safety by the near approach of Colonel Ferguson, and roused by the violences and depredations of his followers, they embodied to check the neighboring foe. This was done of their own motion, without any requisition from the governments of America or the officers of the continental army. Being all mounted and unincumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man set out with his blanket, knapsack, and gun, in quest of Colonel Ferguson in the same manner he was used to pursue the wild beasts of the forest. At night the earth afforded them a bed and the heavens a covering; the running stream quenched their thirst, while the few cattle, driven in their rear, together with the supplies acquired by their guns, procured them provision. They soon found the encampment of Colonel Ferguson. This was on an eminence of a circular base, known by the name of King's Mountain, situated near the confines of North and South Carolina. Though Colonel Campbell had a nominal command over the whole, their enterprise was conducted without regular military subordination, under the direction of Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and Williams, each of whom respectively led on his own men. It being apprehended that Colonel Ferguson was hastening his march down the country to join Lord Cornwallis, the Americans selected nine hundred and ten of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. With this force

they came up with Colonel Ferguson on the 7th of October, 1780. As they approached the royal encampment, it was agreed to divide their force. Some ascended the mountain, while others went round its base in opposite directions. Colonel Cleveland, who led one of the detachments round the mountain, in his progress discovered an advanced piquet of the royal army. On this occasion he addressed his party in the following plain unvarnished language: "My brave fellows, we have beat the tories and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees or retreat, but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point to return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than the first. If any of you are afraid, such have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off." A firing commenced. Some of the Americans were on horseback, others on foot. Some behind trees, and others exposed. None were under the restraints of military discipline, but all were animated with the enthusiasm of liberty. The piquet soon gave way, and were pursued as they retired up the mountain to the main body. Colonel Ferguson, with the greatest bravery, ordered his men to charge. The Americans commanded by Colonel Cleveland followed his advice, and having fired as long as they could with safety, they retired from the approaching bayonet. They had scarcely given way when the other detachment, commanded by Colonel Shelby, having completed the circuit of the mountain, opportunely arrived, and from an unexpected quarter poured in a well directed fire. Colonel Ferguson desisted from the pursuit, and engaged with his new adversaries. The British bayonet was again successful, and caused them also to fall back. By this time the party commanded by Colonel Campbell had ascended the mountain, and renewed the attack from that eminence. Colonel Ferguson, whose conduct was equal to his courage, presented a new front, and was again successful, but all his exertions were unavailing. At this moment the men who began the attack, no less obedient to the second request of their commander in returning to their posts than they were to the first in securing themselves by a timely retreat, had rallied and renewed their fire. As often as one

of the American parties was driven back, another returned to their station. Resistance on the part of Colonel Ferguson was in vain, but his unconquerable spirit refused to surrender. After having repulsed a succession of adversaries, pouring in their fire from new directions, this distinguished officer received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the second in command sued for quarters. The killed, wounded and taken, exceeded eleven hundred, of which nearly one hundred were regulars. The assailants had the honor of reducing a number superior to their own. The Americans lost comparatively few, but in that number was that distinguished militia officer, Colonel Williams. Ten of these men who had surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged a greater number of Americans at Camden, Ninety-Six and Augusta. They also alleged that the men who suffered were guilty of crimes for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

This unexpected advantage gave new spirits to the desponding Americans; and, in a great degree, frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the cooperation of the inhabitants who were disaffected to the cause of America.

It was scarcely possible for any event to have happened, in the present juncture of affairs, more unfavorable to the views of Lord Corwallis than this reverse of fortune. The fall of Colonel Ferguson, who possessed superior talents as a partizan, was no small loss to the royal cause. In addition to the accomplishments of an excellent officer, he was a most exact marksmen; and had brought the art of rifle shooting to an uncommon degree of perfection. The total route of the royalists, who had joined Colonel Ferguson, operated as a check on their future exertions. The same timid caution which made them averse from joining their countrymen, in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. From this time forward many of them waited events and reserved themselves till the British army, by their own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, Lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village and marched with the main army to Charlotte. Whilst they lay there, General Sumner and General Davidson, with a considerable body of North Carolina militia, took post in the vicinity and annoyed their detachments. Major Davie, whose corps was greatly increased by staunch volunteers from

the lower country, was particularly successful in intercepting their foraging parties and convoys. Riflemen frequently penetrated near the British camp, and from behind trees took care to make sure of their object; so that the late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen danger if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their encampment. The defeat of Colonel Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to Lord Cornwallis; and made him, while at Charlotte, apprehensive for his safety. He therefore retreated, and fixed his next position at Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several wagons loaded with stores, and single men often rode up within gun-shot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape.

The panic occasioned by the reduction of Charlestown, and the defeat of General Gates, began to wear off. The defeat of Colonel Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis from Charlotte to Winnsborough, encouraged the American militia to repair to the camps of their respective commanders. The necessity of the times induced them to submit to the stricter discipline of regular soldiers.

Early in October, Gates detached General Morgan from Hillsborough, with 300 Maryland and Delaware troops with 80 dragoons, to aid the exertions of the whig citizens of Mecklenburgh and Rowan counties. In an excursion from this detached position Lieutenant-Colonel Washington penetrated with a small force to the vicinity of Camden, and on the 4th of December 1780, appeared before Col. Rugeley's. This gentleman having taken a commission in the British militia, had made a stockade-fort round his house in which he had collected 112 of the men under his command. The appearance of the force, commanded by Washington, produced an immediate surrender of this whole party. A pine log enforced the propriety and necessity of their speedy unresisting submission. This harmless timber, elevated a few feet from the surface of the earth by its branches which stuck in the ground, was moulded by the imagination of the garrison into artillery, completely equipped with all the apparatus of death.

Sumpter, soon after the dispersion of his force on the 18th of August 1780, collected a corps of volunteers. About thirty of his party re-joined him immediately after that event. In three days more one hundred of the whig citizens in the vicinity, on his requisition, rendezvoused at Sugar creek and put themselves under his command. With these and other occasional reinforcements, though for three months there was no continental army in the State, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position

from time to time about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British with frequent incursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. On the 12th of November, 1780, he was attacked at Broad river by Major Weyms, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Though Major Weyms had personally superintended the execution of Mr. Adam Cusack, after ordering him to be hung; and though in his pocket was found a memorandum of several houses burned by his command, yet he received every indulgence from his conquerors. On the twentieth of the same month General Sumpter was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton at the head of a considerable party. The action was severe and obstinate. The killed and wounded of the British was considerable. Among the former were Maj. Money, Lieuts. Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but General Sumpter received a wound which, for several months, interrupted his gallant enterprises in behalf of the State. His zeal and activity in animating the American militia when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments procured him the applause of his countrymen and the thanks of Congress.

The continental army which had been collected at Hillsborough, after their dispersion on the 16th of August, moved down to Charlotte in the latter end of the year 1780. Congress authorized General Washington to appoint an officer to take the command in the southern district. He nominated Major-General Greene to this important trust. This illustrious officer was universally acknowledged to possess great military talents, particularly a penetrating judgment, and a decisive enterprising spirit. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter. The principal part of his standing force consisted of the few continentals who had escaped from the defeat near Camden on the 16th of August, 1780. Six days after Greene took the command, the returns of the southern army were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. The continentals were without pay, and almost without clothing. All sources of supply from Charlestown were shut up, and no imported article could be obtained but from a distance of near two hundred miles. Though the American force was small, yet the procuring of provisions for its support was a matter of the greatest difficulty. The paper currency

was so depreciated, that it was wholly unequal to the purchase of necessaries for the suffering soldiers. Real money could not be procured. Though Greene was authorized to dispose of a few bills, drawn by Congress on their minister at the court of France, on a credit given him by that court, yet, such was the situation of the country, that very little relief could be obtained from this quarter; and the greatest part of the bills were returned unsold. The only resource left for supplying the American army, was by impressment. The country had been so completely ravaged, that all which could be obtained even in that way, in the vicinity of the army, was far short of a sufficiency. To supply the army, and please the inhabitants, was equally necessary. To seize upon their property and preserve their kind affections was a most delicate point, and yet of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with the continental troops in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. That the business of impressment might be conducted in the least offensive manner it was transferred from the military to the civil officers of the State. This was not only more effectual, but it also prevented two other evils of dangerous consequence—the corruption of the discipline of the army—and the misapplication of property impressed for the public service.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast; and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. To face an host of difficulties the American General had the justice of his cause, his own valor and good conduct, a very respectable cavalry, and the Maryland and Delaware continentals who had served upwards of four years; and who, for their numbers, were equal to any troops in the world.

Many of the inhabitants, who, from necessity, had submitted to the British government most cordially wished him good speed; but the unsuccessful attempt of Gates to recover the country made the cautious and timid, for some time, very slow in repairing to the standard of liberty.

Soon after Greene took the command, he divided his force and sent a detachment, under General Morgan, to the western extremities of South Carolina; and marched on the twentieth of December with the main body to Hicks' Creek, on the north side of the Peedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill. This division of the little American army into two parts, so remote from each other that they could not co-operate, was risking

much; but the necessity of the case gave no alternative. The continental army was too inconsiderable to make successful opposition to the superior numbers of Lord Cornwallis, without the most powerful co-operation of the militia of the country. To give them an opportunity of embodying it was necessary to cover both extremities of the State.

SECTION VIII.

Campaign of 1781.

After the general submission of the militia, in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favorable to the interests of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number and added new vigor to the opposite party. In the district of Ninety-Six moderate measures were at first adopted by the British commanders, but the effects of this were frustrated by the royalists. A great part of those who called themselves the King's friends had been at all times a banditti, to whom rapine and violence were familiar. On the restoration of royal government these men preferred their claim to its particular notice. The conquerors were so far imposed on by them, that they promoted some of them who were of the most infamous characters. Men of such base minds and mercenary principles, regardless of the capitulation, gratified their private resentments and their rage for plunder to the great distress of the new made subjects, and the greater injury of the royal interest. Violences of this kind made some men break their engagements to the British, and join the Americans. Their revolt occasioned suspicions to the prejudice of others who had no intention of following their example. Fears, jealousies and distrust, haunted the minds of the conquerors. All confidence was at an end. Severe measures were next tried, but with a worse effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, an haughty and imperious officer who commanded in that district, was more calculated, by his insolence and overbearing conduct to alienate the inhabitants from a government already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was generally disliked. By an unwarrantable stretch of his authority he issued a proclamation by which it was declared, "that every man who was not in his house by a certain day should be subject to a military execution." The British had a post in Ninety-Six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence, and murder. Applications were made daily for redress, yet in that whole period there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted either on the soldiery or

tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties, or property, under the military government of British officers, which subjected them to the depredations of a malicious mercenary banditti; falsely calling themselves the friends of royal government. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance; they therefore most ardently wished for the appearance of an American force. Under these favorable circumstances Greene detached Morgan to take a position in the western extremity of the State. On his arrival the latter dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with his own regiment and two hundred militia-horse, to attack a body of tories who were plundering the whig inhabitants. Washington came up with them near Hammond's store-house, and charged them; on on which they all fled without making any resistance. Many were killed or wounded, and about forty taken prisoners.

On the next day Washington detached Cornet James Simons, with a command of eleven regulars and twenty-five militia, to pursue the fugitives and to surprise a fort a few miles distant, in which General Cunningham commanded about one hundred and fifty British militia. This fort was strongly picqueted in every direction; and, besides plunder taken from the whig inhabitants, was well stored with forage, grain, and provisions for the use of the British army. As soon as the Americans were discovered, General Cunningham and all his men abandoned the fort. Cornet Simons stationed his detachment, and, advancing with a flag, demanded their surrender. Cunningham requested time to consult his officers, and five minutes were given him for that purpose. In that short space the whole party of tories ran off, and dispersed themselves through the woods. Simons, after destroying the fort and all the provisions in it which he could not carry away, rejoined Washington without any molestation.

These successes, the appearance of an American army, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms and to act in concert with the detachments of continentals. Lord Cornwallis wished to drive Morgan from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, at the head of a thousand regulars, was ordered to execute this business. The British had two field-pieces, and the superiority of numbers in the proportion of five to four, and particularly of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two-thirds of the troops under Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton, on the 17th of January

1781, engaged Morgan with the expectation of driving him out of the country. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light-infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, and a small corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington with his cavalry and forty-five militia-men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The Americans were formed before the British appeared in sight. Tarleton halted, and formed his men, when at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards from the front line of Morgan's detachment. As soon as the British had formed they began to advance with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the militia under his command not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient to repel the advancing foe. The American militia were obliged to retire, but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced rapidly and engaged the second line which, after a most obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis of the battle, Washington made a successful charge upon Tarleton who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant Colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back upon their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. In this moment of confusion Howard called to them "to lay down their arms," and promised them good quarters. Upwards of five hundred accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two British light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. Previous to this general surrender, three hundred of the corps, commanded by Tarleton, had been killed, wounded or taken. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-wagons also fell into the hands of the Americans. Washington pursued the British cavalry for several miles, but a great part of them escaped. The Americans had only twelve men killed, and sixty wounded. General Morgan, whose great abilities were discovered by the judicious disposition of his force, and whose

activity was conspicuous through every part of the action, obtained the universal applause of his countrymen. And there never was a commander better supported than he was by the officers and men of his detachment. The glory and importance of this action resounded from one end of the continent to the other. It re-animated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead to the southern States.

Morgan's good conduct, on this memorable day, was honored by Congress with a gold medal. That illustrious assembly, on this occasion, presented also a medal of silver to Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, another to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the General's Aid-de-camp, and a Captaincy to Baron Glasback, who had lately joined the light infantry as a volunteer. The British legion, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost their laurels, though they were supported by the Seventh regiment, one battalion of the Seventy-first, and two companies of light infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton had hitherto acquired distinguished reputation, but he was greatly indebted for his military fame to good fortune and accident. In all his previous engagements he either had the advantage of surprising an incautious enemy, of attacking them when panic-struck after recent defeats, or of being opposed to undisciplined militia. He had gathered no laurels by hard fighting against an equal force. His repulse on this occasion did more essential injury to the British interest than was compensated by all his victories.

Tarleton's defeat was the first link in a grand chain of causes which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South Carolina, on the royal interest. The series of victories which had followed the British arms in the first nine months of the year 1780, had been considered by the sanguine royalists as decisive with respect to the most southern colonies, and had led to the formation of extensive plans for the year 1781. These were defensive with respect to South Carolina and Georgia, which were considered as conquered countries, but offensive against North Carolina and Virginia. To favor the subjugation of these two latter States, the British commanders stationed troops in both. The tories under the protection of the royal army were encouraged to rise simultaneously. With their aid, and that of his army, Lord Cornwallis expected to destroy the American forces commanded by General Greene, or at least to drive them out of the country. As his lordship advanced from south to north, it was expected the tories, with a portion of regulars, would keep all quiet in his rear. North Carolina was scarcely considered in any other light than as the road to

Virginia. A junction with the royal forces stationed in the last named State, in the front of Lord Cornwallis, was expected at so early a day, as to give time for prosecuting further operations against Maryland and Pennsylvania. The expectations of some went so far as to count upon a junction with the royal army in New York, and the subjugation of every State to the southward of Hudson's river, before the close of the campaign. The year 1781 commenced with the prospect of accomplishing most, if not all of these objects. These sanguine hopes were founded on the reduction of Savannah and Charlestown, the subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina—the route of General Gates' army—the failure of the American paper currency, the general distress of the country, and the inability of Congress to carry on the war, from the want of the means necessary for that purpose. In this distressed state of American affairs, success, little short of a termination of the war in favor of Great Britain, was expected from a vigorous campaign, conducted with energy and advancing from south to north. The defeat of Ferguson at King's mountain, in October, 1780, and of Tarleton at the Cow Pens, in January, 1781, precipitated the projected system of operations. To recover the prisoners taken at the Cow Pens, the royal army was instantly put in motion. A military race commenced between the pursuing British and the fleeing Americans. North Carolina was therefore prematurely invaded before the tories were prepared for joining the royalists. Rising without order or system, they were separately subdued. General Greene, by rapid movements, saved his prisoners, but was compelled to retreat into Virginia. By avoiding engagements he preserved his army till he was joined by so many of his countrymen as enabled him to recross into North Carolina, and to risk a general action at Guilford. This, though called a victory by the British, operated against them like a defeat. Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the alternative of retracing his footsteps to South Carolina, or advancing to Virginia, while the country behind him was left open to the enterprising General Greene, at the head of a respectable force. The two armies, one of which for some weeks had been chasing the other, now turned back to back. Lord Cornwallis advanced northwardly, and seated himself in York Town, Virginia, where, in October following, he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering his whole army prisoners of war; Greene, southwardly to Carolina, and in the course of the campaign, recovered the country from its late conquerors. This was facilitated by the previous enterpises of Generals Sumpter and Marion. These distinguished partisans, though surrounded with enemies, kept the field and animated the

whig inhabitants of South Carolina to deeds of valor, while the two main armies were in North Carolina and Virginia. Though the continental army was driven over Dan river, Marion and Sumpter did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their outposts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the State, Sumpter was powerfully supported by Colonels Niel, Lacey, Hill, Winn, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the northeartern extremity, Marion received, in like manner, great assistance from the active exertions of Colonels Peter Horry and Hugh Horry, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baxter, Colonel James Postell, Major John Postell, and Major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of these militia officers, and performed many gallant enterprises.*

SECTION IX.

Marion's Brigade.

Marion and his brigade were so distinguished, and at the same time so detached in their operations, as to merit and require particular notice.

General Francis Marion was born at Winyaw, in 1733. His grandfather was a native of Languedoc, and one of the many Protestants who fled from France to Carolina to avoid persecution on the account of religion. He left thirteen children, the eldest of whom was the father of the general. Francis Marion, when only sixteen years of age, made choice of a seafaring life. On his first voyage to the West Indies he was shipwrecked. The crew, consisting of six persons, took to the open boat, without water or provisions, except a dog who jumped into the boat from the sinking vessel. They were six days in the boat before they made land, having nothing to eat in that time but the dog, whom they devoured raw. Two of the crew perished. Francis Marion, with three others, reached

* The author would gladly have recorded these events minutely, if the particulars were either known by him or had been communicated to him. The information received of the corps commanded by Sumpter is very general, and of course deficient, though exertions were made to procure it in detail. He has been more successful in his applications to the friends of the deceased General Marion, and with gratitude acknowledges the obligations he is under to Captain John Palmer, and to the Honorable William James, Esq., for interesting information respecting that distinguished officer and his brigade.

land. This disaster, and the entreaties of his mother, induced him to quit the sea. In Littleton's expedition against the Indians in 1759, he went as a volunteer in his brother's militia troop of horse. In Grant's expetition to the Indian country in 1761, he served as a lieutenant under Captain William Moultrie. On the formation of a regular army in 1775, to defend his native province against Great Britain, he was appointed a captain in the Second South Carolina regiment, and had gradually risen to the rank of colonel before Charlestown fell. Fortunately for his country, he had fractured his leg and retired from the garrison, which prevented his being made a prisoner of war. After the surrender, he retreated to North Carolina. On the approach of General Gates he advanced with a small party through the country towards the Santee. On his arrival there he found a number of his countrymen ready and willing to put themselves under his command, to which he had been appointed by General Gates. This corps afterwards acquired the name of Marion's Brigade. Its origin was as singular as its exploits were honorable.

In the month of June, 1780, a British captain named Ardesoif, arrived at Georgetown and published a proclamation, inviting the people to come in, swear allegiance to King George, and take protection. Many of the inhabitants of Georgetown submitted. But there remained a portion of that district stretching from the Santee to the Peedee, containing the whole of the present Williamsburg and part of Marion district, to which the British arms had not penetrated. The inhabitants of it were generally of Irish extraction, and very little disposed to submission. At this crisis there was a meeting of this people to deliberate on their situation. Major John James, who had heretofore commanded them in the field and represented them in the State Legislature, was selected as the person who should go down to Captain Ardesoif and know from him upon what terms they would be allowed to submit. Accordingly he proceeded to Georgetown in the plain garb of a country planter, and was introduced to the Captain at his lodgings.

After narrating the nature of his mission, the Captain surprised that such an embassy should be sent to him, answered "that their submission must be unconditional." To an inquiry, "whether they would be allowed to stay at home upon their plantations in peace and quiet," he replied, "though you have rebelled against his majesty he offers you a free pardon, of which you were undeserving, for you ought all to have been hanged. As he offers you a free pardon you must take up arms in support of his cause." To Major James suggest-

ing "that the people he came to represent would not submit on such terms," the Captain, irritated at his republican language, particularly at the word "represent," replied, "you damned rebel! if you speak in such language, I will immediately order you to be hanged up to the yard arm." Major James perceiving what turn matters were likely to take, and not brooking this harsh language, suddenly seized the chair on which he was seated, brandished it in the face of the Captain, made his way good through the back door of the house, mounted his horse and made his escape into the country. This circumstance which appears now so trivial, gave rise to Marion's brigade. When the whole adventure was related at a meeting of the inhabitants of Williamsburg, it was unanimously determined that they would again take up arms in defence of their country and not against it. Major James was desired to command them as heretofore, and they arranged themselves under their revolutionary Captains, William M'Cottry, Henry Mowzon and John James, junior.

The small band thus resolved on further resistance was about two hundred men. Shortly after, Colonel Hugh Giles joined them with two companies, Thornly's and Witherspoon's. On this accession of force a consultation was held, and it was agreed to dispatch a messenger to General Gates, who about this time had arrived on the confines of the State, requesting him to send them a Commander. Shortly after these events, Colonel Tarleton crossed the Santee at Lenud's ferry, and hearing of the late proceedings in Williamsburg, approached at the head of some cavalry to surprise the party of Major James; but Captain M'Cottry, as soon as he received notice of his movements, marched his company of fifty men to give him battle. Tarleton was posted at King's Tree bridge, on Black river, and M'Cottry approached him at midnight; but by means of the wife of the only loyalist in that part of the country, Tarleton gained intelligence of M'Cottry's movements, and marched away a few hours before the latter arrived. M'Cottry pursued him, but without effect.

In this route Tarleton burnt the house of Captain Mowzon and took Mr. James Bradley* prisoner.

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*This gentleman was taken prisoner by stratagem. Colonel Tarleton came to his house and passed himself for Colonel Washington of the American army. Bradley made much of his guest, and without suspicion freely communicated to him the plans and views of himself and other Carolinians for co-operating with their countrymen against the British. When the interview and its hospitalities were ended, Tarleton requested Bradley to accompany him as a guide to a neighboring place. This service was cheerfully performed On their arrival, Tarleton's party appeared in full view and took charge of Bradley as a prisoner. The host thus taken by order of his late guest was sent to Camden jail, and there confined in irons. He was frequently carted to the gallows to witness the execution of his countrymen as rebels, and was told to prepare for a similar fate as his time was

In the meantime Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Horry arrived from Georgetown with a small party and took command of the force already raised by Major James, and on all occasions very much animated the men by his gallantry and persevering patriotism. The messenger, however, had been dispatched to Gates, and on the first or second of August, General Francis Marion arrived to the great joy of all the friends of America. He was accompanied by Colonel Peter Horry, Major John Vanderhorst, Captains Lewis Ogier and James Thems, and Captain John Milton, of Georgia. In a few days after taking the command, General Marion led his men across the Peedee at Post's ferry to disperse a large party of tories commanded by Major Gainey, collected between great and little Peedee. He surprised them in their camp; killed one of their captains and several privates. Two of his own party were wounded. Major James was detached at the head of a volunteer troop of horse to attack their horse. He came up with them, charged and drove them into little Peedee swamp. Marion returned to Posts's ferry and threw up a redoubt on the east bank of Peedee to awe the tories, still numerous in that neighborhood. While thus employed he heard of the defeat of Gates, at Camden, August 16th, 1780. Without communicating the intelligence, he immediately marched for Nelson's ferry on the Santee, in the hope of intercepting some of the prisoners on their way to Charlestown. Near Nelson's he was informed of a party on their way down, and found by his scouts that the British had stopped at the house on the main road on the east side of Santee. The General waited till near daylight next morning and then divided his men into two divisions. A small party under Colonel Hugh Horry* was directed to obtain possession of the road at the entrance of the swamp, and the main body led by himself was by a circuitous route to attack the British in the rear. Colonel Horry in taking his position, had advanced in the dark too near to a sentinel who fired upon him. In a moment he with his little party rushed up to the house, found the British arms piled before the door and seized

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next. On such occasions, and when interrogated at courts-martial, he made no other reply than that "I am ready and willing to die in the cause of my country; but remember, if I am hanged, I have many friends in General Marion's brigade, and my death will occasion a severe retaliation." Either awed by his virtues or apprehensive of the consequences, his captors did not execute their threats. His life was spared, but he was kept in irons as long as the British had possession of the upper country. He bore the marks of these rugged instruments of confinement till the day of his death, and would occasionally show them to his young friends, with a request "that if the good of their country required the sacrifice, they would suffer imprisonment and death in its cause."

*This gallant officer was the bosom friend of General Marion. Wherever the latter was personally engaged in action, the former was to be seen at his side.

upon them. Thus by a party of sixteen American militia was a British guard of thirty-two men taken, and one hundred and fifty prisoners released. Colonel Horry had one man wounded. However, the news of the defeat of Gates, which now became public, damped all joy for the complete success of this well conducted attack. On the same day General Marion marched back for his old position on the Peedee. On the way many of his militia, and, with the exception of two, the whole of the regulars released from the enemy, deserted. But by the exertions of the General and his officers, the spirits of the drooping began to revive. About the 14th of September, 1780, when Marion had under his command only 150 men, he heard of the approach of Major Weyms, from the King's Tree, at the head of a British regiment and Harrison's regiment of tories. Major James was instantly dispatched at the head of a party of volunteers to reconnoitre, and with orders to count the enemy. On his return a council of war was called. The British force was reported to be double that of Marion's. Gainey's party of tories in the rear had always been estimated at 500 men. Under these discouraging circumstances the line of march was directed back towards Lynch's creek. This was a most trying occasion. Men were called upon to leave their property and their families at the discretion of an irritated relentless enemy. About half of Marion's party left him; Colonels Peter and Hugh Horry, Colonels John Erwin and John Baxter, Major John Vanderhorst, Major John James, Major Benson, and about sixty others continued with their General. Captain James, with ten chosen men, was left to succor the distressed and to convey intelligence.* The next morning Marion arrived at his redoubt; and at sunset the same evening turned towards North Carolina, and soon reached the eastern bank of Drowning creek in that State. Major James obtained leave to return at the head of a few volunteers; and General Marion continued on to the White marsh, near the source of the Waccamaw. In a little time the Major returned with intelligence of the depredations and house burnings committed by Weyms. Many of Marion's party were reduced from easy circumstances to poverty.

After a few days more of repose, the General returned by forced marches towards South Carolina. When near to Lynch's creek he was informed that a party of tories, much more numerous than his own, lay at Black Mingo, fifteen miles below. Every voice was for the General to lead on his men to an attack; and they were gratified.

*He continued in the vicinity of the British encampments and to fire upon stragglers from it as long as his powder and ball lasted.

The tories lay at Shepherd's ferry on the south side of that creek. To approach them Marion was obliged to cross the creek at a bridge one mile above the ferry. As soon as the front files of his advance had struck the bridge, with their horses' feet, an alarm gun was fired by the enemy and they were advantageously posted to receive him. A sharp conflict ensued. In an interval of platoons Marion was heard to call out, "advance cavalry and charge on the left." Instantly the tories broke and ran for Black Mingo swamp. The parties had been engaged for a considerable time so near to each other that the wads of their guns struck on each side, and both fired balls and buckshot. Neither had bayonets, or they would have been used. Captain Logan, and one private of Marion's party were killed; but of those engaged, nearly one-half were wounded. Two gallant officers, Captain Mowzon and his Lieutenant Joseph Scott, were rendered unfit for further service.

The tories had five killed, and a considerable number wounded. Several of these had lately been companions in arms with Marion's party, but from mistaken views had changed sides. The General without delay marched into Williamsburg. In a short time his party was four hundred strong.

Thus re-inforced the General proceeded up Lynch's creek, to chastise the tories who had assisted Weyms. On his march he obtained information that Colonel Tynes was collecting a large body of tories in the fork of Black river, distant about thirty miles. The General instantly proceeded towards them; crossing the north branch of Black river, he came up with Tynes—surprised and completely defeated him without the loss of a man. When Marion approached, the first party of tories was playing cards; and Captain Gaskens one of the plundering companions of Weyms, was killed with a card in his hand. Several other tories were killed and wounded. In all these marches Marion and his men lay in the open air with little covering, and with little other food than sweet potatoes and meat mostly without salt. Though it was in the unhealthy season of autumn, yet sickness seldom occurred. The General fared worse than his men; for his baggage having caught fire by accident, he had literally but half a blanket to cover him from the dews of the night, and but half a hat to shelter him from the rays of the sun. Soon after the defeat of Tynes, General Marion took a position on Snow's Island, This is situated at the conflux of the Peedee and Lynch's creek, is of a triangular form, and is bounded by Peedee on the northeast—by Lynch's creek on the north—and by Clark's creek, a branch of the latter, on the west and south. Here,

by having command of the rivers, he could be abundantly supplied with provisions, and his post was inaccessible except by water. Major John Postell was stationed to guard the lower part of the river Peedee. While there, Captain James De-Peyster of the royal army, with twenty-nine grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of twenty-eight militia-men in such positions as commanded its doors and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted; and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property to gain an advantage for his country.

From Snow's Island during the winter next after the fall of Charlestown, General Marion sent out his scouts in all directions. In January 1781, he sent two small detachments of militia dragoons, under the command of Major Postell and Captain Postell, to cross the Santee. The former destroyed a great quanity of valuable stores at Manigault's ferry; the latter did the same at another place in the vicinity. Thence he marched to Keithfield near Monk's Corner, where he destroyed fourteen wagons loaded with soldiers' clothing and baggage; besides several other valuable stores, and took forty prisoners chiefly British regulars, and effected the whole without any loss. In the course of these desultory operations, Marion killed and captured a number of the British and their tory friends more than double of his own force.

In the course of the contest, a new race of young warriors had sprung up. The General was desirous of employing them, and to give some repose to those who had served from the beginning. Among these the brothers, the Postells, were all active and enterprising. Major Benson commanded the cavalry; under him was John Thompson Green; under them were Daniel Conyers and James M'Cauley; who on every occasion signalized themselves. Captain M'Cottry commanded a company of riflemen.* Wherever his name was repeated it struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. The warfare was various and bloody. Lieutenant Roger Gordon, of Marion's party being upon a scout upon Lynch's creek, stopped at a house of refreshments. While there, the house was beset and fired by a Captain Butler and a party of tories greatly superior in number. Gordon's party surrendered upon a promise of quarters, but after laying down their arms, Butler fell upon them and butchered them in cold blood.

* No man was more beloved by his men than M'Cottry; his active services brought upon him a complication of disorders which shortened his life.

In consequence of this massacre "no quarters for tories," was the cry with Marion's men when going into action. Still however the regular British forces were treated with lenity, and agreeably to the generally received rules of war, when they laid down their arms. The pruning hook was converted into a spear; and the saw, under the hands of a common blacksmith, became a terrible sabre. Powder and ball were much wanted. On account of the small stock of both, the orders often were to give the British one or two fires and to retreat. Those fires were always well directed and did great execution.

Marion so effectually thwarted the schemes of the British against South Carolina, that to drive him out of the country was with them a favorite object. The house burnings and devastations perpetrated by Weyms and the tories under his direction, had not produced that intimidation and disposition to submit which had been vainly expected from men who disregarded property when put in competition with liberty. A new and well concerted attempt to destroy, or disperse, the brigade which had given so much trouble to the late conquerors was made early in 1781.

Colonel Watson moved down from Camden along the Santee, and Colonel Doyle crossing Lynch's creek marched down on the east side of it. The point of their intended junction was supposed to be at Snow's Island. General Marion heard first of the approach of Watson, and marched from Snow's Island with almost the whole of his force to meet him. At Tawcaw swamp, nearly opposite to the mouth of the present Santee canal on the east side of the river, he laid the first ambuscade for Watson. General Marion had then but very little ammunition, not more than twenty rounds to each man. His orders were to give two fires and retreat; and they were executed by Colonel Peter Horry with great effect. Watson made good the passage of the swamp, and sent Major Harrison with a corps of tory cavalry and some British in pursuit of Horry. This had been foreseen by the cautious Marion; and Captain Daniel Conyers, at the head of a party of cavalry, was placed in a second ambuscade. As soon as the tories and British came up, Conyers, in a spirited and well-directed charge, killed with his own hands the officer who led on the opposite charge. Conyer's men followed his gallant example. Many of Harrison's party were killed, and the remainder made their escape to the main body of the British. Such work required little powder and ball. General Marion continued to harass Watson on his march, by pulling up bridges and opposing him in like manner at every difficult pass until they had reached near the lower bridge on Black river, seven miles

below King's Tree. Here Watson made a feint of marching down the road to Georgetown. Marion being too weak to detach a party to the bridge, had taken an advantageous post on that road; when Watson wheeling suddenly about gained possession of the bridge on the west side. This was an important pass on the road leading into the heart of Williamsburg and to Snow's Island. The river on the west runs under a high bluff; the grounds on the opposite side are low and the river, though generally fordable, was then raised by a swell nearly up to the summit of the opposite shore. Watson still hesitated about passing.

General Marion, informed of Watson's movement, without delay approached the river, plunged into it on horseback and called to his men to follow. They did so. The whole party reached the opposite shore in safety, and marched forward to occupy the east end of the bridge. Marion detached Major James with forty musqueteers, and thirty riflemen under M'Cottry to burn the bridge. The riflemen were posted to advantage on the river bank, but as soon as their friends had gained possession of the east end of the bridge, and had applied fascines to it, Watson opened the fire of his artillery upon them, but it was unavailing. The west bank of the river was so much elevated above the east that before his field pieces could be brought to bear upon the Americans, his artillerists were exposed to the fire of the riflemen, who deliberately picked them off as they advanced to the summit of the hill. In the meantime Major James' party had fired the bridge. Thus were Marion's friends saved from similar plunderings and conflagrations with those they had suffered under Weyms. The practice of Watson was to burn all the houses of Marion's men that were in the line of his march.

Watson was so much intimidated by this affair, that he immediately quitted the lower bridge and proceeded by forced marches to Georgetown. General Marion repassed Black river, and hung alternately on the rear, the flanks, or the front of the enemy until they had reached Sampit bridge, nine miles from Georgetown. There M'Cottry gave them a parting fire from his riflemen. During these transactions, Watson commanded five hundred men, and Marion not half that number. The loss of the British is unknown, that of Marion but one man.

The three officers, and all the men employed by the General at the lower bridge, were inhabitants, whose plantations and families would have been exposed to the enemy had they made good their passage. From Sampit bridge Marion marched directly for Snow's Island. There he heard of the approach of Doyle, who had driven Colonel Erwin from the Island and

taken possession of the pass of Lynch's creek, at Witherspoon's ferry. When M'Cottry, advancing in front, arrived at Witherspoon's, on the south bank of the creek, the British on the north were scuttling the ferry boat. He approached softly to the edge of the water and gave them an unexpected fire. A short conflict took place between ill-directed musketry, whose balls hit the tops of the trees on the opposite side, and riflemen, whose well directed aim seldom failed of doing execution at every fire. Doyle fell back to Camden.

In addition to these skirmishes, Marion made two descents on Georgetown. In the first, he came unexpectedly on a body of tories, whom he charged and dispersed after their Captain and several of their men were killed. In this affair Captain Marion, brother of the present member of Congress from Charlestown District, was killed and, it was believed, after he had been taken prisoner.

Marion's second descent was more successful. With a party of militia he marched to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works and retreated to Charlestown. Shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of South Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedily reduced to ashes.

After the return of General Greene to Carolina, in 1781, Marion acted under his orders, and the exploits of his brigade, no longer acting by itself, made a part of the general history of the revolutionary war.

SECTION X.

Campaign of 1781 *Continued.*

It was no sooner known in South Carolina that Lord Cornwallis had left the State in pursuit of the American army, than General Sumpter, who had just recovered from his wound, collected a force to penetrate into the heart of the country, as well with the design of distracting the views of the British as of encouraging the friends of independence. Early in February, 1781, he crossed the Congaree, and appeared in force before Fort Granby and destroyed its magaznes. Lord Rawdon advanced from Camden for the relief of the post, on which General Sumpter retreated, but immediately appeared before another British post, near Colonel Thompson's. On the second day after this excursion he attacked and defeated an escort convoying some wagons and stores from Charles-

town to Camden. Thirteen of the British detachment were killed and sixty-six taken prisoners. The captured stores were sent in boats down the Congaree, but on their passage they were retaken. Sumpter, with three hundred and fifty horsemen, swam across the Santee and proceeded to Fort Watson, at Wright's Bluff, but on Lord Rawdon's marching from Camden for its relief, he retired to Black river. On his return, he was attacked near Camden, by Major Frazer, at the head of a considerable force of British regulars and militia. The Major lost twenty of his men, and was obliged to retreat. Sumpter having, by this excursion, satisfied the friends of independence in the centre of the State that their cause was not desperate, retired in safety to the borders of North Carolina. Hitherto all his enterprises had been effected by volunteers from the militia, but the long continued services in the field which were required, pointed out the propriety of a more permanent corps. He, therefore, in March, 1781, enlisted three small regiments of regular State troops, to be employed in constant service for the space of ten months. With these, and the returning continental army, the war recommenced in South Carolina with new vigor, and was carried on with more regularity.

General Greene, having determined to return to South Carolina, sent orders to General Pickens to collect the militia of his brigade, and to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion and part of the second Maryland brigade, was ordered to advance before the continental troops, to co-operate with General Marion.

About the time that these preparations were making to renew the war in South Carolina, seventy-six exiles, who had been compelled to seek refuge with General Marion on the north side of Santee, re-crossed that river with the bold design of re-visiting their own settlements. Some of them were from the militia of the sea-coast of Carolina, to the southward of Charlestown, and others from Georgia. The first commanded by Colonel Harden, the latter by Colonel Baker. On their way they fell in with about twenty-five of the royal militia, at Four Holes, and captured the whole of them. The privates were paroled, and their officers carried off. As they marched through the country, parties were sent to the houses of the officers of the royal militia, some of whom were taken, and others fled to Charlestown. Colonel Harden had two or three successful skirmishes with detachments of the British, but his capital manœuvre was the surprise of Fort Balfour, at Pokataligo. By his address and good management in this enterprise, three British Colonels of militia, Fenwick, Lechmere

and Kelsal, with thirty-two regular dragoons and fifty-six privates of the royal militia, surrendered on the 12th of April, 1781, to this handful of returning exiles, without any loss on their part. Colonel Harden had his party considerably increased by daily accessions of the people inhabiting the southern seacoast of Carolina. With their aid he prosecuted, in that part of the State, the same successful plan of opposition to the British which was begun much earlier in the northwestern and northeastern extremities under the auspices of his gallant co-adjutors, Sumpter and Marion.

General Greene marched with the main army from Deep river, in North Carolina, towards Camden. The British were no less alarmed than surprised when they heard that Lieutenant-Colonel Lee had penetrated through the country, and in eight days effected a junction with General Marion, near the Santee, and that the main body of the Americans encamped on the 19th of April before Camden. To secure the provisions that grow on the fertile banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the British had erected a chain of posts in their vicinity. One of the most important of these was on an eminence, known by the name of Wright's Bluff, and called Fort Watson. This was closely invested, on the 15th of April, by about eighty militia-men under General Marion, and by the continentals commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee. Neither party had any other means of annoyance or defence but musketry. Though the ground on which the fort stood was an Indian mount, thirty or forty feet high, yet the besiegers, under the direction of Colonel Maham, erected, in a few days, on an unusual plan, a work much higher. From this eminence the American riflemen fired into the fort with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. On the twenty-third the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree, and a creek which empties itself in that river. On the western and northern by six strong redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. The American army, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm or of completely investing it. The General therefore took a good position at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile distant, in expectation of favorable events and with a view of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his musicians, drummers, and everything that could carry a firelock, and with great spirit sallied on the twenty-fifth. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time very evidently inclined to the

side of the Americans; but in the progress of the action the fortune of the day was changed, and the British kept the field. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was ordered to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge in their rear. While he executed this order he was so confident of the success of the main army, that he divided his men into small parties, and made them take such positions as he thought most eligible for intercepting the fugitives on their retreat to Camden. At one time he had in his possesion upwards of two hundred; but he relinquished the greatest part of them on seeing the American army retreat. On this unexpected reverse of fortune he paroled the officers on the field of battle—collected his men—wheeled round—and made his retreat good, with the loss of three men, and at the same time brought off near fifty prisoners. The killed, wounded, and missing of the Americans was about two hundred. The British had one officer killed, and eleven taken prisoners. General Greene retreated in good order, with his artillery and baggage, to Gun Swamp, about five miles from the place of action. In the evening after this action Lieutenant-Colonel Washington marched with fifty men of the cavalry within a mile of the British army, and after sending forward a small party, concealed his principal force in the woods. As soon as the advanced small party was discovered, Major Coffin, at the head of about forty of the Irish volunteers, pursued them a considerable distance. After the British party had passed the American cavalry, which was concealed, the latter rushed from the woods and charged them so briskly in the rear, that they lost upwards of twenty of their number.

Very soon after the action, on the 25th of April, General Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, detached a reinforcement to General Marion on the road to Nelson's ferry; and on the third of May crossed the Wateree, and took occasionally such positions as would most effectually prevent succors from going into the town from that quarter. On the seventh of May Lord Rawdon received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson. With this increase of force he attempted, on the day following, to compel General Greene to another action; but soon found that this was impracticable. Failing in his design, he returned to Camden; and on the tenth burned the gaol, mills, many private houses and a great deal of his own baggage—evacuated the post—and retired with his whole army to the south of the Santee; leaving about thirty of his own sick and wounded, and as many of the Americans, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, had fallen into his hands. Lord Rawdon discovered as great

prudence in this evacuation of Camden as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charlestown, and the positions of the American army intercepted all supplies from the country. The return of General Greene to the southward being unexpected, the stores of the garrison were not provided for a siege. Lord Rawdon had the honor of saving his men though he lost the post, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every assistance in his power to the friends of British government who would accompany him; but it was a hard alternative to the new-made subjects to be obliged to abandon their property, or be left at the mercy of their exasperated countrymen. Several families nevertheless accompanied his lordship. These were cruelly neglected after their arrival in Charlestown. They built themselves huts without the works. Their settlement was called Rawdontown; which, from its poverty and wretchedness, became a term of reproach. Many women and children, who lived comfortably on their farms near Camden, soon died of want in these, their new habitations.

This evacuation animated the friends of Congress, and gave a very general alarm to the British. The former had been called upon for their personal services, to assist in regaining the country, but were disheartened by the repulse of General Greene from before Camden; but, from the moment that Lord Rawdon evacuated that post their numbers daily increased, and the British posts fell in quick succession. On the day after the evacuation of Camden the garrison of Orangeburg, consisting of seventy British militia and twelve regulars, surrendered to General Sumpter. The next day fort Motte capitulated. After the surrender of fort Watson, General Marion and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee crossed the Santee and moved up to this post, which lies above the Fork on the south side of the Congaree, where they arrived on the eighth of May. The approaches were carried on so rapidly, that a house in the centre of the fort was set on fire the fourth day after they began the entrenchments; and the garrison, which consisted of 165 men, commanded by Lieutenant M'Pherson, was compelled, after a brave defence, to surrender at discretion. On this occasion Mrs. Motte displayed an eminent example of disinterested patriotism. The British had built their works round her dwelling house, on which she removed to a neighboring hut. When she was informed that firing the house was the easiest mode of reducing the garrison, she presented the besiegers with a quiver of African arrows to be employed for that purpose. Skewers armed with combustible materials were also used, and with more effect. Success soon

crowned these experiments, and her joy was inexpressible that the reduction of the post was expedited, though at the expense of her property. Two days after this surrender, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry—blew up their fortifications—and destroyed a great part of their stores. The day following, fort Granby, near Friday's ferry, about thirty miles to the westward of fort Motte, surrendered by capitulation. Very advantageous terms were given by the assailants in consequence of information that Lord Rawdon was marching to its relief. This was a post of more consequence than the others, and might have been better defended; but the offer of security to the baggage of the garrison, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder, hastened the surrender. For some time before, it had been greatly harassed by Colonel Taylor's regiment of militia, and had also been invested by General Sumpter. On the night of the fourteenth of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee erected a battery within six hundred yards of its out-works, on which he mounted a six-pounder. After the third discharge from this field-piece, Major Maxwell capitulated. His force consisted of three hundred and fifty-two men, a great part of whom were royal militia.

While these operations were carrying on against the small posts, General Greene proceeded with the main army to Ninety-Six. This place being of great consequence was defended by a considerable force. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger conducted the defence with great bravery and judgment. Major Green, in particular, acquired distinguished reputation by his spirited and judicious conduct in defending the redoubt against which the Americans made their principal efforts.

On the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star; on the right was a strong stockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town, flanked by these two works, was also piquetted with strong piquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank near the height of a common parapet. There were also several flushes in different parts of the town, and all the works communicated with each other by covered ways. On the twenty-third of May 1781, the main body of the American army encamped in a wood within half a mile of Ninety-Six; and on that night, threw up two flushes within one hundred and fifty yards of the star fort. The next morning the enemy made a sally, and being supported by the artillery and musketry from the parapet of the star redoubt, drove the besiegers from them. The next night two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards, which were opened in the morning. Another battery twenty feet high, erected within two hundred and twenty

yards, was finished in a few days; and soon afterwards, another of the same height was erected within one hundred yards of the main fort. Approaches were gradually carried on against the redoubt on the left. Colonel Koziusko, a young gentleman of distinction from Poland, superintended the operations of the besiegers, and by his assiduity, though the ground was hard and the situation unfavorable, a third parallel within thirty yards of the ditch was completed on May 14th; and a rifle battery, upwards of thirty feet high, erected at the same distance. On the seventeenth the abbatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended so as to be within six feet of the ditch. Few sieges afford greater instances of perseverance and intrepidity, than were exhibited on this occasion by the besiegers and besieged. Riflemen were employed on both sides, who immediately levelled at every person who appeared in sight and very seldom missed their object. Various success attended the conflicts between the several covering parties of the workmen, and those who repeatedly sallied from the garrison.

On the third of June, twelve days after the commencement of this seige, a fleet arrived at Charlestown from Ireland having on board the third, nineteenth, and thirtieth regiment of his Britannic majesty, a detachment from the guards, and a considerable body of recruits, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gould. Earl Cornwallis had given permission to the commanders of the British forces in South Carolina, to detain these reinforcements if they conceived that the service of his Britannic majesty required it; otherwise they were to be sent forward to join his lordship. On the 7th of June, 1781, Lord Rawdon marched from Charlestown, with these newly arrived troops, for the relief of the garrison at Ninety-Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning sun through the whole extent of South Carolina; but much greater was their astonishment at being informed, that their services in the field were necessary to oppose the yet unsubdued rebels in the province. They had been amused with hopes that nothing remained for them to do, but to sit down as settlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country.

The American army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which further resistance on the part of the garrison would have been temerity. At this interesting moment intelligence was received, that Lord Rawdon was near at hand with a reinforcement of about two thousand men. An American lady, who had lately married an officer then in the British garrison of Ninety-Six, had been bribed by a large sum of money to convey a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger with the welcome news of their approach.

Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the desired effect. Their vicinity made it necessary either to raise the seige, or attempt the reduction of the place by a coup-de-main. The last was agreed upon, and the necessary dispositions made on the 18th of June. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion infantry, and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, made the attack on the right. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the first Maryland and first Virginia regiments, were to have stormed the star redoubt, the ditch of which was eight or nine feet deep, the parapet eleven or twelve feet high, and raised with sand-bags near three feet more. The forlorn hopes were led on by Lieutenants Duval and Sheldon, and were followed by a party with hooks and entrenching tools to pull down the sand-bags and reduce the parapet. Had this been effected, the besieged could not have annoyed the assailants without exposing themselves to the American marksmen. The artillery soon made sufficient breaches on the fortified redoubt on the right, for the infantry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lee to assault the garrison. It was therefore abandoned, and they took possession without loss. On the left the utmost exertions of resolution and fortitude were displayed, but failed of success. The parties led by Duval and Sheldon entered the ditch, and, though galled by an incessant fire, made every effort to get down the sand-bags. Both these gallant officers were wounded, and not more than one in six of their party escaped. The near approach of Lord Rawdon, and the uncertainty of final success, induced General Greene to raise the siege and to retreat over the Saluda, after having lost about one hundred and fifty men.

Truly distressing was the situation of the American army: when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to the dangers of an hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon the siege: when they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity: after subduing the greatest part of the force lately opposed to them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation there were not wanting persons who advised General Greene to leave the State, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided.

Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was very near Nine-

ty-Six at the time of the assault, pursued General Greene as far as the Enoree; but finding it impossible to overtake the light retreating American army, and supposing that they had gone to North Carolina or Virginia, his lordship consoled himself with the imaginary advantage of having driven the rebels out of the country. On this occasion General Pickens exhibited an illustrious instance of republican virtue. When the retreat was ordered, the General's family and private property was sent off with the baggage of the army. This precaution, though wished for by all, and justified on every principle of prudence, gave an alarm to many who either had not the same means of transportation, or who could not have attended to it without deserting the American army. To encourage the men to stay in the camp, and their families to remain on their plantations, General Pickens ordered his family and property back again to his house within twenty miles of the British garrison. His example saved the country in the vicinity from depopulation, and the army under General Greene from sustaining a great diminution of their numbers by the desertion of the militia to take care of their families.

The arrival of the British reinforcement, and the subsequent retreat from Ninety-Six, induced a general apprehension, that the British would soon re-establish the posts they had lost to the southward of Santee. The destination of the main army under Lord Cornwallis having been for some time known, the British Commanders in South Carolina had contracted their boundaries to that extent of country which is in a great measure inclosed by the Santee, the Congaree, and the Edisto. Within these rivers Lord Rawdon intended to confine his future operations, and to canton his forces in the most eligible positions. His lordship, taking it for granted that the Americans had abandoned South Carolina, resolved, upon his return from pursuing General Greene, to divide his army, with the intention of fixing a detachment at the Congaree; but he soon found that his adversaries were not disposed to give up the prize for which they had so long contended. Greene, on hearing that Lord Rawdon had marched with a part of his force to Congaree, faced about to give him battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after his arrival there and retreated expeditiously to Orangeburg. In this position he was secured on one side with a river, and on the other with strong buildings little inferior to redoubts. Greene pursued—encamped within five miles of this post—and offered him battle. His lordship, secure in his stronghold, would not venture out; and General

Greene was too weak to attack him in his works with any prospect of success. In the course of these movements, on the second of July, Captain Eggleston, of Lee's legion, fell in with forty-nine British horse, near the Saluda, and took forty-eight of them prisoners. Whilst the American army lay near Orangeburg, advice was received that Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger had evacuated Ninety-Six, and was marching with the troops of that garrison through the forks of Edisto to join Lord Rawdon at Orangeburg. As the north fork of Edisto is not passable by an army, without boats, for thirty miles above or below the British encampments, General Greene could not throw himself between with any prospect of preventing the junction; he therefore retired to the high hills of Santee, and Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger the day after made a junction. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburg. With this view, on the day that the main American army retired from before that post, Generals Sumpter and Marion, with their brigades and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down by different roads, and in three days commenced their operations. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee took all the wagons and wagon-horses belonging to a convoy of provisions. Colonel Wade Hampton charged a party of British dragoons within five miles of Charlestown. He also took fifty prisoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four vessels loaded with valuable stores for the British army. General Sumpter appeared before the garrison at Biggin's church, which consisted of five hundred infantry and upwards of one hundred cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Coates, who commanded there, after having repulsed the advanced party of General Sumpter, on the next evening destroyed his stores and retreated towards Charlestown. He was closely pursued by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with the legion, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton with the State cavalry. The legion came up with them near Shubrick's plantation, took their rear guard and all their baggage. Captain Armstrong, of Lee's legion, at the head only of five men, charged through a considerable part of their lines and escaped with the loss of two men. Generals Sumpter and Marion, after some hours, came up with the main body; but by this time the British had secured themselves by taking an advantageous post in a range of houses. An attack was however made, and continued with spirit till upwards of forty were killed or wounded by the fire from the houses. The British lost in these different engagements one hundred and forty prisoners, besides several killed and wounded, all the

baggage of the nineteenth regiment, and above one hundred horses and several wagons.

Thus was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the precaution to avoid fighting. When they divided the army, their detachments were separately and successfully attacked. While they were in force in the upper country, light parties of Americans were annoying their small posts in the low country near Charlestown. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the British interest daily declined.

Soon after these events, Lord Rawdon, driven from almost the whole of his posts, baffled in all his schemes, and overwhelmed with vexation, sailed for Europe. In the course of his command he aggravated the unavoidable calamities of war by many acts of severity, which admit of no other apology than that they were supposed to be useful to the interests of his royal master.

About the same time that Generals Sumpter and Marion were detached to the lower parts of the State, the main American Army retired to the high hills of Santee, and the British returned to their former station near the junction of the Wateree and the Congaree. Greene, in a little time, began to concert measures to force them a second time from these posts. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other, on a right line, yet, as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of seventy miles, with the view of more conveniently crossing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their crossing these rivers, the continental army was joined by the State troops and several corps of militia. The whole American force, thus collected, proceeded the next morning to attack the British army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. On the approach of the Americans, the British had retired from the Congarees about forty miles nearer Charlestown, and taken post at the Eutaw Springs. Greene drew up his little force, consisting of about two thousand men, in two lines. The front consisted of the militia from North and South Carolina, and was commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and by Colonel De Malmedy. The second consisted of the continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and was led on by General Sumner, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, with the State troops, covered the left. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and

Captain Kirkwood, with the Delaware troops, formed a corps of reserve. As the Americans advanced to the attack, they fell in with two advanced parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army. These being briskly charged by the legion and State troops, soon retired. The front line continued to fire and advance on the British till the action became general, and till they, in their turn, were obliged to give way. They were well supported by General Sumner's North Carolina brigade of Continentals, though they had been under discipline only for a few weeks, and were chiefly composed of militia-men who had been transferred to the continental service to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hottest of the engagement, when great execution was doing on both sides, Colonel Williams and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia Continentals, were ordered by General Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion; they rushed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The State troops of South Carolina were deprived of their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, who was wounded very early in the action; but they were nevertheless boldly led on by the second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton, to a very spirited and successful charge, in which they took upwards of a hundred prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington brought up the corps-de-reserve on the left, and charged so briskly with his cavalry and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, as gave them no time to rally or form. The British were closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred prisoners were taken. On their retreat they took their posts in a strong brick house, and in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action; Lieutenant-Colonel Washington made every possible exertion to dislodge them from the thickets, but failed in the attempt—had his horse shot under him, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house from which the British were firing under cover. These pieces finally fell into their hands, and the Americans retired out of the reach of their fire. They left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart destroyed a great quantity of his stores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charlestown, leaving upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued for several miles, but without effect. The loss of the British amounted to up-

wards of eleven hundred men. That of the Americans was about five hundred, in which number were sixty officers. Among the killed of Greene's army, the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the Virginia line, was the theme of universal lamentation. While with great firmness he was leading on his brigade to that charge which determined the fate of the day, he received a mortal wound. After his fall he inquired who gave way, and being informed the British were fleeing in all quarters, he added, "I die contented," and immediately expired.

Congress honored General Greene, for his decisive conduct in this action, with a British standard and a gold medal; and they also voted their thanks to the different corps and their Commanders.

After the action at the Eutaws, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. While they lay there, a small party of American cavalry, commanded by Colonel Maham, took upwards of eighty prisoners, within sight of their main army. The British no more acted with their usual vigor. On the slightest appearance of danger, they discovered a disposition to flee scarcely inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

SECTION XI.

Campaign of 1782.

Though the army under Greene was too weak to risk another general action, yet it became necessary, in the close of the year 1781, to move into the lower country to cover the collection of provisions for subsistence through the winter. In about two months after the action at Eutaw, the main body of the American army was put in motion under Colonel Williams. Greene, with two hundred horse and two hundred infantry, advanced by private roads and appeared near Dorchester so unexpectedly and with such confidence, as induced the British to believe that the whole army was in his rear. This manœuvre had the intended effect. They abandoned their outposts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house on Charlestown Neck. By this means all the rice between Edisto and Ashley rivers was saved to the Americans.

The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the State, seldom aimed at anything more than to secure themselves in Charlestown Neck, and to keep a communication with the sea islands, on which they had collected great numbers of cattle. Yet they made some excursions with cavalry.

One of the most important was in February, 1782. While General Marion was attending his duty as a member of the Legislature, at Jacksonborough, his brigade was surprised near the Santee by a party of British horse commanded by that spirited and judicious officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, (now Count Rumford.) Major Benson, an American officer highly esteemed by his countrymen, Mr. Thomas Broughton, a young gentleman of an ancient family in South Carolina, and some others, were killed. The remainder of the brigade then in camp was for some time dispersed. In a few days the British retired within their lines, and the militia re-assembled.

In the summer of 1782, the British announced their intention of evacuating Charlestown. They offered to pay for rice and other provisions that should be delivered to them before their departure, and at the same threatened that if it was withheld it should be taken by force without compensation. The British offers to purchase being refused, they sent out parties to seize provisions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charlestown. One of the most considerable parties on this service was sent to Combakee ferry, where they arrived on the 25th of August, 1782. Brigadier-General Gist, with about three hundred cavalry and infantry of the continental army, was detached to oppose them. He succeeded so far as to capture one of their schooners, and in a great degree to frustrate their designs. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, though he had been confined for several days, on hearing of the expedition, rose from his bed and followed General Gist. When the British and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, being in advance with a small party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much superior force, in expectation of support from the main body in his rear. In the midst of his gallant exertions, this all-accomplished youth received a mortal wound. Nature had adorned him with a profusion of her choicest gifts, to which a well conducted education had added its most useful as well as its most elegant improvements. Though his fortune and family entitled him to pre-eminence, yet he was the warm friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart expanded with genuine philanthropy. Zealous for the rights of humanity, he contended that personal liberty was the birthright of every human being, however diversified by country, color or capacity. His insinuating address won the hearts of all his acquaintances; his sincerity and virtue secured their lasting esteem. Acting from the most honorable principles—uniting the bravery and other talents of a great officer with

the knowledge of a complete scholar, and the engaging manners of a well bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country, the glory of the army, and an ornament of human nature. His abilities shone in the legislature and in the cabinet as well as in the field, and were equal to the highest stations. His admiring country, sensible of his rising merit, stood prepared to confer on him her most distinguished honors. Cut down in the midst of all these prospects, he has left mankind to deplore the calamities of war, which, in the twenty-seventh year of his life, deprived society of so invaluable a citizen.

Throughout the year 1782, the American army acted chiefly on the defensive. A short time before the evacuation, an attempt was made against a British detachment on James' Island. In this unsuccessful enterprise, Captain Wilmot, a brave and worthy officer of the Maryland line, lost his life. This was the last drop of blood shed in the American war.

After General Greene moved from the high hills of Santee into the low country, near Charlestown, a scene of inactivity succeeded different from the busy operations of the late campaign. He was unable to attempt anything against the British within their lines, and they declined risking any general action without them.

While the American soldiers lay encamped in this inactive situation, their tattered rags were so completely worn out that seven hundred of them were as naked as they were born, excepting a small slip of cloth about their waists, and they were nearly as destitute of meat as of clothing. In this condition they lay for three months within four hours march of the British garrison in Charlestown, which contained in it more regular troops than there were continentals in the American army. Though they had abundant reason to complain, yet, while they were every day marching and almost every week fighting, they were in good health, good spirits and good humor; but when their enemy was confined within their fortifications, and they were inactive, they became sickly and discontented, and a few began to be mutinous. Their long arrears of pay, the deficiency of their clothing, and their want of many comforts, were forgotten whilst constant action employed their minds and bodies, but when an interruption of hostilities gave them leisure to brood over their calamities, these evils were presented to their imaginations in aggravated colors. A plan was seriously laid to deliver their gallant and victorious leader into the hands of the British, but the whole design was happily discovered and prevented from being carried into execution. To the honor of the continental army, it may with justice be added, that notwithstanding the pressure of their many sufferings, the whole number concerned in this plot did not exceed twelve.

In the course of the year 1782, John Mathews, Esquire, Governor of South Carolina, concerted measures with some of the citizens in Charlestown, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen, for sending out of the British lines necessary clothing for the almost naked continentals. When their distresses had nearly arrived to that point beyond which human nature can bear no more, Mr. Joshua Lockwood, under the direction of Governor Mathews, brought out of Charlestown a large quantity of the articles which were most needed in the American camp. This seasonable supply, though much short of their due, quieted the minds of the suffering soldiers. Tranquility and good order were restored in the camp, and duty was cheerfully performed. It is impossible to do justice to that invincible fortitude which was displayed by both officers and men in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781. They encountered fatigues which, if particularly related, would appear almost incredible. They had scenes of suffering to bear up under, of which citizens in the peaceable walks of private life can form no adequate idea. Without pay, almost without clothing, and often with but a scanty portion of the plainest provisions, they were exposed to the scorching heat of the day, and the baleful vapors of the night. When sinking under the fatigues of repeated successions of forced marches, they were destitute of every comfort suitable to their situation. But to all these accumulated hardships the greatest part of them submitted with patience and magnanimity, which reflected honor on human nature, and which was never exceeded by any army in the world.

SECTION XII.

Revolutionary Miscellaneous History.

The reduction of Charlestown in May 1780, was followed by the establishment of a military government. A Commandant was appointed to superintend the affairs of the province. His powers were as undefined as those of the American committees which took place in the early stages of the dispute between Great Britain and America, while the royal governments were suspended and before the popular establishments were reduced to system. To soften the rigid and forbidding aspect of this new mode of administration, and as far as possible to temper it with the resemblance of civil authority, a board of police for the summary determination of disputes was instituted. Under the direction of James Simpson, intendant of the board, a table was drawn up, ascertaining the depreciation of the paper currency at different periods; from which the friends of royal government, who had sustained losses by paper payments, were induced to hope for reimburse-

ment. This measure, though just in itself, was productive of unexpected and serious consequences fatal to the reviving fondness for the royal interest. Among the new-made British subjects, many were found who had been great gainers by the depreciation of the American bills of credit. These, by the proposition of a second payment of their old debts, were filled with astonishment. From the circumstances of the country a compliance with it was, to the most opulent, extremely inconvenient; and to multitudes absolutely impracticable. The paper currency, before the reduction of Charlestown, had supplanted the use of gold and silver and banished them from circulation. The ravages of war had desolated the country, and deprived the inhabitants of the means of payment. Creditors became clamorous for their long arrears of interest, and debtors had either lost their property or could not exchange it for one-half of its value. Many suits were commenced, and great numbers ruined. The distresses of the reclaimed subjects, within the British lines, were in many instances greater than those of their unsubdued countrymen who had forsaken all in the cause of liberty. After the Americans had recovered possession of a considerable part of the State, it was presumed that the proceedings of the board of police would be reversed. This redoubled their difficulties. Creditors became more pressing, and at the same time the doubtfulness of British titles induced a depreciation of real property not far behind that of the American paper currency. Fear and interest had brought many of their new subjects to the British standard; but, in consequence of the plans they adopted, in a little time both these powerful motives of human actions drew in an opposite direction. The Americans pursued a different line of conduct. In every period of the contest they sacrificed the few creditors to the many debtors. The true whigs who suffered on this score, consoled themselves with the idea that their country's good required it, and that this was the price of their independence. A disposition to suffer in behalf of the royal interest was not so visible among the professed adherents to British government. That immediate justice might be done to a few, great distress was brought on many and the cause of his Britannic majesty injured beyond reparation.

Several Commandants were successively appointed to superintend the affairs of the town. Among these Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbit Balfour had the greatest share of administration. This gentleman displayed in the exercise of this new office all the frivolous self-importance, and all the disgusting insolence, which are natural to little minds when puffed up by sudden elevation. By the subversion of every trace of the popular government, without any proper civil establish-

ment in its place, he, with a few coadjutors, assumed and exercised legislative, judicial, and executive powers over citizens in the same manner as over the common soldiery under their command. A series of proclamations was issued by his authority, which militated as well against the principles of the British constitution, as those of justice, equity, and humanity. For slight offences, and on partial and insufficient information, citizens were confined by his orders; and that often without any trial.

The place allotted for securing them, being the middle part of the cellar, under the Exchange, was called the Provost. The dampness of this unwholesome spot, together with the want of a fire-place, caused among the unhappy sufferers some deaths and much sickness. In it the American State-prisoner, and the British felon shared the same fate. The former, though for the most part charged with nothing more than an active execution of the laws of the State, or having spoken words disrespectful or injurious to the British officers or government, or of corresponding with the Americans, suffered indignities and distresses in common with those who were accused of crimes tending to subvert the peace and existence of society.

It has already been observed, that on the arrival of the British in South Carolina, the inhabitants were encouraged to stay on their plantations with the prospect of neutrality; and that, in a little time, these delusive hopes vanished. Instead of drawing off the people gradually from an attachment to their late constitution, the conquerors were so far mistaken as to suppose that men could instantly be transformed from obstinate revolters to zealous royalists. In a short time after their submission they were called upon to promise that, by force of arms, they would oppose men who were their friends and neighbors, and by whose sides they had lately fought. In effecting a revolution from the regal to the republican government, a very different policy was pursued. The popular leaders proceeded gradually. The common people were not shocked by any propositions too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. Though the leading men in the councils of America were far from being adepts in the maxims of refined policy yet they were led, by a providential concurrence of circumstances, to carry on their operations in a manner which contributed more to their success than if every step they took had been prescribed by the most consummate art. When they first began to oppose the claims of Great Britain, they were far from intending that separation which they afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of that which at last

they gloried in accomplishing. Strange and undesigned consequences followed in the gradual succession of causes and effects. In confuting the extravagant opinion of taxation without representation, the Americans were insensibly led to inquire into the nature of civil liberty, and of their connection with Great Britain. From a denial of the British right of taxation, the way was opened for an investigation of the restrictions on their commerce and of the disadvantages of their subordinate station. A direct renunciation of the mother country, in the first instance, would have drawn on the Americans the whole weight of her vengeance, and would probably have disunited the colonists; but, as this was far from the thoughts of the popular leaders, they continued to profess, and with sincerity, great respect for their King and his government, till step by step they came to erect the standard of independence. The sentiments of a great majority of the people coincided with the resolutions of their leaders. Nothing was recommended but what was in unison with the prevailing opinions. A prudent respect was paid to ancient prejudices, and nothing new was imposed till the public mind was gradually reconciled to its favorable reception. The first popular assemblies conducted their opposition on legal grounds, and in a manner compatible with their allegiance. It was the acknowledged right of the subjects to meet together, and petition for a redress of their grievances. Their committees and congresses, their resolutions of non-importation and non-exportation contained nothing unconstitutional. The association which was the first band of popular union in South Carolina, was sanctioned by no other penalty but that of withholding all intercourse with those who should refuse to concur with the same measures.

The distinction of whig and tory took its rise in the year 1775. Both parties in the interior country were then embodied, and were obliged to impress provisions for their respective support. The advocates for Congress prevailing, they paid for articles consumed in their camps; but as no funds were provided for discharging the expenses incurred by the royalists, all that was consumed by them was considered as a robbery. This laid the foundation of a piratical war between whigs and tories, which was productive of great distress and deluged the country with blood. In the interval between the insurrection of 1775, and the year 1780, the whigs were occasionally plundered by parties who had attempted insurrections in favor of royal government. But all that was done prior to the surrender of Charlestown was trifling when compared to what followed. After that event, political hatred raged with uncommon fury, and the calamities of civil war desolated the

State. The ties of nature were in several instances dissolved and that reciprocal good will, and confidence, which hold mankind together in society, was in a great degree extinguished. Countrymen, neighbors, friends, and brothers took different sides and ranged themselves under the opposing standards of the contending factions. In every little precinct, more especially in the interior parts of the State, King's-men and Congress-men were names of dictinction. The passions on both sides were kept in perpetual agitation, and wrought up to a degree of fury, which rendered individuals regardless not only of the laws of war but of the principles of humanity. While the British had the ascendency, their partizans gave full scope to their interetsed and malicious passions. People of the worst characters emerged from their hiding places in swamps, called themselves King's-men and began to appropriate to their own use whatsoever came in their way. Every act of cruelty and injustice was sanctified, provided the actor called himself a friend to the King and the sufferer was denominated a rebel. Of those who were well-disposed to the claims of America, there were few to be found who had not their houses and plantations repeatedly rifled. Under the sanction of subduing rebellion, private revenge was gratified. Many houses were burned, and many people inhumanly murdered. Numbers for a long time were obliged either entirely to abandon their homes, or to sleep in the woods and swamps. Rapine, outrage, and murder became so common as to interrupt the free intercourse between one place and another. That security and protection which individuals expect by entering into civil society, ceased almost totally. Matters remained in this situation for the greatest part of a year after the surrender of Charlestown. When General Greene returned to South Carolina, in the spring of 1781, everything was reversed. In a few weeks he dispossessed the British of all their posts in the upper country, and the exasperated whigs once more had the superiority. On their return to their homes, they generally found starving families and desolate plantations. To reimburse their losses, and to gratify revenge, they, in their turn, began to plunder and to murder. The country was laid waste, and private dwellings frequently stained with the blood of husbands and fathers inhumanly shed in the presence of their wives and children. About this time Governor Rutledge returned to South Carolina, and exerted his great abilities in re-establishing order and security. To this end he issued a proclamation, strictly forbidding all violence and rapine. Magistrates were appointed in every part of the State recovered from the British. Civil government was restored. Property was secured. Confusion and anarchy gave place to order and

regular government. The people were happy, and rejoiced in the revolution.

In the close of the year 1781, when the successes of the American army had confined the late conquerors to the vicinity of Charlestown, a desperate band of tories adopted the infernal scheme of taking their last revenge by carrying fire and sword into the settlements of the whig militia. To this end Major William Cunningham, of the British militia, collected a party, and having furnished them with everything necessary for laying waste the country, sallied from Charlestown. He and his associates concealed themselves till they arrived in the back settlements far in the rear of the American army, and there began to plunder, burn and murder. In the unsuspecting hour of sleep and domestic security, they entered the houses of the solitary farmers and sacrificed to their revenge the obnoxious head of the family. Their cruelties induced some small parties to associate and arm in self-defence. Captain Turner and twenty men had, on these principles, taken post in a house and defended themselves till their ammunition was nearly expended. After which they surrendered on receiving assurances that they should be treated as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this solemn agreement, Captain Turner and his party were put to instant death by Cunningham and the men under his command. Soon after this massacre the same party of tories attacked a number of the American militia in the district of Ninety-Six, commanded by Colonel Hayes, and set fire to the house in which they had taken shelter. The only alternative left was either to be burned or to surrender themselves prisoners. The last being preferred, Colonel Hayes and Captain Daniel Williams were hung at once on the pole of a fodder stack. This breaking, they both fell, on which Major William Cunningham cut them into pieces with his own sword; when turning upon the others he continued on them the operations of his savage barbarity, till the powers of nature being exhausted, and his enfeebled limbs refusing to administer any longer to his insatiate fury, he called upon his comrades to complete the dreadful work by killing whichsoever of the prisoners they pleased. They instantly put to death such of them as they personally disliked. Only two fell in action, but fourteen were deliberately cut to pieces after their surrender. Their names and rank were as follows: Colonel Joseph Hayes, Captain Daniel Williams, Lieutenant Christopher Hardy, Lieutenant John Neel, Clement Hancock, Joseph Williams, Joseph Irby, senior, Joseph Irby, junior, John Milven, James Feris, John Cook, Greaf Irby, Benjamin Goodman, Yancy Saxon.

About the same time, and under the same influence, emissaries from the British induced the Cherokee Indians to commence hostilities. Early in the year 1781 General Greene had concluded a treaty with them, by which they had engaged to observe a neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects of saving the frontier settlements, both of North and South Carolina, from their incursions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force against the army under the command of Lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the least service to the British forces, they were induced to break through their engagements of neutrality. They, with a number of disguised white men who called themselves the King's friends, made an incursion into the district of Ninety-Six, massacred some families and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia and penetrated into the settlements of the Cherokees. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of three hundred and ninety-four horsemen. In that short space he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a greater number prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions carried on against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as the present one. General Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting the savages was introduced. Instead of firing, the American militia rushed forward on horseback and charged with drawn swords. This was the second time during the American war that the Cherokee Indians had been chastised in their own settlements, in consequence of suffering themselves to be excited by British emissaries to commence hostilities against their white neighbors. They again sued for peace in the most submissive terms, and obtained it after promising that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists instigating them to war, they would deliver those of them that visited their settlements on that errand to the authority of the State.

In consequence of these civil wars between the whigs and tories, the incursions of the savages, and the other calamities resulting from the operations of the British and American armies, South Carolina exhibited scenes of distress which were shocking to humanity. The single district of Ninety-Six has been computed by well informed persons residing therein, to contain within its limits fourteen hundred widows and orphans; made so by the war. Nor is it wonderful that the country was involved in such accumulated distress. The

American government was suspended, and the British conquerors were careless of the civil rights of the inhabitants. They conducted as though interior order and police were scarcely objects of attention. The will of the strongest was the law. Such was the general complexion of those who called themselves royalists, that nothing could be expected from them but outrages against the peace and order of society. Though among the tories in the lower parts of South Carolina there were gentlemen of honor, principle and humanity, yet in the interior and back parts of the State a great proportion of them was an ignorant unprincipled banditti; to whom idleness, licentiousness and deeds of violence were familiar. Horse-thieves and others whose crimes had exiled them from society, attached themselves to parties of the British. Encouraged by their example and instigated by the love of plunder, they committed the most extensive depredations. Under the cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the basest and most selfish purposes. The necessity which their indiscriminate plundering imposed on all good men of defending themselves, did infinitely more damage to the royal cause than was compensated by all the advantages resulting from their friendship.

As soon as the American army obtained re-possession of the country, the inhabitants, after returning to their former allegiance, resolutely put all to the risk in support of independence. Though the British, in the career of their conquests, had inculcated the necessity and propriety of transferring allegiance from the vanquished to the victor, yet they treated with the utmost severity those unfortunate men, when in their power, who having once accepted of British protection acted on these very principles in afterwards re-joining their victorious countrymen.

Among the sufferers on this score, the illustrious Colonel Hayne stands conspicuous. During the siege of Charlestown, that gentleman served his country in a corps of militia-horse. After the capitulation, there being no American army in the State and the prospect of one being both distant and uncertain, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property or to surrender to the conquerors. This hard dilemma, together with well-founded information that others in similar circumstances had been paroled to their plantations, weighed with Colonel Hayne so far as to induce a conclusion that instead of waiting to be captured it would be both more safe and more honorable to come within the British lines and surrender himself a voluntary prisoner. He therefore repaired to Charlestown and offered to bind himself, by the honor of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest till he should be exchanged. Reports

which were made of his superior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cause, operated with the conquerors to refuse him a parole, though they were in the habit of daily granting that indulgence to others of the inhabitants. To his great astonishment he was told, "that he must either become a British subject or submit to close confinement." To be arrested and detained in the capital, was to himself not an intolerable evil; but to abandon his family both to the ravages of the small-pox, a disease then raging in their neighborhood, and which in a short time after proved mortal to his wife and two of his children, and to the insults and depredations of the royal army, was too much for a tender husband and a fond parent. To acknowledge himself the subject of a King, whose government he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings; but without this he was cut off from every prospect of a return to his family. In this embarrassing situation he waited on the author of this history, with a declaration to the following effect: "If the British would grant me the indulgence, which we in the day of our power gave to their adherents, of removing my family and property, I would seek an asylum in the remotest corner of the United States rather than submit to their government; but as they allow no other alternative than submission or confinement in the capital, at a distance from my wife and family, at a time when they are in the most pressing need of my presence and support, I must for the present yield to the demands of the conquerors. I request you to bear in mind that previous to my taking this step, I declare that it is contrary to my inclination and forced on me by hard necessity. I never will bear arms against my country. My new masters can require no service of me but what is enjoined by the old militia-law of the province, which substitutes a fine in lieu of personal service. That I will pay as the price of my protection. If my conduct should be censured by my countrymen, I beg that you would remember this conversation and bear witness for me, that I do not mean to desert the cause of America."

In this state of duress Colonel Hayne subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but not without expressly objecting to the clause which required him, "with his arms to support the royal government." The commandant of the garrison, Brigadier-General Paterson, and James Simpson, Esquire, Intendant of the British police, assured him that this would never be required; and added further, "that when the regular forces could not defend the country, without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the royal army to quit it."

Having submitted to their government, he readily obtained

permission to return to his family. In violation of the special condition under which he subscribed the declaration of his allegiance, he was repeatedly called on to take arms against his countrymen, and was finally threatened with close confinement in case of a further refusal. This open breach of contract, together with the inability of the late conquerors to give him that protection which was promised as a compensation for his allegiance, the Americans having regained that part of the State in which he resided, induced him to consider himself as released from all engagements to the British commanders. The inhabitants of his neighborhood, who had also revolted, subscribed a petition to General Pickens, praying that Colonel Hayne might be appointed to the command of their regiment. Having thus resumed his arms, and the tide of conquest being fairly turned in the short space of thirteen months after the surrender of Charlestown, he sent out, in the month of July, 1781, a small party to reconnoitre. They penetrated within seven miles of the capital, took General Williamson prisoner, and retreated to the head-quarters of the regiment. Such was the anxiety of the British commandant to rescue General Williamson, that he ordered out his whole cavalry on that business. Colonel Hayne unfortunately fell into their hands. Though he had conducted himself peaceably while under the British government, and had injured no man, yet for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection, he was, when brought to Charlestown, confined in a loathsome provost. At first he was promised a trial, and had counsel prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations and usages of war; but this was finally refused. Had he been considered as a British subject, he had an undoubted right to a trial; if as an American officer, to his parole; but in violation of every principle of the constitution, he was ordered for execution by the arbitrary mandate of Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour.

The royal Lieutenant-Governor Bull, and a great number of the inhabitants, both loyalists and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charlestown generally signed a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate sentiment that was likely to operate on the gallantry of officers or the humanity of men. His children, accompanied by some near relations, were presented on their bended knees, as humble suitors for their father's life. Such powerful intercessions were made in his favor as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour remained inflexible.

After his fate was fixed, he was repeatedly visited by his friends, and conversed on various subjects with the fortitude

of a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. He particularly lamented that, on principles of reciprocal retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the shedding of much innocent blood. His children, who had lost their other parent, were brought to him in the place of his confinement, and received from his lips the dying advice of an affectionate father. On the last evening of his life he told a friend, "that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death, than at any other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable." He requested those in whom the supreme power was vested, to accommodate the mode of his death to his feelings as an officer; but this was refused.

On the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his summons to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered some papers to his eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age: "Present," said he, "these papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my request that she would forward them to her brother in Congress. You will next repair to the place of execution, receive my body, and see it decently interred among my forefathers." They took a final leave. The Colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his person. The procession began from the Exchange, in the forenoon of the fourth of August, 1781. The streets were crowded with thousands of anxious spectators. He walked to the place of execution with such decent firmness, composure and dignity, as to awaken the compassion of many, and to command respect from all. There was a majesty in his sufferings which rendered him superior to the pangs of death. When the city barrier was past, and the instrument of his catastrophe appeared full in view, a faithful friend by his side observed to him, "that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." He answered with the utmost tranquility, "I will endeavor to do so." He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. He inquired of the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted? Upon being informed of his design, the colonel replied, "I will save you that trouble," and pulled it over himself. He was afterwards asked whether he wished to say anything; to which he answered, "I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready." He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen, recommended his children to their care, and gave the signal for the cart to move.

Thus fell, in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man: furnishing an example of heroism in death that extorted a confession from his enemies, "that, though he did not die in a good cause, he must at least have acted from a persuasiom of its being so."

Few men stood higher in the estimation of their countrymen than the illustrious man whose exit has been just described. General Greene demanded from the British Commanders their reasons for this execution. To which he received a written answer, signed by N. Balfour, acknowledging, "that it took place by the joint order of Lord Rawdon and himself, but in consequence of the most express directions from Lord Cornwallis to put to death those who should be found in arms after being at their own requests received as subjects, since the capitulation of Charlestown, and the clear conquest of the province in the summer of 1780."

The regular officers of the continental army presented a petition to General Greene, requesting that he would retaliate for the execution of Colonel Hayne. By this they voluntarily subjected themselves to all the consequences to which, in case of capture, they would be exposed. General Greene soon after issued a proclamation, threatening to make British officers the objects of retaliation. This encouraged the revolted inhabitants to continue in arms, and effaced every impression that was expected from the fate of Colonel Hayne. The British interest gained no permanent advantage, while pity and revenge sharpened the swords of the countrymen and friends of the much beloved sufferer.

After the British landed in Carolina in 1780, they confined some of their first prisoners in the vaults with the dead. When their successes had multiplied the number of prisoners, they were crowded on board prison-ships, where they suffered every inconvenience that could result from putrid air and the want of the comforts of life. This was done not only to those who surrendered at discretion, but also to the private soldiers who were entitled to the benefit of the capitulation of Charlestown.

The condition of these unfortunate men was truly deplorable. They were crowded on board the prison-ships in such numbers that several were obliged to stand up for want of room to lie down. The State of South Carolina could afford them no supply. Congress could not at that time command hard money for their relief. Wine, and such like comforts, particularly necessary for the sick in southern climates, could not be obtained from the British hospitals.

Upwards of eight hundred of these brave men, nearly one-third of the whole, exhausted by a variety of sufferings, expired in the short space of thirteen months' captivity. When a general exchange took place in June, 1781, out of nineteen hundred taken at the surrender of Charlestown on the 12th of May, 1780, and several hundreds more taken afterwards at Camden and at Fishing creek on the 16th and 18th of August of the same year, there were only seven hundred and

forty restored to the service of their country. It was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their soldiers. Lord Charles Greville Montague, who before the revolution had been Governor of the province of South Carolina, enlisted five hundred and thirty of them in the British service. The distressed continental soldiers were induced to accept the offers of Lord Charles Greville Montague in preference to the horrors of a prison-ship, by the specious promise that they should be employed in the West Indies, and not against their countrymen in the United States. His lordship, after completing his regiment, offered the command of it to Brigadier-General Moultrie, the senior officer of the prisoners-of-war belonging to the continental army, who with becoming spirit declined it.

The continental officers taken at the surrender of Charlestown were confined to Haddrell's Point and the vicinity. Far from their friends, and destitute of money, they were reduced to the greatest straits. Such were the difficulties and severe restrictions imposed on this band of patriots that many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the most menial offices for themselves but could scarcely procure the plainest necessaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days' pay. These hardships were not alleviated by those civilities from their conquerors which among modern refined nations have abated the horrors of war. They were debarred the liberty of fishing for their support, though their great leisure and many wants made it an object not only as an amusement but as a mean of supplying their necessities. After bearing all these evils with great fortitude they were informed, in the month of March 1781, by Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, that by positive orders from Earl Cornwallis, he was to send them to some one of the West India Islands. Preparations were made for the execution of the mandate; but a general exchange of prisoners, in the southern department, took place in a few weeks which released the prisoners on both sides from captivity.

The citizens of the town, who adhered to their paroles, were treated with great severity. Though they were not allowed rations, yet they were debarred from trade, and from exercising any profession; and the King's subjects were strictly enjoined not to employ them on any pretence.

Though by the capitulation of Charlestown, in May 1780, the inhabitants were entitled to their paroles and a residence on their estates with their families; yet in May, 1781, upwards of one hundred of them were confined to prison-ships. The conquerors did not undertake to justify this step from any

supposed breach of parole. They affected to hold the prisoners in this state of duress as hostages to secure good treatment for those of the loyalists who had been captured by the Americans. The gentlemen who were confined on this occasion submitted to their fate with great magnanimity. Instead of repining at their situation, they only regretted, "if it should fall to the lot of any or all of them to be made victims, agreeably to the menaces of Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, that their blood could not be disposed of more to the advantage of the glorious cause in which they had engaged."

As the war was carried on not to gain a contested point from an independent power, but to annihilate the assumed independence of the State and to reduce it to its former provincial subjection; the conquerors ridiculed the idea of observing the capitulation with citizens. They considered that measure as the expedient of a day, only proper at the surrender to prevent the effusion of blood, but no longer so when their arms were triumphant in the remote extremities of the State. Indulgences shown to prisoners were viewed as favors derived from the humanity of conquerors, and not as rights founded on a capitulation. Persons who remained in the character of prisoners, and claimed under that solemn agreement, were considered as obstinate rebels who meant to thwart the views of the royal army. While they wished to be regarded as members of an independent State, they were looked upon as vanquished rebels who owed their lives to British clemency. In this confusion of sentiments, to reconcile contradictory claims required uncommon address. The pride of conquerors, highly estimating their own moderation; and the pride of prisoners, considering themselves as independent freemen entitled to respect for their firmness and patriotism, made the former trample on the latter and the latter despise the former.

It has been already mentioned that in May, 1781, a general exchange of prisoners was agreed to, in which the militia on both sides were respectively exchanged for each other. Notwithstanding every difficulty, a considerable number of the inhabitants had perseveringly refused to become British subjects. These being exchanged, were delivered at the American posts in Virginia and Pennsylvania. Great were the exultations of the suffering friends of independence, at the prospect of their being released from confinement and restored to activity in their country's cause; but these pleasing prospects were obscured by the distresses brought on their families by this otherwise desirable event, for they were all ordered to quit the town and province before the first day of next August.

The gentlemen, who had been from motives of policy re-

moved from Charlestown to St. Augustine, as has been already related, obtained their release by this general exchange and were delivered at the port of Philadelphia. More than a thousand persons were exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of strangers for their support. In retaliation for this conduct, Governor Rutledge ordered the Brigadiers of militia to drive within the British lines the families of those who adhered to the royal cause. The wives and children of those inhabitants who, to avoid the resentment of their countrymen had retreated with the retreating British, were compelled to take shelter within their posts. In exchange for their comfortable farms in the country, many of them were reduced in a little time to the necessity of living in clay huts in the vicinity of Charlestown. In this forlorn situation numbers of them, destitute of the comforts of life, and overwhelmed with diseases, speedily perished. The exiled Americans received generous treatment from some individuals, and also from the bounty of Congress; but notwithstanding this liberality, they suffered many of the evils which result from a want of friends and a want of money. Several of the persons thus exchanged, and sent to the northern States, were owners of landed property in Charlestown. Though by the capitulation they had an undoubted right to dispose of this for their own advantage, yet they were debarred that liberty by an order issued on the 11th of July, 1781.

In consequence of this mandate, the houses of those who adhered to the cause of America were, in violation of public faith, taken out of their hands, and there was scarce an instance of compensation being allowed them for this seizure of their property.

The partial re-establishment of British government in South Carolina was the source of accumulated evils to the steady friends of independence; but they were not the only sufferers. The calamities of the years 1780 and 1781, operated extensively. There was scarcely an inhabitant of the State, however obscure in character or remote in situation, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general distress. The adherents to royal government were often treated by the British conquerors with neglect and contempt—frequently suffered in their property, and had many grievances unredressed. Their most essential interests were in every stage of the war, and especially at the evacuation of Charlestown, and the general treaty of peace, sacrificed to political necessity. They had the peculiar misfortune of suffering from the repeated violation of public faith successively pledged for their security.

The successes that had attended the American arms in

South Carolina, in the summer of 1781, gave such flattering prospects to the friends of independence, that it was judged to be a favorable opportunity to detach from the British interest in South Carolina those of the inhabitants of the State who had joined them in the day of their success. On the 27th of September, 1781, Governor Rutledge, therefore, issued a proclamation, offering them pardon on condition of their doing six months militia duty, with the exception of those who had taken commissions—signed congratulatory addresses on British victories—or who had been otherwise active in support of their government. In a few weeks several hundreds came out of the British lines, and reinforced the American militia. Several were now as assiduous in framing excuses for their having arranged themselves under the British standard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary support of rebellion. "Their wives, their children, and their property, made it necessary to make a show of submission to the conquerors—They thought the country was subdued, and that further resistance was vain—but notwithstanding, at all times they wished well to American independence." Such was the alacrity with which they joined their countrymen, that several, though excepted by the proclamation, cast themselves on the public mercy. They explained their taking British commissions into a benevolent design, of rescuing their neighbors from more severe officers. For their signing addresses of congratulation on British victories, many apologies were offered. Some alleged in their behalf "the fear of losing their estates—of being refused protection, or of being objects of suspicion." Others had never read them; but they all agreed, "that the sentiments contained in these ill-fated addresses were at no time the language of their hearts."

The tranquility that reigned through every part of the State gave an opportunity of calling an assembly, the meetings of which had been interrupted ever since the reduction of Charlestown. Many of the inhabitants who had never submitted to the British, and who had been lately delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, soon found their way back to South Carolina. In their number were most of the late civil officers of the State, and members of the Legislature. These favorable circumstances, in conjunction with the position of the American army, within thirty-six miles of Charlestown, pointed out the propriety of convening a Legislature. In the close of the year 1781, Governor Rutledge, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the surrender of Charlestown, issued writs for a new election. These were ordered to be held in the usual places where it was practicable, and in other cases as near as safety and other circumstances

would permit. By the same authority it was ordered, that at the election the votes of such only should be received as had never taken British protection, or who, having taken it, had notwithstanding rejoined their countrymen on or before the 27th of September, 1781. Other persons, though residents, were not considered as freemen of the State, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenship. A General Assembly was chosen, and convened in January, 1782, at Jacksonborough, a small village situated on Edisto river, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and thirty-five from Charlestown.

By the rotation established, it became necessary to choose a new Governor. The suffrages of a majority were in the first instance in favor of Christopher Gadsden, who declined the office.

The General Assembly then elected John Mathews Governor, filled up vacancies in the different departments, and re-established civil government in all its branches. They also delegated to the Governor or Commander-in-Chief the same extensive powers, with similar limitation, which had been entrusted to his predecessor, "of doing all matters and things which were judged expedient and necessary to secure the liberty, safety, and happiness of the State." Hitherto the Legislature of the State had given every man the free liberty of choosing his side and retaining his property; but the conduct of the British, while they had the ascendancy in the State, was so contrary to this humane mode of carrying on war, that on this occasion an opposite line of policy was adopted.

Laws were passed for confiscating the estates, and banishing the persons of the active decided friends of British government, and for amercing the estates of others, as a substitution for their personal services of which, the country had been deprived. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons or estates were included in the first class, and forty-eight in the last. Those whose submission appeared to be necessary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet the government of the conquerers, were generally overlooked. These laws, though contrary to the constitution and every principle of republican government, passed by large majorities. The subjects of them were condemned without a hearing or even the form of a trial. Some of the members who voted for them were influenced by a spirit of revenge, and others by avarice; but these were far short of a majority. That was obtained by the accession of numbers of upright and honorable principles, who believed that constitution and laws in cases of extremity must both yield to self-preservation. Such considered the confiscation of tory property in the nature of a forced loan for purposes of indispensable necessity. It is certain that without it the

State had no resources for raising or supporting a military force for self-defence. These laws were passed in February, 1782, while the Assembly was under an impression that the war would be continued by Great Britain. To meet it was impossible without making free with the property of British adherents contrary to the usual forms of law. The obstinacy of the British in continuing a hopeless war, aggravated the distresses of their friends. Soon after these laws were passed, reports were circulated that the British intended soon to withdraw from Charlestown.

The apprehension of this gave a serious alarm to those of the inhabitants who adhered to their interest. There was no part of South Carolina without the British lines which was not formally in the peace of the State, excepting a settlement on Little Peedee. Major Ganey, at the head of some loyalists residing near that river, had refused to do militia duty under General Marion, the Brigadier of the district. They defended themselves in the swamps, and from thence frequently sallied to the distress of the whig inhabitants of the adjacent country. On the 28th of April, 1781, a party of them commanded by Captain Jones, surrounded and set fire to the house of Col. Kolb, a respectable American militia officer. He, after receiving assurances of being treated as a prisoner of war, surrendered. Nevertheless he was put to instant death in the presence of his wife and children. When the British had lost ground in 1781, General Marion made a treaty of neutrality with them. In the summer of 1782 this was formerly renewed. Though the British interest was entirely ruined, and their departure from Charlestown soon expected, such was the generosity of the government, that it gave them a full pardon for all treasons committed against the State, the security of their property, and the protection of the laws, on the condition of their delivering up their plunder, abjuring the King of Great Britain, and demeaning themselves as peaceable citizens of the State. An alternative was offered to those who disapproved of these articles, to go within the British lines, and to carry off or sell their property. These lenient measures brought over the disaffected people of the settlement. Several of them not long after fought bravely under General Marion, and the whole conducted themselves peaceably. Regularity, order and government took the place of reciprocal depredations and hostilities.

On the proposed evacuation of Charlestown, the merchants who came with the British were in a disagreeable predicament. They had entered into extensive commercial engagements in the short interval of the British sway. Those of their debtors who were without the lines, were not subject to

their jurisdiction; those who were within were unable to pay. It was supposed that all transfers of property, by the authority of the board of police, would be null and void on the departure of the British from the State. Environed with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy, if they should leave the State along with the garrison, they applied to General Leslie for leave to negotiate for themselves. A deputation of their body waited on Governor Mathews, and obtained from him permission to reside in South Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of disposing of their stock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. This indulgence was extended to a longer term by the Legislature at their next meeting, before any information arrived that the preliminary articles of peace were signed.

When the evacuation of Charlestown drew nigh, it was apprehended by the inhabitants, that the British army, on its departure, would carry off with them some thousands of negroes which were within their lines. To prevent this, Governor Mathews wrote a letter to General Leslie, dated August 17th, 1782, in which he informed him, "that if the property of the citizens of South Carolina was carried off from its owners by the British army, he should seize on the debts due to the British merchants—and to the confiscated estates—and the claims on those estates by marriage settlements—which three articles were not included in the confiscation act." This conditional resolution operated as a check on some, so as to restrain their avidity for plunder, and induced General Leslie to propose a negotiation for securing the property of both parties. After sundry conversations, the commissioners on both sides, on the 10th of October, 1782, ratified a compact on this subject, by which it was agreed with a few exceptions, that all the slaves of the citizens of South Carolina then in the power of the British General Leslie, should be restored to their former owners, and that the faith of the State should be pledged that no further confiscation or sequestration of property belonging or pledged to royalists should take place; that all such should be at full liberty to sue for, recover and dispose of their property in the same manner as citizens—that the slaves so returned should not be punished by the State; and that it should be recommended to their masters to forgive them—that Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders should be permitted, on their parole of honor, to reside in Charlestown to assist in the execution of the article respecting the delivery of negroes to the citizens.

In consequence of this agreement, Governor Mathews gave a commission and a flag to Thomas Ferguson and Thomas

Waring, to reside near the British lines, with instructions to receive such negroes as should be delivered from the garrison. Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders had also a commission and a flag given them to reside in Charlestown, and forward the delivery of the negroes to the gentlemen who were waiting to receive them without the garrison. Governor Mathews requested the citizens of the State to attend for the purpose of receiving their negroes, and earnestly entreated that they would forgive them for having deserted their service and joined the British. Great were the expectations of the suffering inhabitants that they would soon obtain re-possession of their property; but these delusive hopes were of short duration. Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the compact had been ratified, it was so far evaded as to be in a great measure ineffectual for the end proposed.

Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders, having waited on General Leslie, were permitted to examine the fleet bound to St. Augustine; but were not suffered to examine any vessel that wore the King's pendant. Instead of an examination, the word of the commanding officer to restore all the slaves that were on board, in violation of the compact, was offered as an equivalent. In their search of the Augustine fleet, they found and claimed one hundred and thirty-six negroes. When they attended to receive them on shore, they were surprised to find no more than seventy-three landed for delivery. They then claimed this small residue, of the original number, to be forwarded to the other commissioners without the lines; but they were informed by General Leslie, that no negroes would be delivered till three soldiers were restored that had been taken by a party of General Greene's army.

This was the unsuccessful termination of a benevolent scheme originally calculated for mitigating the calamities of war. Motives of humanity, together with the sacred obligation of the provisional articles of peace, restrained the State from extending its confiscation laws. Instead of adding to the list of the unhappy sufferers on that score, the successive assemblies diminished their number.

The prospects of gain from the sale of plundered negroes were too seducing to be resisted by the officers, privates, and followers of the British army. On their departure from Charlestown upwards of eight hundred slaves, who had been employed in the engineer department, were shipped off for the West Indies. It was said, and believed, that these were taken by the direction and sold for the benefit of Lieutenant-Colonel Moncrieff. The slaves carried off by the chief engineer were but a small part of the whole taken away at the evacuation, but their number is very inconsiderable when compared with

the thousands that were lost from the first to the last of the war. It has been computed by good judges, that between the years 1775 and 1783, the State of South Carolina lost twenty-five thousand negroes.

The evacuation, though officially announced by General Leslie on the 7th of August as a measure soon to be adopted, did not take place till the 14th of December, 1782. On that and the succeeding days the British went on board their shipping, and the town was entered by Governor Mathews and the American army without any confusion or disorder. Those who remained in Charlestown felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens experienced sensations more easily conceived than expressed, on returning to their houses and estates. To crown their other blessings, provisional articles of peace were soon announced to have been signed at Paris, on the 13th of November, 1782, by which the King of Great Britain acknowledged "the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States; that he treated with them as such; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary or territorial rights of the same." The patriot exulted in the acknowledged independence of his country. The soldier rejoiced that the toils of war were ended, and the objects of it fully obtained. The farmer redoubled his industry, from the pleasing conviction that the produce of his labor would be secured to him without any danger from British bayonets or American impress-warrants. Cheerfulness and good humor took possession of minds that, during seven years, had been continually occupied with anxiety and distress. The army was soon after disbanded. Such at that time was the situation of the finances of the United States, that Congress was scarcely able to discharge to that virtuous army, which with the price of their blood had secured their independence, as much of the arrears of many years' pay as was sufficient to defray their expenses in returning to their respective habitations. The laurels they had dearly earned, the applause of their countrymen which they had eminently obtained, and the plaudits of their consciences which they honestly possessed, were almost the only rewards they carried home at the termination of a war in which many had injured their constitutions, and all had diminished their fortunes. Sympathizing with the distresses of their countrymen—sensible of their inability to pay them their stipulated due—and confiding in their justice to make them future retri-

bution, they cheerfully relinquished the uniform of the military for the plain garb of the citizen. The private soldier exchanged his bayonet and firelock for the implements of husbandry, and betook himself to rural occupations. Subalterns, captains, field and general officers returned with pleasure to their ancient civil employments.

The citizens, instead of repining at their losses, generally set themselves to repair them by diligence and economy. The continental officers who had served in the State, and whose bravery and exertions had rendered them conspicuous, were so well received by the ladies, that several of them had their gallantry rewarded by the possession of some of the finest women and greatest fortunes in South Carolina. The unfortunate adherents to royal government were treated by those in power with moderation and lenity. The legislature permitted the greater part of the exiles to return. These were divided into three classes. Thirty-one were fully restored to their property and citizenship, thirty-three were disqualified from holding any place of trust within the State for the space of seven years, and they, with sixty-two others, were relieved from total confiscation on the condition of their paying twelve per cent. on the equitable value of their property. Though the State labored under an immense load of public debt, contracted during the war, it generously restored confiscated property in its actual possession to an amount very little short of half a million of pounds sterling.

Though the war was ended, some address was necessary to compose the minds of the people. Some of those who under every discouragement had steadily adhered to the cause of independence, took to themselves the appellation of the virtuous few, and looked down with contempt on such of their fellow-citizens as had conformed their allegiance to existing circumstances. A disposition to proscribe and banish persons of the latter description showed itself under the auspices of self-constituted committees; but the weight of government and the influence of the best informed citizens, was successfully exerted to counteract it. The hard duty of subduing private feelings and of forgetting personal injuries, and insults, for the public good, was yet to be performed. Edanus Burke, an Irish gentleman, who, with the gallantry characteristic of his nation, came from the West Indies at the commencement of the revolution as a volunteer to fight for American liberty, generously undertook to advocate the cause of those who, in the hour of danger, had by a change of allegiance sought protection from the present conqueror. In a well written pamphlet he demonstrated from history that such changes were common, and that by the laws of nature and

reason, allegiance and protection were reciprocal; and that the former ceased where the latter either was not or from circumstances could not be given. He advocated the policy of a general amnesty, and of forgetting all that had taken place in the fervor of the revolutionary war. These sentiments ably advocated by Mr. Burke, and promptly supported by the constituted authorities and the most enlightened patriots, gradually prevailed. Political distinctions ceased. By forbearance, moderation, and good sense, the appellations of congress-men and king's-men were soon forgotten, and both joined heartily in promoting the interests of their common country.

RAMSAY'S

HISTORY

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1670
TO THE YEAR 1808.

By DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

"The Muse of History has been so much in love with Mars, that she has seldom conversed with Minerva."—*Henry.*

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER I.

The first settlers of South Carolina were of different religious persuasions. None had any particular connection with government; nor had any sect legal pre-eminence over another.*

This state of things continued for twenty-eight years. In that early period of the province divine service was seldom publicly performed beyond the limits of Charlestown, with the exception of an independent church formed near Dorchester in 1696. The inhabitants of the province were nevertheless kept in a state of social order; for they generally believed in a God, a future state of rewards and punishments, the moral obligation of the decalogue, and in the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments. The two first Acts of the Legislature which have been found in the records of the Secretary's office "enjoined the observance of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday;" and prohibited sundry gross immoralities particularly "idleness, drunkenness, and swearing." Thus far the government aided religion in the infant colony. In the year 1698, one step further was taken by an Act "to settle a maintenance on a minister of the Church of England in Charlestown." This excited neither suspicion nor alarm among the dissenters, for the minister in whose favor the law operated was a worthy good man; and the small sum allowed him was inadequate to his services. The precedent thus set by the Legislature being acquiesced in by the people paved the way for an ecclesiastical establishment. In the year 1704 when the white population of South Carolina was between 5000 and 6000, when the Episcopalians had only one church in the province and the dissenters three in Charlestown and one in the country, the former were so far favored as to obtain a legal establishment. Most of the proprietors and public officers of

* The New-England plan of co-extending settlements and religious instruction by making a meeting house, and a minister, appendages to every new town was far from being common in Carolina; but was substantially adopted in some cases. The New-Englanders near Dorchester, the Irish at Williamsburg, the Swiss at Purysburgh, the French at New-Bourdeaux all brought their ministers with them, and each of these groupes had the benefits of religious instruction from the time they became Carolinians.

the province and particularly the Govenor Sir Nathaniel Johnson, were zealously attached to the Church of England. Believing in the current creed of the times that an established religion was essential to the support of civil government, they concerted measures for endowing the church of the mother country and advancing it in South Carolina to a legal pre-eminence. Preparatory thereto they promoted the election of members of that church to a seat in the provincial Legislature, and succeeded by surprise so far as to obtain a majority. The recently elected members soon after they entered on their legislative functions took measures for perpetuating the power they had thus obtained; for they enacted a law "which made it necessary for all persons thereafter chosen members of the commons, house of assembly, to conform to the religious worship of the church of England and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rights and usages of that church." This Act passed the lower house by a majority of only one vote. It virtually excluded from a seat in the Legislature all who were dissenters, erected an aristocracy, and gave a monopoly of power to one sect though far from being a majority of the inhabitants. The usual consequences followed. Animosities took place and spread in every direction. Moderate men of the favored church considered the law as impolitic and hostile to the prosperity of the province. Dissenters of all denominations made a common cause in endeavoring to obtain its repeal. The inhabitants of Colleton county, who were mostly dissenters, drew up a statement of their grievances which they transmitted by John Ash to the proprietors praying their lordships to repeal the oppressive Act. Ash being coldly received, and despairing of relief from those to whom he was sent, determined to address himself to the English nation through the medium of the press; but death prevented the execution of his design. The dissenters, in two years after, made another effort to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious law. They drew up a petition and sent it by Joseph Boone to be presented to the House of Lords in England. In this they severely animadverted on the law, its authors and abettors. In consequence of their application a vote was passed "that the Act complained of was founded on falsity in matter of fact—was repugnant to the laws of England—contrary to the charter of the proprietors—was an encouragement to atheism and irreligion—destructive to trade, and tended to the depopulation and ruin of the province." The Lords also addressed Queen Anne, beseeching her "to use the most effectual methods to deliver the province from the arbitrary oppression under which it lay and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law." To which her majesty replied, "that

she would do all in her power to relieve her subjects in Carolina and protect them in their just rights."

Though the infant establishment of the Church of England was thus frowned upon by the ruling powers in England, and was disagreeable to a majority of the inhabitants of Carolina, yet no further steps were taken for restoring to dissenters their equal rights. The Episcopal party continued to maintain their ascendency in the assembly, and made legislative provision for extending and maintaining their mode of worship. In two years the colony was divided into ten parishes: St. Philips, Charlestown, Christ Church, St. Thomas, St. John, St. James, St. Andrews, St. Dennis, St. Pauls, St. Bartholomews, St. James Santee and each parish was made a corporation. Some of these were afterwards subdivided, and others occasionally formed as the population extended. Money was provided by law for building and repairing churches; lands were provided by donation, purchase, or grants from the proprietors, at public expense, for glebes and church yards;—salaries for the different rectors, clerks, and sextons of the established parishes were fixed and made payable out of the provincial treasury. Legislative acts were passed for the encouragement of Episcopal clergymen to settle in the province, and exercise their clerical functions in the several parishes designated by law. To such £25 was paid out of the public treasury immediately on their arrival in Carolina, and their annual legal salary commenced from the same period in case they were afterwards elected rectors of any of the established parishes by the resident inhabitants who were members of the Church of England.

This state of things with but little variation continued for seventy years, and as long as the province remained subject to Great Britain. In the course of that period, twenty-four parishes were laid off. Most of these were in the maritime districts and none more than ninety miles from the sea-coast.

The religious establishment which enjoyed so many and such highly distinguished privileges, was mildly administered. A free toleration was enjoyed by all dissenters. The law which excluded them from a seat in the Legislature was soon repealed by the Provincial Assembly. The friendship of the mother church, the patronage of government, and the legal provision made for clergymen, though partial and confined to one sect, were useful as means of introducing more learned ecclesiastics than would probably have been procured by the unassisted efforts of the first settlers. Religion assumed a visible form, and contributed its influence in softening the manners of dispersed colonists, who from the want of school-masters and clergymen were in danger of degenerating into savages. The prospect of attaining these advantages had a powerful influence

with the members of assembly in favor of an establishment. They saw with regret the increasing inhabitants destitute of public instructors, and knew their inability to reward or even to procure them. The society which about that time was incorporated in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, was able and willing to assist the infant colonies, both with ministers and the means of supporting them; but that could only be done in the mode of worship prescribed by the church of England. To obtain their aid, an establishment of the same form of public worship in the colony which prevailed in the parent state was deemed a prudential measure. The expected consequences followed. The society, on application, sent out ministers to Carolina and for a long time assisted to maintain them. They generally paid fifty pounds sterling to their missionaries; and besides, made valuable donations of books to be distributed by them or kept as parochial libraries. The Reverend Mr. Thomas, whose descendants of the fourth or fifth generation constitute a part of the inhabitants, was the first missionary sent out by the Society.

The number of Episcopal Clergyman who settled in Carolina anterior to 1731, is not known; but from that year till 1775, when the revolution commenced, their aggregate number was one hundred and two.* Most of them were men of regular education. Such of these and of others as arrived for nearly the first half of the 18th century were generally sent out as missionaries by the society for propagating the gospel

* List of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina subsequent to 1730, with the date of their arrival. The Rev. Messrs. Thomas Hasel, William Guy, Stephen Coulet, Joseph Hooper, Francis Varnod, John I. Tissot, William Cotes, arrived in 1731; Daniel Dwight, Lewis Jones, Andrew Leslie, Joseph Buguiou, Timothy Mellichamp, Thomas Morrit, in 1732; Thomas Thompson, John Fulton, in 1733; Robert Gowrie, Lawrence O'Neill, in 1734; Peter Duplessis, in 1736; John Fordyce, William Orr, in 1737; Stephen Roe, Robert Small, in 1738; Levi Durand, in 1741; William M. Gilchrist, in 1742; Samuel Quincy, Charles Bosche, Alexander Garden, Jun., in 1744; Henry Chiffelle, in 1745; Robert Betham, in 1746; Alexander Keith, in 1747; Richard St. John, in 1748; Robert Stone, Robert Cumming, John Giessendaner, in 1750; John Rowand, in 1751; Michael Smith, in 1753; William Langhorne, William Peasely, Charles Martin, James Harrison, Richard Clarke, Alexander Baron, in 1754; Jonathan Copp, Robert Barron. John Andrews, Jenkin Lewis, in 1756; —— Sergeant, Samuel Fairweather, Robert Smith, in 1758; Robert Cooper, Samuel Warren, John Tonge, in 1759; Abraham Imer, in 1761; Joseph Stokes, Joseph Dacre Wilton, Offspring Pearce, —— Dormer, in 1762; John Greene, Samuel Drake, George Skeen, John Evans, William Teale, in 1763; Isaac Amory, Robert Dunscomb, in 1765; Samuel Hart, James Crallan, John Hockley, John Fevrier, —— Dawson, —— Lousdle, in 1766; —— Tourqand, Charles Woodmason, —— Streaker, 1767; Thomas Panton, John Lewis, Richard Farmer, Robert Purcell, Thomas Morgan, James Pierce, in 1769; John Bullman, Henry Purcell, D. D., Edward Ellington, in 1770; Alexander Findlay, in 1771; —— Villette, —— Schquab, Thomas Walker, —— Steward, Edward Jenkins, in 1772; —— Smith, —— Davis, Charles F. Moreau, in 1773; —— Dundas, in 1774; Benjamin Blackburn, in 1775.

The following clergymen have arrived since the revolution: Thomas Jones, Thomas Frost, Charles Lewis, Thomas Mills, William Blackwall, Penuel Bowen, Stephen Sykes, William Jones, —— Graham, Matthew Tate, —— Gates, William Smith, —— Pogson, —— Cotton, —— Woodbridge, William Best, William Nixon.

in foreign parts, and with a few exceptions they continued to preserve the good moral characters they all brought out with them. For some years before the revolution the number of officiating clergymen, at one and the same time, varied from twelve to twenty. Of the whole there was not a single native of Carolina. Two or three are said to have been born in the northern provinces, but all the rest were Europeans.

In countries where ecclesiastics have an official agency in the government, their history is additionally important as it is blended with the civil police. This was at no time the case in South Carolina. The people, both of the province and State, were always averse to the exercise of any civil power by ecclesiastics. Clergymen enjoyed the rights of British subjects or of American citizens; but at no time any distinguishing privileges by virtue of their office.

This jealousy has been continued under every form of government. The clergy under the present constitution are deprived of one of the rights of common citizens; for they are declared "to be ineligible to the office of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or to a seat in the Senate or House of Representatives." Though they derive no emoluments from the State, they are subjected to this disqualification on the ground "that they should not be diverted from the great duties of their function."

The same disposition manifested itself under the former order of things; for coeval with the establishment of the church of England, was the appointment of a board of commissioners by which it was enacted that twenty lay persons be constituted a corporation; who, in addition to a general superintendency over the temporal concerns of all the parochial churches, should exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with full powers to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure; not for immorality only, but also for imprudence, or on account of unreasonable prejudices taken against them. This was in fact taking the ecclesiastical jurisdiction out of the hands of the bishop of London, in whose diocese the whole British colonies in America were included, and transfering it to a select portion of the laity in Carolina. No record nor even tradition has reached us that these extraordinary powers were improperly used. They were in the first instance conferred on the following persons, who were highly esteemed by the people; Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Nicholas Trott, Robert Gibbes, Henry Noble, Ralph Izard, James Risbee, William Rhett, George Logan, Arthur Middleton, David Davis, Thomas Barton, John Abraham Motte, Robert Seabrook, Hugh Hext, John Woodward, Joseph Page, John Ashby, Richard Beresford, Thomas Wilkinson, Jonathan Fitch, William Bull, Rene Ravenel, and Philip Gendron.

The institution of lay commissioners with such ample powers was disapproved by several in Carolina, and by more in England. The society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, at a meeting in St. Paul's church, London, resolved not to send any missionaries to Carolina until the clauses relating to these extraordinary powers of the lay commissioners were annulled.

The government of the established church assumed another form about the year 1733. Alexander Garden was then appointed by the bishop of London to be his commissary; and as such to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the provinces of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and the island of New Providence. His strict morals and steady adherence to all the forms of the Episcopal church qualified him in many respects for this high office. It was his duty to watch not only over the morals of the clergy, but to enforce their observance of the rules and forms prescribed by the church. In the former case he had all good men with him, for he was steady, strict, and impartial. In the discharge of the latter he was involved in a most unpleasant controversy with George Whitefield. This celebrated pulpit orator, educated in the church of England and ordained by the bishop of Gloucester, was in common with other Episcopal clergymen, under obligations to obey the canons of the church. These enjoin "the use of the form of prayer prescribed in the book of common prayer and of no other." Though Whitefield possessed an high esteem for these prayers, and always used them when he officiated in Episcopal churches; yet being often called upon to preach to large crowds, many of whom neither possessed nor knew how to use the book of common prayer in public worship, he departed from the rules of his church and performed divine service in the extempore mode usually practiced among non-Episcopalians. This was unquestionably an offence against the church of which he professed to be a member, and subjected him to its censures; but he took no guilt to himself, as being conscious that he was influenced by no selfish views nor improper motives, and that he was acting in subserviency to the great and benevolent purposes for which all churches were instituted. While the official duty of the commissary compelled him to enforce, among the members of the Episcopal church, an observance of its established forms; the expanded and liberal mind of Whitefield led him occasionally to set at nought all forms while he pursued the substance in the most direct practicable mode of obtaining it. His aim was to do the most extensive possible good; and therefore he was willing to preach, if circumstances required, in meeting houses, or even in the open air as well as in consecrated churches. Wherever he found

human beings desirous of religious instruction he readily preached to them, and prayed with them, either as the book of common prayer prescribed, or without any form whatever, as was deemed for the present most expedient. After he had indulged himself in these aberrations from the prescribed rules of his church, he was cited by commissary Garden to appear before the ecclesiastical court in the parish church of St. Philips on the 15th of July, 1740, to answer for the same. The result was a sentence of the court for suspending George Whitefield from his ministerial office.*

While this prosecution was pending, and for thirty years after, Whitefield was preaching almost daily to crowded congregations. So charmed were the people with his eloquence, that frequently no house could contain his hearers. The oftener he preached, the keener were their desires to hear him again. As a theologian reasoner, or writer of sermons, he had many superiors; but as an orator for impressing the heart,

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*The particulars of this novel and interesting trial, taken from the records of the court, were as follows: The first step was a citation from Commissary Garden, calling upon George Whitefield "to answer to certain articles or interrogatories which were to be objected and ministered to him concerning the mere health of his soul and the reformation and correction of his manners and excesses; and chiefly for omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book." Whitefield appeared in court on the day appointed, but protested against the admission of any articles against him, alleging that he doubted the authority of the court to proceed in the cause, and prayed for time to exhibit his objections. This was granted. At the next meeting of the court he tendered exceptions in writing, "in recusation of the judge." At the same time he proposed to refer the causes of his recusation against the judge to six different arbitrators, three of whom to be chosen by the said Alexander Garden. A replication to these exceptions was made by William Smith, and the relevancy of the exceptions was argued before the court by Andrew Rutledge in behalf of George Whitefield, and the contrary was argued by James Greeme. The court, consisting of the Commissary and the Rev. Messrs. Guy, Mellichamp, Roe and Orr, clergymen assistants, unanimously decreed "that the exceptions be repelled." From this determination George Whitefield appealed to the Lords Commissioners appointed by the King for receiving and hearing appeals in spiritual causes, from his majesty's plantations in America. This was granted, and a year and a day allowed for prosecuting the appeal and hearing the result. It was ordered that in the interim all further proceedings should be staid. After the expiration of the limited time it was certified by the register of the court that no prohibition whatever from further proceedings in the said cause, nor any decree or determination of any superior court, had been interposed, and therefore on motion the business was resumed as if no appeal had been made. Due notice was given to George Whitefield to attend, but as he did not appear, the following articles and interrogatories were, after a proper pause, objected to him as if he had been present. "Imprimis, we article and object to you the said George Whitefield, that you were and are a minister in holy orders as deacon and priest, and that when you were admitted into the ministry you did, pursuant to the thirty-sixth canon of the canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, subscribe to the following articles: "That the book of common prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God; and that it may lawfully so be used, and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed in public prayers and administration of the sacraments, and none other."—Item, we article and object that you, the said George Whitefield, do believe and have heard say, that by the thirty-eighth canon of the canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, it is provided, ordained and decreed, "that if any minister, after he hath once subscribed the aforesaid article, shall omit the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book, let him

moving the passions, and for abashing, confounding, and beating down vice and immorality, he was exceeded by none. The unbounded applause he met with from men, and especially from women, was sufficient to have intoxicated him; nor was it wholly without effect, for he was but a man. As to wealth, power, pleasure, honor, or the ordinary pursuits of the vulgar great, he soared above their influence. All his popularity, and all his powers, as the greatest pulpit orator of the age, were employed by him in the capacity of an itinerant minister for advancing the present and future happiness of mankind, without regard to sect, party or denomination. Carolina was frequently the scene of his ministerial labors; and the religion of the province owed much to his zeal, diligence, and eloquence. It was also much indebted to that steady, inflexible disciplinarian, Commissary Garden. From the different temperaments of their minds, the one thought it his bounden duty to do what the other conceived it to be equally

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be suspended; and if after a month he do not reform and submit himself, let him be excommunicated; and then if he do not submit himself within the space of another month, let him be deposed from the ministry." Item, we article and object, that notwithstanding the premises in the foregoing articles mentioned and deduced, you the said George Whitefield, on diverse Sundays or Lord's days and week days, you have officiated as a minister in diverse meeting-houses, and more particularly in that commonly called the Presbyterian or Independent meeting-house in Charlestown, by praying and preaching to public congregations, and at such times have omitted to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion or common prayer book, in contempt of the laws, canons and constitutions ecclesiastical aforesaid." Item, we article and object to you the said George Whitefield, that by reason of the premises in the foregoing articles deduced, you have incurred canonical punishment and censure, and were and are by us and our authority canonically to be punished, and to which and every part of which articles, we will and require you the said George Whitefield, to make true, plain, full, and faithful answer."

Successive adjournments were made to give time for the answer of George Whitefield, but he neither appeared nor put in any answer." The facts of his frequently preaching in dissenting meeting-houses without using the forms of prayer prescribed by the book of common prayer, were proved by Hugh Anderson, Stephen Hartley, and John Redman. A final decree, after a full recital of all facts, was pronounced in these words: Therefore we, Alexander Garden, the judge aforesaid, having first invoked the name of Christ, and setting and having God himself alone before our eyes, and by and with the advice of the reverend persons, William Guy, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Rowe, and William Orr, with whom in that part we have advised and maturely deliberated, do pronounce, decree, and declare the aforesaid George Whitefield, clerk to have been at the times articled, and now to be a priest of the Church of England, and at the time and days in that part articled, to have officiated as a minister in diverse meeting-houses in Charlestown in the province of South Carolina, by praying and preaching to public congregations; and at such times to have omitted to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion-book or book of common prayer, or at least according to the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical in that part made, provided and promulged, not to have used the same according to the lawful proofs before us in that part judicially had and made. We therefore pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said George Whitefield, for his excesses and faults, ought duly and canonically, and according to the exigence of the law in that part in the premises, to be corrected and punished, and also to be suspended from his office; and accordingly by these presents, we do suspend him the said George Whitefield; and for so suspended, we also pronounce, decree and declare him to be denounced, declared, and published openly and publicly in the face of the church."

his duty to punish. Both were good and useful men, but in different ways. The one was devoted to forms; the other soared above them. The piety of the one ran in the channel of a particular sect of Christians; but that of the other, confined neither to sect nor party, flowed in the broad and wide-spreading stream of Christianity.

The dissenters increasing in numbers by emigrants, particularly from Scotland and Ireland, complained that while they had to build their own churches and maintain their own ministers, they were taxed in common with the Episcopalians to support their highly-favored mode of worship. The dissenters saw with regret several of their more wealthy followers desert a less fashionable church, and conform to that which enjoyed the patronage of government. They nevertheless maintained a respectable standing. The Presbyterians in particular, formed congregations not only in Charlestown, but on three of the maritime islands, and at Wiltown, Jacksonborough, Indian Land, Port Royal, and Williamsburgh. These were maintained by the contributions of their members. In process of time considerable funds were established by private donations for the permanent support of their mode of worship. While every Episcopal church was a corporation capable of holding property, of suing and being sued, the congregations of dissenters, not being known in law, could only hold property by the intervention of trustees: a mode of tenure often attended with loss, and always with trouble.

To these inconveniences the dissenters were obliged to submit, and probably must have continued to do so, if the revolution had not taken place. The change of government from proprietary to regal brought to them no relief. For Kings, even more than the proprietors, thought they had an interest in cementing the alliance between church and state, and connecting the altar with the throne.

When the people of Carolina, in common with their fellow-citizens, broke the chains which bound them to Great Britain, a new order of things took place. While the established church was chiefly confined to the vicinity of the sea-coast, in the course of the forty years which preceded the revolution, numerous bodies of dissenters had migrated from the more northern provinces and settled in the northern and western parts of Carolina. These, added to their brethren on the sea-coast, gave them a decided superiority in point of numbers. The physical force of the country, so necessary for its defence against Great Britain, rested in a great degree in their hands. The crisis demanded union and was favorable to the re-establishment of the rights of man. Though the people of South Carolina engaged in the revolutionary war primarily for their

civil liberties, they did not overlook their claims to equal religious privileges without discrimination or preference. The judicious and moderate among the members of the established church saw and felt the propriety and necessity of relinquishing the advantages they had long enjoyed; and with more readiness than is usual among those who part with power in possession, consented to a constitution which repealed all laws that gave them pre-eminence. The dissenters felt their weight, and though zealous in the cause of independence, could not brook the idea of risking their lives and fortunes for anything short of equal rights. Moderation, liberality, good sense and sound policy prevailed with both parties. The hopes of the enemies of independence that union could not be preserved among the discordant sects of religionists were disappointed. The energies of the inhabitants in maintaining their liberties were in no respect weakened. The prize contended for being made equally interesting to all, equal exertions were made by all for obtaining it.

The experience of more than thirty years has proved that an established church is not essential to civil government; that citizenship is a bond of union sufficient for all its necessary purposes; that the true mode of promoting the public interest and preserving peace among different sectaries, is for the constituted authorities to lean to neither; but, standing erect, to give equal protection to the persons, liberties and property of all, without noticing their religious opinions and practices, while they do not disturb the equal rights of others or the peace and order of society; and to leave to the different sectaries the exclusive management of their respective religious interests. Proceeding on these principles, the inroads made on morals and religion by the revolutionary war in Carolina have been gradually done away. The acrimony of speech, the sourness of temper and the shyness of intercourse which had too much prevailed among religious sects before the revolution, have since that event given place to christian benevolence. The heat of party zeal has become more moderate. Men have discovered that their opinions with regard to speculative points are often as different as their faces, and that the harmony of society and the intercourse of life ought not to be interrupted by the one more than by the other. Without any interference on the part of the State, churches have been built, congregations formed, ministers settled and maintained, peace and good will preserved among the different sectaries. At the same time great liberality has been often spontaneously and reciprocally displayed in assisting each other in pecuniary concerns connected with the support of their respective forms of worship.

A revolution in the government of the church grew out of the civil revolution. A complete severance of all connection between church and State being accomplished by that great event, ecclesiastical proceedings, censures, punishments, infer no penalties nor any deprivation of civil rights. In this respect the churches of South Carolina have improved on their respective European prototypes. In England and Scotland the proceedings of spiritual courts are frequently vexatious and expensive. Excommunication from the church is nearly equal to an outlawry. A solitary instance of this occurred in South Carolina in 1765, in which the royal Governor William Bull, as ordinary of the province, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against an individual for refusing obedience to his summons. The powers of these courts, where useful and necessary, have been transferred to civil establishments. There are now no spiritual courts in the State. No canons, decrees, acts, orders or regulations, either of bishops, presbyteries or religious associations of any kind, can involve a person, however contumacious, in civil disabilities or to any extent further than excluding him from the sacraments of the offended church, or from being considered as one of its members. Churches, as corporations, can enforce their by-laws, but their powers as spiritual courts are merely advisary; for the civil authority neither issues nor aids any ecclesiastical process. The constitution recognizes clergymen only for the purpose of declaring them ineligible to civil offices. The act for regulating the fees demandable for the performance of certain enumerated public duties, allows them to take from all voluntary applicants a small fee for registering births, marriages and funerals—for a search of these registers and a certified extract from them. The same law authorizes them to demand five shillings for reading in church every citation from a civil officer, called ordinary, preparatory to the granting letters of administration on the estates of intestate persons. They are also by law excused from the performance of militia duty or serving on juries. Thus far and no further the constitution and laws of the State notice the clergy. For the solemnization of marriages, application is generally made to them; but this is not legally necessary. Marriages with or without licenses or publication of the bans by clergymen or justices of the peace, are in law all equally valid; but when contracted are indissoluble. The churches have no authority to grant divorces. Every application to the civil power to legislate on this subject has been unsuccessful. The courts have no jurisdiction. No power exists in the State competent to grant them, nor can it be otherwise till the legislature pass a law for the purpose.

A brief view of the present state of religion in Carolina will close this chapter.

The Episcopalians since the revolution labored under peculiar disadvantages. Their church was incomplete without bishops, and their whole body of clergy and laity was incompetent to invest any individual, or number of individuals, with Episcopal powers. This boon could only be obtained through some of the successors of the apostles in the old world. Twelve years subsequent to the revolution passed away before Episcopal ordination could be obtained in South Carolina.* In the meantime the non-Episcopalians, animated with the recovery of their long lost equal rights, proceeded vigorously in organizing churches and extending their forms of worship.

* To preserve the uninterrupted succession of Episcopal ordination, it was necessary either that the American candidates for the ministry should go to European bishops, or that ecclesiastical officers of that high rank should be constituted in the United States. The former was the mode usually adopted before the revolution, and in a few instances after its commencement. Insuperable difficulties opposed its continuance. The laws of England required all candidates for holy orders to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty. This could not be done by the citizens of independent America. The English bishops with great liberality applied for, and obtained an act of parliament, authorizing the ordination of clergymen for the United States without their taking an oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty. This afforded only partial relief. An American Episcopate was therefore proposed as the only remedy adequate to the exigency. The non-Episcopalians, before the revolution, had opposed this measure, but cheerfully acquiesced in it after that event had placed their rights and liberties beyond all foreign interference. The proposed measure was readily and without difficulty substantially agreed upon by the Episcopalians on both sides of the Atlantic, yet many previous arrangements were necessary to give it effect. The English bishops required evidence of the orthodoxy, regularity, and order of the Episcopal churches in America, and also of the acquiescence of the civil government of the new formed States in the proposed Episcopate. Certificates of the latter were easily obtained. Conventions of the American Episcopal clergy and laity were held in several successive years and in different States, which finally agreed upon such alterations of the prayers, forms, and officers of the church as local circumstances and their new political condition required. In these the Episcopal church of South Carolina was represented by the Rev. Dr. Purcell, Jacob Read, and Charles Pinckney. The proposed alterations being submitted to the heads of the church in England, were so far approved as to be no obstacle in the way of their consecrating bishops to preside over the American Episcopal church. Dr. Provost of New York, and Dr. White of Philadelphia, were accordingly in 1787 ordained and consecrated bishops of the American Episcopal church at the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by the bishop of Bath and Wells, and the bishop of Peterborough. Not long after, Dr. Madison of Virginia was ordained and consecrated in England to be a bishop in America. The Episcopal church was then for the first time complete in the United States. Three or rather four American clergymen were promoted to the rank of bishops by British Episcopal consecration. These jointly were competent to perpetuate their own order, and each of them separately had the power of ordaining priests and deacons. The uninterrupted succession was not only preserved, but its unbroken chain was extended across the Atlantic with full powers to perpetuate itself. In consequence of these arrangements, the right Rev. Robert Smith, D. D. was by four bishops, convened in Philadelphia in September 1795, consecrated bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church in South Carolina. He continued in the discharge of the duties of that office till his death in 1801. This was the second consecration of a bishop which had taken place in the United States. Since the death of bishop Smith there has been no bishop of his church in South Carolina. The candidates for holy orders are now under a necessity of repairing to the northern States for ordination.

The patronage which the Episcopalians enjoyed, under the royal government, made them less able to stand alone after that patronage was withdrawn. Man is a creature of habit. Voluntary contributions for the support of religion had been so long customary with the dissenters, that when the pressure of war was removed they readily resumed their ancient habits; but the case was otherwise with the Episcopalians: for as their form of worship had for seventy years been in a great measure supported from the public treasury, they were not so immediately impressed with the necessity of advancing their private funds for that purpose.

For these and other reasons the Episcopal church languished in South Carolina for several years after the revolution. Though it maintained a respectable standing in their two ancient houses of worship in Charlestown,* it made for some time but little progress in the country. Better prospects are now before its members. Experience has convinced them of the propriety of voluntary contributions for the support of religion. Their church is completely organized within the United States. They are no longer confined in the choice of clergymen to strangers: for natives of the country, of the purest morals and best education, have with pious zeal entered upon or are preparing themselves for the work of the ministry in such numbers as exceed anything heretofore known in Carolina. Their long neglected places of worship in the country are repairing, and new ones are building. Divine service according to the book of common prayer is now regularly performed in Beaufort by the Rev. Mr. Hicks; in St. Andrews by the Rev. Mr. Mills; in St. Bartholomews by the Rev. Mr. Fowler; in St. Johns by the Rev. Mr. Gadsden; in St. Thomas by the Rev. Mr. Nankeville; at the high hills of Santee by the Rev. Mr. Ischudy; and at St. James Santee by the Rev. Mr. Mathews. In most of the other parishes where the establishment operated before the revolution, there are Episcopal churches, but at present no settled ministers.

The Presbyterians were among the first settlers, and were always numerous in Carolina. Their ministers in the maritime districts were mostly from Scotland or Ireland; men of

* Charlestown and Charlestown Neck constituted one parish by the name of St. Philips till 1721, when a new one named St. Michaels to the southward of Broad-street was established by act of assembly. Divine service was first performed in the present church of St. Philips in the year 1723; and in that of St. Michaels in 1761. On the site of the latter, a church originally called St. Philips had been previously erected about the year 1690, which was the only Episcopal church in South Carolina prior to the establishment in 1706. Divine service was performed in St. Philips church for three-fourths of the 18th century by two rectors: thirty-four years by commissary Garden, and forty-two by bishop Smith. The Rev. Dr. Jenkins is the present rector, but being absent, divine service is performed by the Rev. Dr. Percy, and the Rev. James Dewar Simons. The Rev. Nathaniel Bowen is the rector of St. Michaels church.

good education, orderly in their conduct, and devoted to the systems of doctrine and government established in Scotland. The zeal of their adherents had amassed considerable funds before the revolution, but these were materially injured by the failure of trustees and the depreciation of the paper currency. They have a numerous and wealthy congregation in the capital,* and the Presbytery of Charlestown consists of five ministers. To them seven congregations† look up for religious instruction. It was constituted at an early period of the 18th century, agreeably to the principles and practice of the church of Scotland, but during the revolutionary war was unfortunately dissolved by the death or removal of the ministers constituting it; and all its books and records were lost or destroyed.

In the year 1790 four of the congregations belonging to the said Presbytery, being the only ones then provided with ordained ministers, addressed a petition to the Legislature praying to be constituted a body corporate, chiefly with the view of raising a fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen belonging to their society. This was promptly granted.

From the time of its incorporation the Presbytery of Charlestown has held regular stated meetings, and has exercised the power of ordination and the other functions of a Presbytery.

Impressed with the importance of union in religious matters they applied, in 1799, to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches in the United States, to be received into communion with the said Assembly and to be admitted members of their body. Agreeably to the prayer of this memorial and petition, the Presbytery of Charlestown was received a constituent part of the General Assembly. Of the numerous emigrants to the western parts of Carolina, in the last fifty years of the 18th century, a great majority were Presbyterians.

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* The present Presbyterian church in Charlestown was built about the year 1731. Its ministers, as far as can be recollected, were the Rev. Messrs. Stuart, Grant, Lorimer, Morrison, Hewat, Graham, Wilson, and Buist. Previous to 1731 the Presbyterians and Independents formed one society, and worshipped together in a church which stood on the lot which is now occupied by the circular church.

† The Presbytery at present consists of the following congregations and ministers: 1. Presbyterian church of Stoney Creek, Prince Williams, Rev. R. Montgomery Adams. 2. Presbyterian church of Salt Catchers. 3. Presbyterian church of Black Mingo, Rev. W. Knox. 4. Original and first incorporated Presbyterian church of Willamsburgh. 5. Presbyterian church of the city of Charlestown. 6. Presbyterian church of Edisto Island, Rev. Donald M'Leod. 7. Presbyterian church of John and Wadmalaw Islands, Rev. Doctor Clarkson.

These different congregations are incorporated and have glebes or funds of greater or less extent.

The following congregations belonged formerly to the Presbytery, but have not connected themselves with it since its incorporation, viz. James Island, Wiltown, Pon Pon, and St. Thomas.

They had little regular preaching among them till about the year 1770, when missionaries from the northward formed them into churches. These were revived and increased after the revolution, and have since been constantly supplied with ministers who have been formed into regular Presbyteries and synods in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church of the United States. Most of their clergymen were born and educated in America. These are now formed into two Presbyteries consisting of more than twenty ministers, and have in connection with them about sixty congregations. There is also a Presbytery of seceders in South Carolina consisting of nine ministers, who have under their care twenty-two congregations. Each of these Presbyteries possesses and exercises the power of ordination.

The Baptists formed a church in Charlestown about the year 1685.* Its first minister was the Rev. Mr. Screven, the founder of a numerous and respectable family. He began his ministerial labors in the province about the year 1683, and continued them till the time of his death in 1713. His successors in the Baptist church of Charlestown were the Rev. Messrs. Fry, White, Tilly, Simons, Chanler, Bedgewood, and Hart; who, with some intervals, supplied the church till 1780. In the year 1787, the Rev. Dr. Furman who is now living, was invested with the pastoral care of it. Anterior to the revolution in 1776, they had increased to about thirty churches. Since the establishment of equal religious rights they have increased so that they now have five associations consisting of 100 ministers, 130 churches, 10,500 communicants, and about 73,500 adherents; reckoning seven of the latter for one of the former.

The Independents or Congregationalists in conjunction with the Presbyterians were formed into a church in Charlestown about the year 1690. These sects, after forty years of union, differing only in the form of church government,† separated and formed different churches. The Independents kept possession of their ancient house of worship, long known by the

* A subdivision of the Baptists, known by the name of Arian or General Baptists, was formed into a church about the year 1735. This society became extinct about the year 1787.

† Both agreed in doctrine, mode of worship, and in renouncing the power of bishops; but the latter were willing to submit to the authority of a Presbytery, while the former, exercising in their congregational capacity every necessary power for governing their own church without any extrinsic interference, claimed to be an independent self-governed society. By their constitution they are at liberty to elect their pastors from any denomination of christians. Two of their ministers in the early part of the 18th century were Presbyterians and members of the Charlestown Presbytery. These were the Rev. Messrs. Stobo and Livingston. On the demise of the latter, his successor was an Independent from New England. During his incumbency twelve families seceded and formed the Presbyterian church on the model of the church of Scotland.

name of the White Meeting.* They erected an additional house of worship in Archdale street, in which divine service was first performed in 1787. These two houses form one church, and have common interests and ministers, with equal salaries and privileges.

The Independents also have a church, near Dorchester,† supplied by the Rev. Mr. M'Kelhenny—in Christ church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. M'Calla; on James Island under that of Mr. Price; in Beaufort under Mr. Palmer, and in St. Bartholomews at present vacant.

The Methodists made their first appearance as a religious society in South Carolina in the year 1785. For the last ten or fifteen years they have increased beyond any former exam-

* This building, after various enlargements, in the course of one hundred and fourteen years, was finally taken down in 1804; and the present church on a circular plan of 88 feet diameter was erected in its place. This form accommodates a greater number of people, at less expense, than any other; is easy to the speaker, and makes his voice more distinctly audible, especially at a distance. The building has already cost 60,000 dollars, and 14,000 more will be necessary to finish the steeple. One half of the gallery is laid off for the use of people of color, and accommodates about 400 decent, orderly, and steady worshippers of that description.

This church has had fifteen ministers. The commencement and termination of their ministerial functions as far as is now known, was nearly as follows:

1. Rev. Benjamin Pierpoint settled about the year 1691, and died, it is supposed, in 1696 or '97. 2. Rev. Mr. Adams a very short time minister. 3. Rev. John Cotton, settled in the year 1698, and died 1699. 4. Rev. Archibald Stobo took charge of the church in the autumn of 1700, and resigned in 1704. 5. Rev. Wm. Livingston became pastor in 1704, and died after the year 1720. 6. Rev. Nathan Bassett settled in 1724, died of the small pox in 1738. 7. Rev. James Parker arrived in Charlestown in 1740, and died in 1742. 8. Rev. Josiah Smith took charge of the church in 1742, and resigned in 1750. 9. Rev. James Edmonds settled December 15, 1754, and resigned about 1767. 10. Rev. Wm. Hutson settled in connection with Mr. Edwards, 1757, and died in 1761. 11. Rev. Andrew Bennet was settled as pastor with Mr. Edmonds in 1762, and resigned in 1763. 12. Rev. Jno. Thomas was installed pastor of the church in 1767, and died at New York on the 29th of September, 1771. 13. The Rev. William Tennent entered on the pastoral charge of the church in 1772, and died at the high hills at Santee in August, 1777; from his death the church remained vacant till the termination of the revolutionary war. While the British were in possession of Charlestown, the building was used as a store-house by the conquerors. The pews were all destroyed and the house materially injured. 14. Rev. Dr. Hollinshead entered on the pastoral charge of the church in 1783, and is now living. 15. Rev. Dr. Keith, in connection with Dr. Hollinshead in 1787, and is now living.

Of these fifteen ministers the first, second, third, sixth, eighth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth, were Americans, and one of them, Rev. Josiah Smith, a Carolinian. The other seven were Europeans. Till the year 1730 the church was indiscriminately called Presbyterian Independent, or Congregational. After the separation which then took place between them and the Presbyterians it retained the appropriate name of Independent or Congregational Church, and was in common conversation sometimes called the New England Meeting, but oftener the White Meeting.

† This church was formed as early as the year 1696. It is the oldest without the limits of Charlestown. Its founders migrated in a body, with their minister the Rev. Joseph Lord, from Dorchester, in Massachusetts, and settled compactly together in a place to which they gave the name of their former abode. In 1752 they made a second migration to Medway, in Georgia, with their minister, the Rev. Joseph Osgood, who was so much beloved by his people. and had such influence over them, that on his recommendation they went off in a body. Their original church in Carolina lay in a ruined condition till 1794, when it was rebuilt and re-organized.

ple. They had been indefatigable in their labors, preaching abundantly* in the most remote settlements and where there had been no previous means of religious instructions. Their mode of performing divine service is calculated to keep up a high degree of fervor in the minds of their followers. Well knowing that all men have hearts to feel, though few have heads to reason, their address is for the most part to the passions and excites more of feeling than of reasoning. Their preachers, laboring under strong impressions, are very successful in communicating them to the breasts of their hearers. By a circulating mode of preaching they guard against that apathy and languor which is apt to result from long habits. New preachers successively addressing new congregations are roused to new and extraordinary exertions. Sympathetic feelings spread from one to the other; and frequently whole congregations are melted into tears, or transported with ecstacy breaking out in loud exclamations.†

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* Traveling Methodist preachers generally preach on six days of each week to six different congregations. No weather, however severe, prevents their punctual attendance agreeably to appointment. For this extraordinary labor they receive from the common fund only eighty dollars a year in addition to their traveling expenses. The interior economy of their connection is admirable, and shows the energetic mind of John Wesley. It is well calculated to secure the performance of much clerical duty at a very little expense, and is therefore peculiarly suited to the poor. Their society in South Carolina is divided into twelve circuits and stations; in which there are twenty-six traveling preachers who continue to ride daily, Monday excepted, two or three in each circuit, so that they preach one hundred and fifty-six sermons weekly, or eight thousand one hundred and twelve sermons in the year, besides attending night and other casual meetings. They commonly ride around a circuit in five or six weeks. Exclusive of the twenty-six traveling preachers there are in the State of South Carolina, about ninety-three local preachers, generally married men, who labor all the week and preach at an average each two sermons in each week, or nine thousand six hundred and seventy-two in one year. Thus there are annually preached by the Methodists seventeen thousand seven hundred and eighty-four sermons for $2,080; as the local preachers receive no salary or compensation for their labors. They have in South Carolina about two hundred churches or stations for preaching, which are constructed in so plain a style as to cost on an average about one hundred and thirty-five dollars each, or 27,000 for the whole. There are four Methodist churches in Charlestown; two of which are not in connection with the others. One of these (Trinity Church) is under the pastoral care of the Reverend Mr. Munds of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the other is vacant. The two which are in connection have their ministers changed according to the established routine. To these two belong forty heads of families, or about one hundred and seventy white persons, and fifteen hundred and twenty persons of color. The Methodists have abundantly more success in the woods, the swamps, the pine barrens, and all new and dispersed settlements than in populous cities where there are competent resident clergymen.

†Camp meetings which began in Kentucky, and parts adjacent, found their way into South Carolina about the year 1800. These were held in different places and different seasons, but oftenest in the autumn. They were attended by several thousands, many of whom came from considerable distances; and they usually kept together on the same ground from the Thursday of one week till the Tuesday of the next. The holy sacrament was always administered on the intervening Sunday, and to persons of different sects; who, forgetting all differences on minor subjects, chose to commune together. The bagging provided for the envelopment of their cotton was easily formed into tents for their temporary lodging. Huts made in a few hours and covered wagons answered the same purpose. The

To presume that nothing improper has ever occurred in their frequent, numerous and unseasonable meetings, would be contrary to the ordinary course of things; but that great good has resulted from the labors of the Methodists is evident to all who are acquainted with the state of the country before and since they commenced their evangelisms in Carolina. Drunkards have become sober and orderly—bruisers, bullies, and blackguards, meek, inoffensive and peaceable—profane

farmers brought their families, provisions, and bedding, in wagons from their respective homes. They took their station where wood and water were of easy attainment, and in general fared well. From their stores they hospitably entertained strangers who came as visitors. Two, three, or four tents or stands for preaching were erected at such distances that divine service could be performed in each of them at the same time without any interference. From five to twelve or fifteen ministers of different denominations attended and with short intervals for refreshment and repose, kept up in different places a constant succession of religious exercises by night as well as by day. Besides the performance of divine service by the ministers in their respective tents, there were frequently subdivisions of the people at convenient distances, where praying, exhorting, and singing of psalms, was carried on by lay persons, and the whole so managed that they did not disturb each other. The auditors whose motive was curiosity, freely passed from one scene to another, and could in the space of a few minutes and the circuit of a few acres indulge their taste for variety. Others were more stationary and hung on the lips of their favorite preachers. Among these it was not at all uncommon for individuals, in consequence of something said in the sermon or prayers, to be seized all at once with the most dreadful apprehensions concerning the state of their souls, insomuch that many of them could not abstain from crying out in the most public manner, bewailing their lost and undone condition by nature, calling themselves "enemies to God and despisers of precious Christ;" declaring, "that they were unworthy to live on the face of the earth:" but the universal cry was "what shall we do to be saved?" The agony under which they labored was expressed not only by words, but also by violent agitations of the body, by clapping their hands, and beating their breasts—by shaking and trembling—by faintings and convulsions—and they remained sobbing, weeping, and often crying aloud till the service was over. Some who were subjects of these exercises did not consider themselves as converted persons, but most were supposed by themselves and others to have been converted in a few days, and sometimes in a few hours. In the latter case. they were raised up all at once from the lowest depth of sorrow and distress, to the highest pitch of joy and happiness; crying out with triumph and exultation "that they had overcome the wicked one, that they had gotten hold of Christ, and would never let him go." Under these delightful impressions some began to pray and exhort publicly, and others desired the congregation to join with them in singing a particular psalm. Many of the subjects of the preceding exercises while under their operation had no appetite for food nor inclination to sleep.

To what cause this memorable work ought to be ascribed, was a question which occasioned much debate and great diversity of opinion. Some ascribed it to the real efficacy of the doctrines of Christ and to the power of God which accompanied them: others to the influence of the devil, and many to the influence of fear and hope, of sympathy and example aided by peculiar circumstances. Many serious persons advocated the first opinion. These alleged that the fruits of this extraordinary work in the hearts and lives of men were such as might be expected from divine agency. The lives of the profane were reformed, harmony and peace succeeded strife and contention, families where religion had been disregarded, became temples in which God was daily worshipped. Persons who had been loose livers, formed themselves into societies which met frequently for prayer and religious conversation. With regard to the external effects by which this work manifested itself on the bodies of men, they acknowledged them to be uncommon but not singular. The scriptures furnish instances of similar effects of an awakened conscience, such as St. Paul at his conversion—the jailor at Philippi, and Felix who trembled as St. Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come.

They who ascribed the work to the agency of the devil, were comparatively

swearers, decent in their conversation. In the cause of religion the Methodists are excellent pioneers and prepare the way for permanent moral improvement when the fervor of passion subsides into calm reflection and sober reason. They are particularly suited to the state of society in South Carolina, in which large tracts of poor land afford such a scanty return to its dispersed cultivators as to be incompetent to their own support, and also that of learned stationary clergymen. To multitudes of such persons the methodists have given religious instructions which they never enjoyed before, and among such they have produced a great diminution of

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few and consisted for the most part of profane scoffers at all that was serious, or of bigotted formal christians who denounced everything that did not accord with the religious routine to which they had been accustomed.

That the camp meetings were intended for good, and that they frequently issued in the reformation of several who attended them, was the general opinion of the candid, liberal and virtuous; but these at the same time acknowledged that much of the work, especially its effects on the body, were to be ascribed to the imperfections of agitated human nature—to the influence of strong passions—to the force of sympathy and example aided by peculiar circumstances. These alleged that the bodily agitations might be sufficiently explained by the operation of natural causes. The soul and body, they observed, are so intimately connected that they mutually sympathize with each other, and whatever gives pleasure or pain to the one, gives likewise pleasure or pain to the other. All the passions of the mind, especially those which are of a violent nature, discover themselves by some corresponding outward expression. When an event, whether joyful or sorrowful, is communicated in such an interesting manner as to affect our minds strongly, it will also affect our bodies in proportion. As this is the case with regard to such of men's concerns as are present and temporal, it is reasonable that it should also be the case with regard to such of them as are future and eternal. When they were deeply affected by the preaching of the gospel, their fears alarmed by the dread of everlasting punishment, and their hopes elevated by the assurance of pardon and the prospect of eternal happiness, it was natural that the feelings of their minds should discover themselves both by words and actions. The sermons preached on these occasions were addressed not so much to the understanding of the hearers as to their imaginations and especially to the passions of fear and hope.

The effects of these camp meetings were of a mixed nature. They were doubtless attended for improper purposes by a few licentious persons, and by others with a view of obtaining a handle to ridicule all religion. It is to be regretted that from the imperfection of human nature, truth with a little distortion and high coloring could be made in some respect to answer their purposes especially with those whose principles were unsettled. The free intercourse of so great a number of all ages and sexes under cover of the night and the woods was not without its temptations. It is also to be feared that they gave rise to false notions of religion by laying too much stress on bodily exercises and substituting them in place of moral virtues or inward purity. These were too often considered as evidences of a change of the heart and affections, though they neither proved nor disapproved anything of the kind. After every deduction is made on these several accounts, it must be acknowledged that the good resulting from these camp meetings greatly preponderated over the evil. They roused that indifference to the future destinies of man, which is too common, and gave rise to much serious thoughtfulness on subjects confessedly of the most interesting nature. The circumstances under which these impressions were excited were too violent to last long. Much of the extraordinary fervor which produced camp meetings has abated and they are seldomer held, and when held they are attended by smaller numbers than formerly. They are still kept up by the Methodists, but are deserted by most other denominations. More correct and rational ideas of religion are daily taking place. These influence the understanding more, and the body less than was common about the beginning of the 19th century in Carolina and the southern States, and about the year 1740 in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and at Cambuslang and other places in Scotland.

gross immoralities. Similar zeal and activity have been displayed by the Baptists, and their labors have been followed with correspondent success in civilizing and evangelizing remote and destitute settlements.

Among the numerous emigrants to Carolina there were doubtless at all times several of the Roman Catholic persuasion, but they were not organized into a church till 1791. In that year a number of individuals of that communion, chiefly natives of Ireland, associated together for public worship—chose a vestry, and put themselves under the care of bishop Carrol, of Baltimore. The Reverend Doctor Keating officiated as their minister. The troubles in France and the West Indies soon brought a large accession to their number. Under the auspices of the learned and eloquent Doctor Gallaher they have built, organized and obtained incorporation for a respectable church in Charlestown. The orderly conduct and active co-operation of its members in all measures for the defence and good government of the country, proves that the apologies offered in justification of the restrictions imposed on them by the protestant governments of Europe are without foundation, or do not apply to the state of things in Carolina. The Quakers have a small church in Charlestown, and a considerable one near Bush river; but steady in their opposition to slavery, they are not numerous in a country where the greatest part of its most fertile soil cannot be advantageously cultivated otherwise than by negroes. In consequence of the late unrestrained importation of slaves, many of the Quakers have left Carolina in disgust, and settled in the State of Ohio, where slavery is prohibited. The encouragements given to settlers in Carolina have attracted people not only of different religions, but of different languages. Two of the latter, the French and the Dutch, have been continued in their respective religious societies.

Soon after the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, great numbers of French protestants sought an asylum in Carolina. Most of them settled in the parishes of St. Dennis and St. James, on Santee, and to them in their ecclesiastical capacity were extended the privileges of established churches, with a permission to perform all their public religious exercises in the French language, provided they used Doctor Durel's translation of the book of common prayer. Those of them who settled in Charlestown formed a church about the beginning of the eighteenth century on the plan of the reformed churches in France.* It is rich in lands; but so

* The Lords proprietors in 1701, without consideration, conveyed to trustees for the use of the French Protestants in Charlestown, two lots in King street originally numbered 92 and 93. These were subdivided and leased in the year 1755 for fifty years, and are now valuable. In 1740 their church was burnt down and

many of the descendants of its original founders have joined other churches, that its present members are but few.

The German protestants associated in Charlestown for religious worship about the middle of the eighteenth century. They were at first accommodated with the use of the French church for several years. In the year 1759 they began to build a house of worship for themselves. This was consecrated in 1764 by the name of St. John's church, but was incorporated in 1783 by the name of the Lutheran church of German protestants. All its records prior to 1763 have been lost. Their first minister, the Reverend Mr. Luft, arrived in 1752. His successors were the Reverend Messrs. John George Frederic, John Nicholas Martin, John Severin Haumbaum, Frederic Daser, Christian Streit, John Christopher Faber, Matthew Frederic, Charles Faber; the last of whom is now in office. Of these the only native American was Christian Streit who officiated from 1778 to 1781, and first introduced divine service in the English language so as to have one service in English every second or third Sunday.

Besides their church in Charlestown, the German protestants have a church in Amelia township, two on Saluda river, two on Broad river, one at Beaver creek, and one at Salt Catchers; but with them as with the French, each succeeding generation is less anxious for perpetuating the language of their forefathers, and frequently join themselves to societies in which divine service is constantly performed in English.

The Jews, the oldest religion in the world, enjoy rights in Carolina which have been denied to them for many centuries in the greatest part of Europe. Equally interested in the welfare of the country, they are equally zealous for its defence and good government. They have had a synagogue in Charlestown for more than half a century. Their whole number in South Carolina is about seven hundred.

By the constitution of South Carolina not only all the sects which have been mentioned, but those individuals who keep aloof from all religious societies enjoy equal protection for life, liberty and property. The government is administered on the idea that the constituted authorities have nothing to do with religion; this being an affair between man and his Creator—that the proper business of magistrates is to provide for the

all their records consumed. It was again destroyed in the great fire of 1796, but was afterwards rebuilt in 1799. In consequence of these misfortunes little of their early history is known. As far as can be recollected their ministers were as follows: Rev. Mr. Boisseau in 1712; Rev. Francis Guichard from 1722 to 1753; the Rev. John Peter Tetard from 1753 to 1759; the Rev. Bartholomew Henry Himeli from 1759 to 1773. After an absence of twelve years he was re-elected minister in 1785. Since that period, the Rev. Messrs. Peter Levrier, LaCoste, Boardillon and Detargny have in succession served as ministers of the church: but it is now vacant.

civil order and happiness of the whole community, while individuals and sects have unrestrained liberty to adjust the articles of their belief and their religious concerns in any mode most agreeable to themselves.

The emoluments of the clergy in Carolina may terminate with their services, but always do so with their lives. Even while they live their income is far short of what the same talents, education, and industry generally command in the other learned professions. To compensate for these sacrifices, to provide for the clergy when elderly or disabled, and for their widows and orphans, several societies have been instituted and fostered by the liberality of the people. The eldest is for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina. This was instituted in 1762, and incorporated in 1786. It began with eleven members, all clergymen. Lay members were first admitted in 1770. There are now eight clerical members, and sixty-five of the laity, all of whom pay ten dollars per annum. The society possesses efficient funds to the amount of $26,000, and an annual income of $2,800, which exceeds its present annual expenses. This surplus is laid out in stock, so that the funds and income of the society increase considerably every year.

The next in order is entitled "the Society for the benefit of elderly or disabled Ministers, and of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy of the Independent or Congregational Church in the State of South Carolina." This was established in 1789, and soon after incorporated. It consists of forty-seven members, each of whom pays annually one pound sterling. Of these only three are clergymen. Its capital exceeds $29,000, and its annual income is about $2,000 more than its present annual expenditures. The surplus from time to time is added to the capital, and will soon constitute a respectable sum.

The Presbytery of Charlestown is a corporation for raising a fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of their society. This was constituted in 1790, and possesses a capital of $2,645. These and similar institutions indirectly foster religion and learning, for they take away from the discouragements of a worldly nature, which deter men of forecast from engaging in theological studies or entering on clerical functions.

The methodists manage these matters on a general system, and in a way peculiar to themselves. Their worn-out superannuated and supernumerary ministers, the wives and widows of all ministers, draw a salary from a common fund equal to that of a traveling preacher. The children of all their preach-

ers are each allowed sixteen dollars a year till they are seven years of age, and twenty-four dollars after that period till they are fourteen years old. In this manner their preachers are absolved from distressing anxiety about the future support of their families; for nearly the same provision is made for them after the death of their parents as before.

In addition to these modes, voluntarily adopted by different religious societies in Carolina for the support of the families of deceased clergymen, several of the old churches have funds in lands, negroes, or monies, at interest, which assist in the support of officiating ministers. These institutions are of early origin, and of great utility. By discouraging unnecessary separations they cement the union and preserve the perpetuity of congregations, while they lighten the burdens of supporting preachers. It is to be wished that they were multiplied and carried to an extent sufficient to pay all church expenses. This has been done in Edisto Island, and might be done, with proper exertions, in every district. The present heavy rents on pews might then be done away, and churches made as accessible to the poor as the rich. This policy originated upwards of one hundred years ago, and was found very useful. The revolutionary paper money materially injured the system, but it may now be resumed with increasing advantage; for the future existence of paper money is constitutionally prohibited, and the privileges of incorporation, then unattainable by dissenters, are at present either possessed, or may on application be easily obtained, by every religious society.

Though the different sects in Charlestown have been long separated from each other by distinct religious property, and different modes of worship, yet in one instance there is a communion of all Christians highly honorable to human nature. It often happened that persons, whose daily wants were supplied by their daily labor, departed this life, leaving helpless orphans without any prospect of education, and often without the means of support. Instances of this became so numerous as to require a systematic arrangement for their accommodation. The business was taken up with ardor. By donations of individuals, and appropriations from the city treasury, a spacious building, called the Orphan House, was erected at the close of the eighteenth century, in which about one hundred and thirty orphans are successively fed and clothed. They also receive the rudiments of a plain education. One thing was wanting: no means had been provided for their religious instruction. The bounty of individuals and of the public soon added a church for the performance of divine service for their benefit, and of such of the inhabitants as chose to attend with them. The clergy of all denominations of Christians,

with the consent of their respective congregations, concurred in performing divine service, in a routine fixed by the managers of the institution. Thus a free church was instituted, in which the gospel was preached without expense, not only to the orphans but to all who chose to attend. It is remarkable that in the various services which have been performed by the clergy of different sects of Christians, nothing has been at any time introduced savoring of the peculiarities of sect or party. The truths of the gospel in which all Christians are agreed, and the principles of morality sanctioned by universal consent, have been the only topics brought forward. The astonished hearers, consisting of Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Infidels, found that all religions tended to make men better, and that good men of all denominations substantially meant the same thing. They wondered at the contentions of Christians, for they perceived that they all agreed on matters of the greatest moment, and only differed on subjects of minor importance. From charity in giving, an unexpected transition was made to charity in thinking. When they intended nothing more than to relieve the necessities of the fatherless, they found their minds gradually cleared from that narrowness of thinking, which leads bigots of all descriptions to suppose themselves exclusively right, and all others wrong. Their minds expanded with good will and charity to their fellow-citizens, though differing from them in modes and forms.

These are some of the good consequences which have resulted in Charlestown from the establishment of a charitable institution on a broad basis; and still more extensively over the whole State, from placing all religious denominations on an equal footing, without discrimination or preference.

Though real religion is always the same, yet there is a fashion in its modes varying with times and circumstances, which is worthy of historical notice. For the first thirty-five or forty years after the settlement of South Carolina, there was a constant jarring between the puritans and cavaliers, or the dissenters and high churchmen. The former brought with them from England much of the severity and strictness of their party, the latter an equal proportion of that levity and sprightliness which was fashionable in England after the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors. The former dreaded conformity to the fashionable world, even in matters of indifference, as a great abomination; the latter had an equal horror of hypocrisy, and to avoid the appearance of it went to the opposite extreme.

In the next seventy years in which the Church of England was established, both parties relaxed. The sufferings of dis-

senters under the rigorous establishments of Europe were unknown in Carolina. The moderation of the established church was great—the toleration of the dissenters was complete. Except the patronage from government, and support from the public treasury, the civil rights and privileges of both were nearly equal. The former were too apt to look down with contempt on the latter, as an inferior grade of beings, but abstained from all private acts of injury or oppression. The one gradually abated of their haughtiness, the other of their scrupulosity. Fashion induced several prosperous individuals among the dissenters to join the established church. The American revolution leveled all legal distinctions, diminished prejudices, and brought both into a nearer connection with each other. Marriages between persons of different denominations became more common and excited less wonder. Fashion no longer led exclusively to one church. The name of meeting-house and the ridicule attached to those who frequented them were done away. The difference now is more in name than reality. The peculiarities, formerly characteristic of each, have been so far dropped that there is no longer any other obvious mark of distinction than that which results from their different modes of performing divine service.

Among the Carolinians deism was never common. Its inhabitants at all times generally believed that a Christian church was the best temple of reason. Persons professing arian or socinian doctrines, or that system of religion which has been denominated universalism, are so very few that they form no separate religious societies. The only church in which these doctrines were publicly professed has long been completely extinct. The bulk of the people who make an open profession of any religion are either Baptists, Catholics, Episcopalians, Independents, Methodists, Protestants of the German or French reformed churches, Presbyterians, or Seceders. All these agree in the following doctrines, which have a direct tendency to advance the best interests of society and the peace and happiness of its members.

There is a God and a future state of rewards and punishments.

God is to be publicly worshipped.

The holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God.

The present state of man is a state of sin and misery.

Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world.

There will be a resurrection of the dead, and a general judgment, in which retribution will be made to every individual of the human race according to his works.

But these sects differ in matters respecting church politics,

some preferring the government of one, others that of a few or of the many; by bishops, presbyteries, associations, the whole body of the people, or by vestries, elders, or select portions of them. While all agree that ministers or public teachers of religion are of divine appointment, some contend for a distinction of ranks, and others for a parity among them. The former are subdivided; some considering an uninterrupted succession from the apostles to be necessary—others that ordination derived from John Wesley, or his successors, is as valid as that from St. Paul or any of the Apostles. In addition to these acknowledged legitimate sources of ordination, the other sects contend that three or more ordained ministers are fully competent to the work of ordination, and that all ordained ministers are of equal grade in the church.

All agree that public prayers to the Deity are of divine institution; but some prefer prayers by form, others in an extempore manner.

All agree that baptism is a divine ordinance, and that it may be rightly administered when adults are its subjects and immersion the mode. Others add that it may also be rightly administered when the children of believers are its subjects and sprinkling the mode. Among professors who agree in so many fundamental points embracing the substance of Christianity, and differ only in matters relating to its husk and shell or necessary appendages, there is an ample foundation for a friendly understanding and a liberal exchange of all the kind offices of reciprocal church fellowship; while there is no real cause for treating each other with shyness or cold indifference.

MEDICAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

South Carolina lies between the 32d and 35th degrees of north latitude, and in the same parallel with Cyprus, Candia, Morocco, Barbary, Damascus, Tripoli, Palmyra, Babylon, and other parts of Turkey in Asia, and with parts of Persia, India, and China. In comparing American climates with those of Europe, to bring them on a par with each other, a difference of 12 degrees should be allowed for peculiarities in the American continent. The most remarkable of these is such a predominance of cold as subjects an American, living in north latitude 35 to an equal degree of cold with an European residing

in north latitude 47.* If this opinion is correct we should look for a resemblance of South Carolina, not in the countries which have been mentioned as lying in the same latitude, but in Aix, Rochelle, Montpelier, Lyons, Bordeaux, and other parts of France; in Milan, Turin, Padua, Genoa, Parma, Mantua, and other parts of Italy; in Buda, Benda, Crimea, and other parts of Turkey in Europe; in Circassia, Astracan, and other parts of Russian Tartary, and of Chinese Tartary, which lie between the 44th and 47th degrees of north latitude. It is certain that the points of resemblance are more numerous in the latter than the former case.

The climate of South Carolina is in a medium between that of tropical countries and of cold temperate latitudes. It resembles the former in the degree and duration of its summer heat, and the latter in its variableness. In tropical countries the warmest and coldest days do not in the course of a twelvemonth vary more, from each other, than sixteen degrees of Farenheit's thermometer. There is consequently but little distinction between their summer and winter; but a variation of 83 degrees between the heat and cold of different days of the same year, and of 46 degrees in the different hours of the same day in South Carolina is to be found in its historical records.

Since 1791, the difference between our coolest and warmest summers has ranged between 88 and 93, and the difference between our mildest and coldest winters has ranged on a few particular days from 50 to 17.† Our greatest heat is sometimes less and never much more than what takes place in the same season in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York; but the warm weather in these places does not on an average continue above six weeks, while in Carolina it lasts from three to four months. Our nights are also warmer than theirs. The heat of the days in Charlestown is moderated by two causes, which do not exist in an equal degree to the northward of it. Our situation open and near the sea, almost surrounded by water and not far distant from the torrid zone, gives us a small proportion of the trade winds which, blowing from the southeast, are pleasantly cool. These generally set in about 10 A. M., and continue for the remainder of the day. A second

* If the meteorological observations which have been made at Williamsburg, Cambridge, Quebec, and Hudson's bay, in America, be compared with those which have been made at Algiers, Rome, Poictiers, and Solyskamski, places whose latitudes are nearly equal, it will be found that the European continent is now twelve degrees warmer than that of America.—*Williams' Vermont, p.* 384.

† Farenheit's thermometer is what is every where meant in this publication; and the observations on it therein referred to, unless otherwise specified, were reported to the medical society as taken by Dr. Robert Wilson at his house, the west end of Broad-street, at the hours of 8 in the morning, between 2 and 3 in the afternoon, and at 10 in the evening. The instrument was suspended in an open passage about ten feet from the floor.

reason may be assigned from the almost daily showers of rain which fall in the hottest of our summer months, and are frequently accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and therefore are called thunder showers.

The degree of heat in Charlestown is considerably less than in the interior western country. In the summer of 1808, at Columbia, it was frequently at 96 and 97, and sometimes at 98; while at Charlestown it did not exceed 91.

The number of extreme warm days in Charlestown is seldom above thirty in a year; and it is rare for three of these to follow each other. On the other hand, eight months out of twelve are moderate and pleasant. The number of piercing cold days in winter is more in proportion to our latitude than of those which are distressingly hot in summer: but of these more than three rarely come together. There are on an average in Charlestown about twenty nights, in a twelvemonth, in which the closeness and sultriness of the air forbid in a great measure the refreshment of sound sleep; but this severe weather is for the most part soon terminated by refreshing and cooling showers. April, May, and June, are in common our healthiest months, with the exception of the cholera infantum and bowel diseases among children. August and September are the most sickly; April and May the driest; June, July, and August the wettest; November the pleasantest. Our old people are oftenest carried off in cold weather; the young, the intemperate, and the laboring part of the community, when it is hot. In some years January, and in others February is the coldest month. It is remarkable that when orange trees have been destroyed by frost, it has always been in the month of February. It is also remarkable that oranges, though plentiful forty or fifty years ago, are now raised with difficulty. Once in every eight or ten years a severe winter destroys the trees on which they grow. Of this kind were the winters of 1776, 1779, 1786, and 1796. The transitions from heat to cold have in the same period been great and rapid. Mr. John Champneys has observed on three different occasions the thermometer fall more than fifty degrees in less than fifteen hours. The coldest days on record are December 23d and 24th, 1796. In both of which the thermometer in doctor Wilson's house fell to seventeen. These changes, probably the effect of the country being more opened and cleared, discourage the hope of naturalizing tropical fruits. November and December are the best months in the year for strangers to arrive in Carolina. Such should calculate so as not to make their first appearance either in summer or in the face of it, or in the first months of autumn. The hottest day of the year is sometimes as early as June, sometimes as late as September, but oftenest in July

or August. The hottest hour of the day in Charlestown varies with the weather; it is sometimes as early as ten in the forenoon, but most commonly between two and three in the afternoon.

In the spring when the sun begins to be powerful, a langour and drowsiness is generally felt; respiration is accelerated, and the pulse becomes quicker and softer. Strangers are apt to be alarmed at these feelings and anticipate an increase of them with the increasing heat of the season, but they find themselves agreeably disappointed. The human frame so readily accommodates itself to its situation that the heat of June and July is to most people less distressing* than the comparatively milder weather of April and May. On the the other hand, though September is cooler than the preceding months, it is more sickly and the heat of it more oppressive. Perspiration is diminished and frequently interrupted: hence the system, debilitated by the severe weather of July and August, feels more sensibly and more frequently a sense of lassitude. Besides the coolness of the evenings in September and the heavy dews that then fall, multiply the chances of getting cold. It is on the whole the most disagreeable month in the year.

In winter the mountains near the western boundary of the State are often covered with snow. From thence to the sea shore snow but seldom falls so as to cover the ground except on extraordinary occasions.† The soil is sometimes in like manner bound up with frost. This seldom extends into the ground more than two inches. In shady places it will not thaw for several days; and the waters and ponds at the same time are generally frozen, but seldom more than half an inch thick, and rarely strong enough to give an opportunity for the wholesome exercise of skating. This freezing lasts only for a few days, and the weather breaks up mild and warm so as to render fires unnecessary in the middle of the day. In the winter these changes from heat to cold, and the reverse, fre-

* On the 3d of July, 1806, Doctor Harris suspended a thermometer six feet above the surface, exposed to the full influence of the sun. The mercury rose under these circumstances to 131 degrees, though it stood at 90 within doors. On his placing its bulb in his mouth it fell to 98. As it frequently rises to 90 in the shade, and stands so for some hours, the inhabitants of Charlestown then out of doors exposed to the sun are breathing an atmosphere heated to 131 degrees, or 33 degrees more than the heat of the human body; and it is supported by them without any manifest injury.

† On December 31, 1790, wind N. E. a severe snow storm began in Charlestown which continued for twelve hours. In consequence of which the streets were covered with snow from two to four inches deep. Another took place on the 28th of February, 1792, wind N. W. which continued for several hours, and till it covered the ground five or six inches. Similar snow storms fell in January 1800, and were thrice repeated in twenty-three days, and amounted in the whole to more than ten inches. But these phœnomena are rare.

quently and suddenly take place, and affect the feelings of the inhabitants much more than equal, or even greater degrees of permanent cold in countries where the climate is more steady, and the transitions from heat to cold are more gradual.

In February the weather is particularly variable. It is often rainy. Vegetation commences in warm clear days and inspires hopes of an early spring. Suddenly a northwest wind inducing frost, sometimes blasts and always retards these flattering expectations. In March and April the planting season begins and continues till June.

In July and August the heats increase, and the heavy rains set in attended at times with severe thunder and lightning. September is the principal month of harvest. In it the evenings and mornings are chilly, but the sun is extremely oppressive in the middle of the day. Storms of rain are produced, accompanied sometimes with hurricanes. The leaves of deciduous trees begin to fall, and nature by degrees assume the sober dress of winter. In October the weather is generally mild and clear. About the middle of this month frosts commence and generally terminate in the month of March. On their approach they bring with them a cure for fevers, then usually prevalent. The inhabitants of Charlestown keep fires in their houses from four to six months in the year; but there are some warm days in every one of them in which fires are disagreeable. On the other hand there are some moist cool days in every month of the year, with the exception of July and August, in which fires are not only healthy but pleasant. These, with the addition of June, are the only months which are exempt from frost in all years, and in every part of South Carolina.

Sharp cold weather seldom commences before December, though there are several cold days in November, and the evenings and mornings are generally so. In these months, especially the last, vegetation is checked and continues so for about four weeks. In this manner the annual circle revolves in the varying climate of South Carolina. The last half of December and the first half of January is the dullest period of the whole. If the year was to be regulated with a particular reference to Carolina, it might be said to commence about the middle of January, and to terminate about the middle of December; for the one begins and the other ends its visible natural vegetation.

The hygrometer in Charlestown shows an almost constant humidity in the air. For the last seven years it has not marked in any one year more than 24 dry days; and the average of the whole seven years is less than sixteen dry days for each. The variation of the barometer is inconsiderable. It gener-

ally stands between 30 and 31, but has been as low as 29° 7′ and as high as 31° 8′. The extremes of heat and cold since 1791 have been seventy-six degrees asunder. The subjoined statement* of meterological observations for the year 1802 may serve as a sample of the climate.

The evils that every year take place more or less in the northern States from drinking cold water, are unknown in Charlestown. The water of the wells lies so near the surface of the earth that the difference of its temperature from that of the common air, is not so great as to create danger; unless in very particular circumstances. A solitary case occurred in September, 1791, of a negro fellow who after taking a draught of cold water when very warm, suddenly fainted away and immediately after became insane and continued so for several days; but he afterwards recovered. The medium temperature of the well water in Charlestown is 65°. This is twelve degrees above that of the well-water of Philadelphia.

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* Thunder was distinctly, and in few cases very loudly heard on forty-eight days in the interval between April 7, and November 30. Less rain fell in 1802 than in any of the seven preceding years. The particulars will appear from the following table.

1802.	Days of rain.	Inches.	Tenths.	1802.	Days of rain.	Inches	Tenths.
January,	2	0	4	July,	14	12	1
February,	4	0	8	August,	10	4	9½
March,	2	0	8	September,	5	5	8½
April.	3	2	0	October,	3	0	2
May,	7	3	0	November,	1	2	4
June,	7	3	4	December,	6	3	2
	25	8	24		39	26	27

Though there were only sixty-four days in which an actual fall of rain took place, yet the index of the hygrometer pointed to damp in all degrees from one to one hundred and one, for three hundred and fifty-two days. As far as we can rely on this instrument we must admit that there were only thirteen days of a dry atmosphere in the year 1802; these were, in April 2, May 8, June 1, and November 3. The highest degree of dryness pointed out in these days was fifteen.

The direction of the winds for the year 1802 may be learnt from the following table.

	Winds.	Days.	Winds.	Days.		Winds.	Days.	Winds.	Days.
January,	S. to N. W.	17	N. to S. E.	14	July,	S. to N. W.	21	N. to S. E.	10
February,	"	15	"	13	August,	"	16	"	15
March,	"	20	"	11	September,	"	18	"	12
April,	"	22	"	8	October,	"	8	"	23
May,	"	26	"	5	November.	"	14	"	16
June,	"	18	"	12	December,	"	17	"	11

The latest frost in the spring of 1802 was March the 15th; the earliest in autumn was October 26th, or rather November 1st. The coldest day was February 23d. Thermometer 32. The next coldest day was December 9th, thermometer 33. The greatest and least degrees of heat in each month was as follows :

	Greatest.	Least.		Greatest.	Least.
January,	74	45	July,	87	70
February,	69	32	August.	89	72
March,	74	44	September,	89	60
April,	86	61	October,	81	54
May,	84	66	November,	74	45
June,	86	72	December,	70	33

The following table in which the days are classed, will show the number of warm days in the respective months, in the year 1802, and the degree of heat in each day; but without fractions. The first column states the highest range of

Instead of sudden deaths from cold water in Charlestown, the inhabitants have to lament the same event from the intemperate use of spirituous liquors. The stimulus of ardent

the thermometer in the whole course of the days opposite thereto in the other columns.

JANUARY.						FEBRUARY.						MARCH.						APRIL.					
Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.				
74	29	...	...	...	...	69	11	...	...	...	...	74	30	...	...	...	...	86	26	...	...	...	...
72	28	...	...	...	...	68	8	...	...	...	...	72	10	19	25	30	...	80	4	14	...	...	...
70	27	...	...	...	...	67	3	16	1	...	...	71	18	...	...	...	...	79	3	...	...	...	...
68	3	9	...	...	...	66	21	...	...	...	...	70	17	20	...	...	...	78	30	...	...	...	...
67	16	21	...	...	...	65	4	14	15	...	...	69	3	24	...	...	...	77	2	10	25	...	...
66	4	8	15	30	...	64	9	10	26	...	...	67	9	26	29	...	...	...	7	13	18	...	...
65	2	7	...	...	...	63	12	18	...	...	...	66	1	16	...	...	...	76	22	29	...	...	...
62	14	17	...	...	...	62	7	22	...	...	...	65	13	23	...	...	...	75	9	...	...	...	...
60	15	19	...	...	...	61	13	...	...	...	...	63	2	6	...	...	...	74	1	8	12	19	27
59	18	...	...	...	...	60	1	28	25	...	...	61	28	...	...	...	...	73	...	21	...	6	...
58	11	23	...	...	...	59	27	...	...	...	...	60	15	21	22	...	...	71	...	[illegible]	...	6	...
57	20	6	...	...	...	58	20	2	...	...	...	...	12	5	...	...	...	70	...	17	...	24	...
56	1	22	24	...	...	55	24	...	...	...	...	59	4	...	...	...	...	69	...	23	...	...	...
55	26	13	...	...	...	53	5	6	...	...	...	58	11	...	...	...	...	68	...	11	...	...	...
54	25	12	10	...	...	48	19	...	...	...	...	57	7	...	...	...	...	67	...	16	...	...	...
51	5	31	...	...	...	45	23	...	...	...	...	55	8	27	...	...	...	66	...	5	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54	14	...	...	...	...	65	...	20	...	...	...

MAY.						JUNE.						JULY.						AUGUST.					
Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.				
84	6	...	...	...	...	86	22	23	...	...	...	87	...	9	...	...	...	89	26	...	...	...	...
83	10	...	...	...	...	85	13	14	...	...	...	86	...	8	...	...	...	88	27	...	...	...	...
82	5	...	...	...	...	84	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	18	21	...	87	25	...	...	...	...
81	26	...	...	...	...	83	3	30	...	...	...	85	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
80	11	22	28	...	...	82	11	12	17	...	...	...	...	22	30	...	...	86	29	...	...	...	...
79	25	9	27	...	...	...	20	21	...	...	...	84	4	6	7	19	31	85	2	28	24	...	...
78	12	13	15	21	...	81	10	6	...	...	...	83	20	23	29	...	27	84	30	...	...	...	...
77	24	29	...	...	...	...	2	8	9	15	...	82	1	2	3	5	...	83	1	20	31	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	80	...	...	...	...	...	81	24	16	17	...	...	...	7	8	12	13	17
76	23	30	...	...	...	...	16	25	28	...	...	80	11	26	28	25	...	82	18	21	22	23	..
75	4	31	...	...	...	79	7	18	19	...	...	78	...	15	12	...	...	81	3	9	11	16	...
74	16	19	...	...	...	78	29	...	...	...	...	76	...	14	...	...	...	80	6	19	...	...	...
73	[illegible]	14	20	...	...	77	5	26	27	...	...	72	...	13	...	...	...	79	15	...	...	...	...
72	1	18	3	...	...	76	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78	4	5	14	...	...
71	7	17	...	...	...	74	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	77	10	...	...	...	...
69	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

SEPTEMBER.						OCTOBER.						NOVEMBER.						DECEMBER.					
Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.					Ther.	Days.				
89	14	15	...	...	...	81	16	...	...	...	...	74	26	...	...	...	...	70	27	28	...	...	...
88	7	13	...	...	...	...	13	14	17	...	...	73	24	...	...	...	...	68	23	...	...	...	...
87	11	16	...	...	...	80	...	...	...	...	...	70	16	22	24	...	...	65	5	29	...	...	...
86	2	10	17	...	...	...	22	23	...	...	...	67	7	21	11	30	...	64	21	22	26	...	...
85	4	12	18	19	...	79	15	18	...	...	...	66	10	17	...	...	...	62	14	...	...	...	...
84	1	...	...	...	...	78	9	11	19	...	...	65	19	20	23	15	...	60	16	...	...	...	...
83	20	21	...	...	...	77	[illegible]	12	21	...	...	64	13	12	8	...	...	58	20	24	30	...	...
81	22	...	...	...	...	76	5	...	...	...	...	62	14	...	...	...	...	57	12	4	...	...	...
80	3	8	9	...	...	75	10	7	8	...	...	61	9	29	...	...	...	55	3	...	...	...	...
79	5	...	...	...	...	73	4	...	...	...	...	59	3	18	...	...	...	54	6	1	...	...	...
78	6	...	...	...	...	72	3	...	...	...	...	57	5	6	...	...	...	53	11	25	...	...	...
75	23	...	...	...	...	71	2	20	31	...	...	56	2	27	...	...	...	50	2	31	...	...	...
71	28	...	...	...	...	70	26	27	...	...	...	55	4	...	...	...	...	49	13	...	...	...	...
68	31	...	...	...	...	69	1	...	...	...	...	54	28	...	...	...	...	48	16	19	...	...	...
67	25	26	29	...	...	67	24	30	...	...	...	50	1	...	...	...	...	46	7	...	...	...	...
66	27	...	...	...	...	66	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	10	...	...	...	...
65	24	...	...	...	...	64	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	8	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	63	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	17	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	9	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	18	...	...	...	...

spirits added to that of excessive heat, drives the blood forcibly on the brain and produces fatal consequences.

The east and northeast winds in winter and spring are very injurious to invalids, especially to those who have weak lungs or who are troubled with rheumatic complaints. In these seasons they bring with them that languor for which they are remarkable in other countries; but in summer, by moderating heat they are both pleasant and wholesome. Their worst effects are to produce catarrhal complaints and colds. Winds from the northwest to the southwest, blowing over large tracts of marsh or swamp, are, in summer season, unfriendly to health. The north and northwest winds in winter, are remarkable for their invigorating effects on the human frame. South winds are healthy in summer, but much less so in winter.

Snow is more common and continues longer in proportion as we recede from the sea-shore. The further we proceed westward till we reach the mountains which divide the western from the eastern waters, the weather is colder in the winter and vegetation later in the spring. In the western parts of the State the days are warmer and the nights are cooler than on the sea-coast. While the inhabitants of Charlestown can scarcely bear to be covered in the hours of sleep with a sheet, they who live in the town of Columbia, one hundred and twenty computed miles, but probably about one hundred in a straight line, to the northwest of it, are not incommoded by a blanket: and this difference is greater as we advance more to the west.

The sum total of rain on an average of five years, viz: from 1738 to 1742 as observed by Dr. Lining, was 48.6 inches in the year; and of ten years, viz: from 1750 to 1759, as observed by Dr. Chalmers, was 41.75 inches in the year. The annual average quantity by the observations of the medical society for the last ten years, or from 1797 to 1807 was 49.3 inches. The greatest quantity in any one of these last ten years was 83.4 inches; this was in the year 1799: and the least was 38.6 in the year 1800. The greatest quantity in any one month of these ten years was 12.9 inches; this was in August 1799. In the course of these ten years, four months passed without any rain, and several in each of which it was less than one inch. The number of rainy days in the last five years, or from 1802 to 1807, gives an average of seventy-two rainy days for each.

South Carolina extends about 200 miles on the sea-coast, and about 300 to the west. The southern boundary and a great part of the northern, runs northwest from the Atlantic ocean. As the air grows colder in a western as well as a

northern direction, the climate is far from being uniform. The western districts, from their high and dry situation and contiguity to the mountains, enjoy a dry, elastic, wholesome atmosphere. The middle country partakes of the advantages of the upper country, and the disadvantages of the lower. The latter being intersected by swamps, bays, and low grounds, the waters spread over the face of the country, and in consequence of heat and stagnation produce mephitic exhalations. Thick fogs cover the low lands throughout the night during the summer months. In the western districts from August until frost, thick fogs also cover the grounds at night, but are dissipated by the rays of the sun. Much exposure to these fogs early in the morning is said to occasion intermittents.

In such a situation it is no matter of surprise that fevers prevail in places contiguous to fresh, and especially stagnant water. The heavy rains generally commence in June and July. While they flow, and until their waters by remaining stagnant have putrefied, the health of the lower country is not particularly affected. But when weeds and vegetables are rankest, and putrefaction is excited by the operations of heat and moisture, the atmosphere becomes deleterious. Like effects being produced by the same causes in Georgia and East Florida, winds from these countries in autumn are much charged with mephitic qualities. Hence south-westardly winds increase all summer fevers. These exciting causes of disease lie dormant in the native state of new countries, while they are undisturbed by cultivation; but when the ground is cleared and its surface broken they are put into immediate activity. Hence it has happened that the upper country of South Carolina was more healthy at its first settlement than it was some time after. When the putrescent materials are expended and the original mephitic effluvia are exhausted and cultivation has improved the face of the earth, it again becomes healthy. Very little if any of South Carolina has attained to this state. The upper country is approximating, and the high hills of Santee come nearer to it than any part of the middle or low country. In like manner mill-dams, when first erected and for many years after, are injurious to the health of the vicinity; but when the timber in them is rotted and their poisonous effluvia are dissipated, they become comparatively harmless.

Observations on the climate of South Carolina have not been made sufficiently long to test by satisfactory evidence any considerable changes which have already taken place. Those made by the Medical Society since 1791, compared with those made by Dr. Lining between 1738 and 1742, and with those made by Doctor Lionel Chalmers between 1750

and 1759, seem to prove that the climate in the last seventy years has changed for the better.* The heat of our late summers has abated eight degrees. Whether this is really the case, or to be referred to a difference of instruments or of sit-

* The reader is desired to judge for himself whether he has experienced anything comparable to the account of Charlestown given by Doctors Lining and Chalmers who were eminent physicians and practiced physic for many years in Charlestown. The observations of the former were read before the royal society in May 1748; extracts from them are as follows: "In summer the heat of the shaded air about two or three in the afternoon is frequently between 90 and 95 degrees; and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of June 1738, at 3 P. M. it was 98; a heat equal to the greatest heat of the human body in health." "In June 1738, when the heat of the shaded air was 98, the thermometer sunk one degree in my arm-pits, but continued at 98 in my hand and mouth. Two men who were then in the streets (when the heat was probably 124 or 126 degrees, as the shaded air's heat was then 98) dropped suddenly dead, and several slaves in the country at work in the rice fields shared the same fate. I saw one of the men immediately after he died; his face, neck. breast, and hands were livid." The following extracts are taken from the sixteenth to the twenty-third page of Doctor Chalmers' account of the weather and diseases of South Carolina which was printed in London in 1776, and chiefly refer to a period about the middle of the eighteenth century.

"I cannot convey a better idea of the heat we perceive in passing along the streets at noon in summer, than by comparing it to that glow which strikes one who looks into a pretty warm oven; for it is so increased by reflection from the houses and sandy streets as to raise the mercury sometimes to the 130th division of the thermometer, when the temperature of the shaded air may not exceed the 94th. Solid bodies, more especially metals, absorb so much heat at such times that one cannot lay his hand on them but for a short time without being made very uneasy. Nay, I have seen a beef-steak of the common thickness so deprived of its juices when laid on a cannon for the space of twenty minutes as to be overdone according to the usual way of speaking.

"In order to know what degree of heat my servants were exposed to in the kitchen, I suspended a thermometer to a beam eight feet from the floor, and fifteen from the fire, the windows and doors being all open on both sides of the house so that this was the coolest station in it. But even here the mercury stood at the 115th division, and notwithstanding this seeming distress, the negroes assured me they preferred this sort of weather to the winter's cold.

"By the 13th of July 1752, a general draught prevailed; for the earth was so parched and dry that not the least perspiration appeared on plants, which shrunk and withered. All standing waters were dried up as were many wells and springs, so that travelers could not find water either for themselves or their beasts for a whole day together. In several settlements no water could be found by digging ever so deep, for which reason the inclosures were laid open and the cattle drove out to shift for themselves. But very many of them perished for want both of pasturage and water, as probably did great numbers of those birds that require drink, for none of them were to be seen among us. In short, the distresses of men and beasts at that time are not to be described.

"When the mercury rose to the 97th and 98th degree of the thermometer in the shade, the atmosphere seemed in a glow. At bed time it was not in our power to lie long still, being obliged to turn almost incessantly in order to cool the side we rested on before. Refreshing sleep therefore was a stranger to our eyes, insomuch that people were in a manner worn down with watching, and the excessive heat together. Nor did this restlessness and frequent tossings prevent our being constantly bathed with sweat, though we lay on thin mattrasses spread upon the floor, and had all the windows in our room open. Nay, many people lay abroad on the pavements. So speedy was the putrefaction of dead bodies that they required to be quickly interred. For in the short space of five hours the body of a pretty corpulent woman who died as she was ironing linen, burst the coffin; so violent was the putrefaction. In order therefore to prevent such accidents as well as to guard against the offensive smell of so rapid a putrescence, it was found necessary to wrap dead bodies in sheets that were wrung out of tar, and bind them up tightly with cords.

"During this season a candle was blown out and set in a chimney at ten o'clock at night, the wick of which continued to burn clearly till next morning, and was likely to do so for many hours longer.

uations in which they are kept, must be decided by further experience. It is certain that the climates of old countries have been materially improved by clearing and cultivating the land. We have therefore reason to hope that a meliora-

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"When this violently hot weather began to break up, (about the 21st of July) every shower was accompanied with most dreadful lightning and thunder, by which several persons were killed in different places, besides the damages that were done to buildings and vessels. Among other instances of the alarming effects of lightning this year, the distress of one poor family may be related. The father and one of his sons being ploughing with four horses, they, together with their beasts, were all struck dead by one flash. I have known it to lighten and thunder violently, and with but little intermission, for eight or ten hours together, the clouds being all this while so low that in one afternoon the lightning fell on sixteen different objects in town, among which were nine dwelling-houses, one church, a meeting-house, and five vessels were dismasted in part.

"During the summer of 1752, the mercury often rose above the 90th degree of the Thermometer throughout the months of May, June, July, and August; and for twenty successive days, excepting three in June and July, the temperature of the shaded air varied between the 90th and 101st division, and sometimes it must have been 30 degrees warmer in the open sunshine, to which great numbers of people were daily exposed for many hours. Neither was ever a more healthy season known than this, so long as the weather continued steadily warm and fair. True indeed it is, that those who happened to sicken during these intensely hot months might almost be said to have escaped through the fire when they recovered, which few in truth did who were seized with fevers; and all those died on whom dropsies had made any considerable progress.

"All creatures seem equally affected with man by such intensely hot weather; for horses sweat profusely in the stable, and flag presently when ridden. Dogs seek the shade and lie panting with their tongues lolling out as if they had long pursued the chase. Poultry droop the wing and breathe with open throats in the manner cocks do when much heated in fighting. Crows and other wild fowls do the same, and are so unwilling to move that they will suffer a man to come nearer them than at other times before they fly."

Such was the account given of the weather in Charlestown, by Doctor Chalmers, a gentleman of veracity, of medical and philosophical accuracy in making and recording observations. The business has been taken up and prosecuted ever since the year 1791, by the medical society. In the whole of these 18 years the highest degree of the mercury has been from two degrees to five less than it was in two years of the four observed by Doctor Lining, and from one degree to eight less than it was in five years of the ten observed by Doctor Chalmers. Since 1791, it has reached 93 only on one day.

In 1 year it did not exceed 88. In 4 years it did not exceed 89. In 4 years it did not exceed 90. In 6 years it did not exceed 91. In 2 years it did not exceed 92.

In the 10 years viz., from 1750 to 1759, observed by Doctor Chalmers, it was in no year less than 90, and only in two years as low as 90.

In 1 year it reached to 101. In 2 years it reached, but did not exceed 96. In 2 years do. do. 94. In 2 years do. do. 93. In 1 year do. do. 91.

In the 4 years observed by Doctor Lining, it was 98 in the year 1738, and 95 in 1742. Doctor Chalmers' house, in the alley called by his name, was, doubtless, something warmer than Doctor Wilson's, at the west end of Broad-street. There may have been some variation in the structure or position of the respective thermometers; but the difference in the result is too great to be accounted for from these circumstances. It is possible that the apparent abatement of our summer heat is only accidental, and that the scorchings in 1738, and in or about the year 1752, will return in future years; but it is more probable that the degree of heat in Charlestown is now less than it was 60 or 70 years ago. It may be proved by inferences from facts stated in the Bible, and in the Greek and Roman classics, that the climate of those parts of Asia and Europe with which we are best acquainted have been meliorated to the extent of 15 or 20 degrees within the last 20 or 30 centuries. That an abatement of cold has taken place in the northern States within the two centuries that have passed away since their first settlement can also be satisfactorily ascertained. It remains to be proved by further observations and future experience, whether the labor of man in clearing and cultivating the earth is or is not rewarded by its moderating both heat and cold where they are excessive.

tion of ours will in time take place, and we are not too sanguine in believing that it is already begun.*

George Chalmers, in his political annals of the United Colonies, printed in 1780, page 541, 542, observes that "Charlestown was long unhealthful. From the month of June to October, the courts of justice were commonly shut up. No public business was transacted. Men fled from it as from a pestilence, and orders were given to inquire for situations more friendly to health." This statement is corroborated by tradition from the elder citizens, who inform us that in the time of their fathers the sick were sent from Charlestown to expedite their recovery in the more wholesome air of the country; and that the country was preferred on the score of health as a place of summer residence. This is by no means improbable. The site of Charlestown in its natural state was a slip of land stretching south-eastwardly, between two rivers, and projecting into the harbor formed by their junction and divided into a number of peninsulars by creeks and marshes; indenting it on three sides so as to leave but little unbroken high land in the middle. The first buildings extended along East Bay street, and had a marsh in their whole front. A considerable creek, named Vanderhorst's creek, occupied the foundation of Water street; and passing beyond Meeting street, sent out a branch to the northward nearly to the Presbyterian church. Another creek stretched northwestwardly nearly parallel to East Bay street, from the neighborhood of Macleod's lots, through Longitude lane, and to the north of it. The same kind of low grounds ran up Queen street, then called Dock street, beyond the French church, and through Beresford's alley till it approached Meeting street. The north end of Union street was planted with rice about the middle of the 18th century. Another very large creek occupied the site of the present central market, and extended westwardly beyond Meeting street, which diverged southwardly almost to the Independent church, and northwardly spreading extensively, and then dividing into two branches; running to the northwest and to the northeast so as to cover a large portion of

* When the Romans first invaded Britain, the face of a considerable part of that country resembled what Carolina now is; for it was equally covered with marshes, ponds and stagnant waters: and in like manner shaded with trees. When cultivation has improved Carolina as much as it has done Britain, they will be both equally dry, and if not equally healthy, nearly so. For the excessive cold of the one is as injurious to the human frame, as the excessive heat of the other when unaccompanied with moisture or putrefaction.

Eighteen hundred years have passed away in effecting the change in Britain, and it is not yet fully accomplished; for there are in it even now several marshes, and a considerable quantity of low, moist, unhealthy ground. Judging of the future by the past, three or four hundred years will probably make such a change in the face of Carolina as will be little inferior to what Great Britain has slowly attained in the course of eighteen centuries.

ground. Besides the marsh and these creeks which nearly environed three sides of the improved part of Charlestown, there was another creek a little to the southward of what is now Water street, which stretched westwardly over Church street; and another which ran northwardly up Meeting street, and then extended across westwardly nearly to King street. A creek ran from the west near where Peter Smith's house now stands, and nearly parallel to South Bay till it approached the last mentioned creek, and was divided from it by King street and a slip of land on each side. Six other creeks ran eastwardly from Ashley river, three of which stretched across the peninsular so as to approximate to King street. There were also ponds and low grounds in different parts of the town. One of these extended on the east side of King street almost the whole distance between Broad and Tradd streets. This was granted to the French church in 1701, but being useless in its then state was leased out by them for 50 years. In the course of that period the tenants improved and built upon it. There was also a large body of low grounds at the intersection of Hasell and Meeting streets. The elder inhabitants often mention a large pond where the court house now stands. It is believed that this, though real, was artificial. It is probable that the intrenchments attached to the western fortifications of Charlestown, which extended up and down Meeting street from the vicinity of the Independent church to the vicinity of the Presbyterian church, were dug so deep as to cause a constant large collection of water at that middle part of the lines.* It was the site of Johnson's covered half moon, and of a draw-bridge over which was the chief communication between the town and the country. No prudent engineer would erect such works as these in a pond, though when they were erected in the moist soil of Charlestown they would be very likely to produce one. Whether this was a natural or artificial collection of water, there was enough in other parts of the town to make it unhealthy. Such, with some small alteration was the situation of Charlestown for the first 70 years after its settlement.†

To reduce such a quagmire as a great part of Charlestown originally was, to a firm, high, and dry state, required time, labor, and expense. Much has been done, but much remains for future enterprise.

The pond at the south end of Meeting street was filled up

* Persons now living remember that they have heard the deceased Samuel Prioleau, who was born in or about 1718, say that he had swam in the line of Meeting street, from the west end of the present Water street to the site of the present national Bank.

† This appears from George Hunter's ichnography of that city, published in 1739.

and built upon by Josiah Smith, in the years 1767, 1768, and 1769, at an expense of about £1,200 sterling.

Vanderhorst's creek was turned into a firm, solid land, between the years 1788 and 1792, and obtained the name of Water street.

The creek running under the Governor's bridge was finally obliterated and turned into a market, between the years 1804 and 1807. The extensive marsh land and low ground to the north and west of this creek had been filled up and built upon some years before by John Eberly, Anthony Toomer, and others. The time when the other creeks were converted into solid land and improved, cannot be exactly ascertained. As Charlestown extended, and land became more valuable, industrious enterprising individuals, by draining marshes and filling up creeks, advanced their private interest and contributed to the growing salubrity of the town.

In addition to what has been effected by individuals, for converting marsh into solid land, several incidental causes have contributed to a similar result. Every vault, cellar, and well, that has been dug in Charlestown for 128 years past, brought to the surface a part of a sandy soil, which, when laid on soft low ground, promoted its induration and elevation. Fires, of which there have been many, though destructive of property, have not been without their use. The lime, the mortar, and broken bricks of the burnt houses, were for the most part added to the surface of the ground and corrected its capacity for producing disease. In addition to the dryness of the soil, its elevation was beneficial. To the latter not only every new building, but every inhabitant contributes more or less every day. The offals of a single soap boiler sometimes amount to 500 bushels of ashes in a week. This multiplied by the number of the trade, and by the number of weeks that take place in a century, and by similar deposits from other persons, would contribute materially to the elevation of ground covered with houses and crowded with inhabitants. The projection of wharves into the adjacent rivers, which are filled up with dry materials, changes low unwholesome ground into what is high and healthy. Houses now stand in safety which are carried out so near to the channel of Cooper river, that the ooze, previously obtruded on the senses every ebb tide, is now no longer visible. From these and similar additions to the soil, Charlestown has been constantly, though slowly, becoming higher and dryer. The increase of an inch in fifteen or twenty years would probably be a moderate calculation for the aggregate amount of every addition that is made to it in that period. One foot less in the height of the land, or one foot more in the height of the water in the hurricane of 1752,

would, in the opinion of eye witnesses, have inundated every spot of ground in Charlestown. Under such circumstances the gradual elevation of the surface, increasing with time and population, holds out encouraging prospects to posterity; for the higher and dryer it is the more secure and healthy it will be. In a country whose maladies chiefly arise from heat and moisture, it is a glorious exploit to redeem it from the latter; which, of the two, is the most plentiful source of disease. Every Carolinian who plants a field—builds a house—fills a pond—or drains a bog, deserves well of his country. From the operation of these causes a change for the better has already taken place to a certain extent. With the exception of the more frequent recurrence of the yellow fever, Charlestown is now more healthy than it was thirty or forty years ago. The frequent recurrence of that disease is an exception to the generality of this remark more in appearance than reality. For though it is distressing and fatal to strangers, yet, as they are but a very small part of the whole population, the aggregate mass of disease for several years past, even with that addition, would nevertheless be inferior to what it formerly was. Bilious remitting autumnal fevers, have for some time past evidently decreased. Pleurisies, which were formerly common and dangerous, are now comparatively rare; and so easily cured as often to require no medical aid. The thrush in children, the cholera morbus, iliac passion or dry belly ache, have in a great measure disappeared. April and May used to be the terror of parents; but the diseases which thirty years ago occasioned great mortality among children in the spring, have for several years past been less frequent and less mortal. Consumptions on the other hand have become more common; but this is not chargeable on the climate but results from the state of society, and the growing wealth of the inhabitants, in conjunction with new dresses, manners, and customs. It is also in part to be accounted for from the accidental circumstance that several, every year, die in Carolina of that complaint who had recently arrived with it in its advanced stages from the West India islands or the more northern States. Their unparalleled increase in 1808, is the consequence of the influenza of 1807, and the present fashionable dresses.

In the medical history of Carolina, the improvement of the country is to be viewed only as one cause of the amelioration of its diseases. A more judicious medical treatment of the sick is another. This will appear by a particular review of the history of the small pox from the first settlement of the province.

The years 1700 and 1717 are the dates of the two first attacks of the small pox in Charlestown. In both it proved

fatal to a considerable proportion of the inhabitants. It returned in 1732, but effectual care was taken to prevent its spreading. In the year 1738 it was imported in a Guinea ship, and spread so extensively that there was not a sufficiency of persons in health to attend the sick; and many perished from neglect and want. There was scarcely a house in which there had not been one or more deaths.* Doctor Moybray, Surgeon of a British man-of-war then in the harbor, proposed inoculation; but the physicians opposed it at first. With the exception of Dr. Martini they afterwards came into it. Mr. Philip Prioleau was the first person in Charlestown who submitted to the operation. The success which attended this first experiment encouraged several others to follow the example. The disease soon after abated.

About the beginning of the year 1760, the small pox was discovered in the house of a pilot on White Point—guards were placed round the house, and every precaution taken to prevent the spreading of the disease; but in vain. When the persons first infected at White Point were either dead or well, the house in which they had lain was ordered to be cleansed. In doing this a great smoke was made, which, being carried by an easterly wind, propagated the disease extensively to the westward in the line of the smoke. Inoculation was resolved upon and became general.

When this practice was first introduced, and for several years after, the inoculators loaded their patients with mercury

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* From a manuscript in the hand-writing, and found among the papers of the venerable Thomas Lamboll who died in 1775, the following particulars are collected relative to this disease. "It first attracted public notice in May, 1738. In the next month a fast day was appointed by proclamation. Soon after the disease commenced, a report was circulated that tar water was not only a good preparative for receiving, but a preventive of the small pox. Many barrels of tar were sold and used for that purpose; but the author soon after took the infection and died, and his empiricism died with him.

"By an account dated September 30th, of the same year, it appeared that the whole number of deaths was 411; and the whole number which had taken the small pox was 2,112, of which 833 were whites, and 1,279 blacks. Of the former, 647 took the disease in its natural way, and of them 157 died. Of 188 whites who took the disease by inoculation, nine died. Of the 1,279 blacks who took the disease 1,028 had it in the natural way, and of them 138 died. The remainder 253 were inoculated, and of them seven died."

From these facts as stated by Mr. Lamboll, it appears that of the white persons who took the small pox in the natural way, nearly one in four died; but of such as took it by inoculation, the deaths were only one in twenty. Of the negroes who took the disease in the natural way, nearly one in seven died; but of such as took it by inoculation, the deaths were only one in thirty-six. It is well known that negroes have the small pox as bad, if not worse than white people, where the treatment of both is the same. That they fared better than their owners on this occasion must be referred to their being under less restraint with regard to cold air. In treating the small pox, an excess of care and confinement is much worse than no care or confinement whatever. From the same manuscript it appears that on the 21st of September, an act of assembly passed at Ashley ferry against inoculating for the small pox in Charlestown, or within two miles of it after the 10th of October 1738.

and tortured them with deep crucial incisions in which extraneous substances, impregnated with the variolous matter, were buried. There were then able physicians in Charlestown; but they were so mistaken with regard to the proper method of treating the disease that it was no uncommon practice to nail blankets over the shut windows of closed rooms, to exclude every particle of cool fresh air from their variolous patients whose comfort and safety depended on its free admission. The consequences were fatal. Charlestown was a scene of the deepest affliction. Almost every family was in distress for the loss of some of its members, but so occupied with their attentions to the sick that they could neither indulge the pomp nor the luxury of grief. The deaths from the small pox were nearly eleven-twelfths of the whole mortality in Charlestown. Only eighty-seven died of other diseases, while the deaths from the small pox amounted to nine hundred and forty. Of these only ninety-two died under inoculation. Fifteen hundred persons are said to have been inoculated in one day; and it is certain from the bills of mortality that 848 persons died of the disease who were not inoculated. If we allow that only one in four died, as in the year 1738, the whole number who took the disease in the natural way must have been 3,392. Precision in numbers is not attainable; but enough is known and remembered by several persons still alive to prove that the year 1760 was one of the most melancholy and distressing that ever took place in Charlestown.

In the year 1763 the small-pox returned; but as there were few to have it, and inoculation was generally adopted, its ravages were not extensive. For seventeen years after, the small-pox was seldom or never heard of. During the siege of Charlestown it was introduced, and immediately after the surrender of the town on the 12th of May, 1780, a general inoculation took place. As the cool regimen was then universally adopted, the disease passed over without any considerable loss or inconvenience.

Since the revolution, all the laws which interdicted the introduction and spreading of the small-pox have been repealed. There have been of course some cases of small pox almost every year, but nothing very general or alarming in any one. A small proportion of those who were inoculated died or suffered inconveniences from it; but to nineteen of twenty, it was a trifling disorder. This was a great triumph in favor of suffering humanity, but it was far short of what followed. In the year 1802, vaccination was introduced into Charlestown, within four years after Dr. Jenner had published its efficacy in preventing the small pox, though eighteen years had elapsed between the first inoculation in England for the small pox and

the adoption of that practice in Carolina. This substitute for the small pox was introduced into Charlestown by David Ramsay, who after many trials succeeded in February, 1802, in communicating the disease to his son Nathaniel. From him originally, or remotely, some thousands have received the disease. No case has yet occurred in which a clearly marked case of small pox has followed a clearly marked case of vaccination. Mistakes have been made with respect to both diseases, and the one has in some instances been communicated to persons who had previously received the seed of the other. From these causes, added to the ignorance and carelessness of some vaccinators, the confidence of a few in the Jennerian discovery has been weakened. But that the real vaccine is a preventive of the real small pox is as certain, from the testimony and experience of thousands, as that the inoculated small pox secures against the natural. Thus, in the short space of seventy years, the small pox has been moderated in Carolina from the natural to the artificial. The latter so alleviated by mild treatment, and particularly by the cool regimen, as to become for the most part a trifling disease; and finally an opportunity has been given to avoid the dangers and inconvenience of both, by a safe and easy substitute. The future ravages of the small pox may be fairly put to the account of the carelessness, the ignorance or the prejudices of the people.* Though ordinary fevers, since the improvement of Charlestown, have been less frequent and less dangerous, yet for the last sixteen years the yellow fever has recurred much oftener than in any preceding period. This has not been satisfactorily accounted for. If we refer it to some new state of the air, we virtually ac-

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*The Royal College of Physicans, in London, in obedience to the command of his Britannic majesty, "To inquire into the state of vaccine inoculation in the United Kingdom," made a report on the subject on the 10th of April, 1807, from which the following extracts are taken:

"In the British islands some hundred thousands have been vaccinated. In our possessions in the East Indies upwards of eight hundred thousand, and among the nations of Europe the practice has become general.

"Vaccination appears to be in general perfectly safe; the instances to the contrary being extremely rare. The disease excited by it is slight, and seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupations. It has been communicated with safety to pregnant women, to children during dentition and in their earliest infancy, in all which respects it possesses material advantages over inoculation for the small pox.

"The security derived from vaccination against the small-pox, if not absolutely perfect, is as nearly so as can perhaps be expected from any human discovery; for amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the results of which the college have been made acquainted, the number of alleged failures has been surprisingly small; so much so as to form certainly no reasonable objection to the general adoption of vaccination; for it appears that there are not nearly so many failures in a given number of vaccinated persons as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the small pox.

"The testimonies before the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring that vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the small pox, either natural or inoculated."

knowledge our ignorance. No visible obvious cause can be designated why it should have recurred almost every year of the last fifteen, and not once as an epidemic disease for the forty years which immediately preceded the year 1792.

In the year 1699 or 1700, in addition to the calamities resulting from a desolating fire and a fatal epidemic small pox, a distemper broke out in Charlestown which carried off an incredible number of people, among whom were Chief-Justice Bohun, Samuel Marshal, the Episcopal clergyman, John Ely, the Receiver-General, Edward Rawlins, the Provost-Marshal, and almost one-half of the members of Assembly. Never had the colonies been visited with such general distress and mortality. Some whole families were carried off, and few escaped a share of the public calamities. Almost all were lamenting the loss either of their habitations by the devouring flames, or of friends and relations by this disease or the small pox. Anxiety and distress were visible on every countenance. Many of the survivors seriously thought of abandoning a country on which the judgments of heaven seemed to fall so heavy. Dr. Hewatt, from whom the preceding account is taken, designates this malady by the general appellation of "an infectious distemper." It was generally called the plague by the inhabitants. From tradition, and other circumstances, particularly the cotemporaneous existence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, there is reason to believe that this malady was the yellow fever; and if so, was the first appearance of that disorder in Charlestown, and took place in the nineteenth or twentieth year after it began to be built.

The same author states, "that in 1703 an epidemical distemper raged at Charlestown, which swept off a vast number of inhabitants; and as the town was threatened by the French and Spaniards, the Governor, who called the inhabitants to its assistance, held his head-quarters about half a mile distant from the town, on account of the contagious distemper which then raged therein; not wishing to expose his men to the dangerous infection, unless from necessity." These circumstances make it probable that this was also the yellow fever. If so, this was its second visit, and only three or four years subsequent to the first.

The same author states, "that the summer of 1728 was uncommonly hot in Carolina; that in consequence thereof the face of the earth was entirely parched, the pools of standing water dried up, and the beasts of the field reduced to the greatest distress; and that an infectious and pestilential distemper, commonly called the 'yellow fever,' broke out in town, and swept off multitudes of the inhabitants, both white and black. As the town depended entirely on the country for

fresh provisions, the planters would suffer no person to carry supplies to it, for fear of catching the infection and bringing it to the country. The physicians knew not how to treat the uncommon disorder, which was suddenly caught and proved quickly fatal. The calamity was so general, that few could grant assistance to their distressed neighbors. So many funerals happening every day while so many lay sick, white persons sufficient for burying the dead were scarcely to be found. Though they were often interred on the same day they died, so quick was the putrefaction, so offensive and infectious were the corpses, that even the nearest relations seemed averse from the necessary duty." This is the first direct mention of the yellow fever in the history of Carolina.

From the information of Dr. Prioleau, derived from the manuscripts of his accurate and observing grandfather, the venerable Samuel Prioleau, who died in the year 1792, at the age of seventy-four, it appears "that in the year 1732 the yellow fever began to rage in May, and continued till September or October. In the heighth of the disorder there were from eight to twelve whites buried in a day, besides people of color. The ringing of the bells was forbidden, and little or no business was done. In the year 1739, the yellow fever raged nearly as violently as in the year 1732. It was observed to fall most severely on Europeans. In 1745 and 1748 it returned, but with less violence; however, many young people, mostly Europeans, died of it. It appeared again, in a few cases, in 1753 and 1755, but did not spread. In all these visitations it was generally supposed that the yellow fever was imported, and it was remarked that it never spread in the country, though often carried there by infected persons, who died out of Charlestown, after having caught the disease in it."

For forty-four years after 1748, there was no epidemic attack of this disease, though there were occasionally in different summers a few sporadic cases of it. In the year 1792 a new era of the yellow fever commenced. It raged in Charlestown in that year, and in 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1804, and 1807. The number of deaths from it in these, its worst years, were—

Deaths.—In 1799, 239; in 1800, 184; in 1802, 96; in 1804, 148; in 1807, 162.

It appeared slightly in the years 1803 and 1805. In both years its victims did not exceed 59. In the years 1793, 1798, and 1808, the disease is not mentioned at all, and in the year 1806 it is only mentioned as having occurred in a very few cases, under particular circumstances. In its visitations it extended from July to November, but was most ripe in August and September. With a very few exceptions, chiefly chil-

dren, it exclusively fell on strangers. The unseasoned negroes were not exempt from its ravages, but they escaped oftener than other strangers, and when attacked, had the disease in a slighter degree, and if properly treated were more generally cured. Persons, both black and white, arriving from the West India Islands enjoy similar exemptions from the yellow fever of Charlestown. In the years 1796 and 1799 it raged with its greatest violence, but has since considerably abated both in frequency and violence. This abatement is partly owing to the diminished number of subjects, for strangers have been cautious of residing in or even visiting Charlestown in the warm months. It is also to be in part ascribed to a more judicious treatment of the disease; for physicians now cure a greater proportion of their patients laboring under it, especially when they apply for relief in its first stage, than some years ago, when it was a new disease in the practice of the oldest and most experienced of the faculty.* Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that a real abatement has taken place. Nor is this uncommon; for diseases, like other natural phenomena, come and go. Such has been the history of the yellow fever in Charlestown from its settlement to the present time. Solitary cases originated in the country, but they were few in number and not often repeated.

The laws of Carolina guard against the yellow fever, as an imported contagious disease. The uniform experience of the physicians in Charlestown, since the year 1792, proves that it is neither one nor the other; for in no instance has a physician, nurse, or other attendant on persons laboring under this disease, caught it from them. Several, after taking it in Charlestown, carried it with them and died in the country, yet it never spread nor was communicated to any one who attended on them. In every such case of mortality the disease and the subject of it expired together. The quarantine laws exist in the statute book, and impose useless restrictions on commerce; but the execution of them is so far relaxed as not to be unreasonably inconvenient. The present policy adopted

*The detailed particulars of the yellow fever in Charlestown in the year 1802 may serve as a sample of it in other seasons. The whole number of deaths from that disease in that year was ninety-six. Of these two took place in August, sixty-four in September, and thirty in October. In the whole number there was not a single native of Charlestown, though five of them were born in South, and one in North Carolina; twenty-one were born in England, twenty in the northern States, nineteen in Ireland, eight in Germany, seven in Scotland, five in France, one in Spain, one in Prussia, and one in Madeira. The birth-place of the remaining seven could not be ascertained. There was not a single black and only one mulatto died of this fever in 1802; but they were not equally fortunate in other years. One of the subjects to whom it proved fatal, had resided three years, partly in Charlestown and partly on Sullivan's Island. One had resided two years, two a year and a half, and eighten for eleven or twelve months in Charlestown. The residence of the remainder varied from eight months to six days.

by the City Council, founded on the recommendation of the medical society, proceeds on the idea of enforcing cleanliness in the houses, yards, streets, harbor and shipping, as the best practicable means of guarding against the yellow fever and other diseases incidental to the climate. These are all aggravated by the excess of solar heat. The diminution of that exciting cause of disease would be of great service. From this, if it could be effected in conjunction with cleanliness and a high dry surface of the soil, both of which have been already attained in Charlestown to a considerable degree, a melioration of the health of the inhabitants might be confidently expected. Two remedies for diminishing heat have been proposed. Shading the streets by trees, or projections from the dwelling-houses, so that a person might pass along without exposure to the direct rays of the sun. No one can walk before the National bank without wishing it was practicable to enjoy a similar refreshing shade in every other part of the city. The second proposed remedy is the plentiful introduction of water, so as to give a facility for washing and cooling the streets with an artificial shower whenever wanted. Streets either paved or covered with gravelly materials, which would transmit but not stagnate superincumbent water, and occasionally watered, would probably prevent or at least mitigate diseases, and certainly moderate the distressing heat of summer, and refresh the inhabitants.

Diseases of the throat are common in Carolina. Its variable weather often produces inflammatory affections of that organ. A disease thereof, accompanied with the scarlet fever, or the *scarlatina anginosa*, frequently recurs, but is rarely mortal. An apparently slight affection of the throat, accompanied with a laborious respiration resembling the croup, about the year 1785, proved very destructive to many children, and in a few instances to three or four in one family. It has seldom recurred since that period.

The measles may be reckoned among the epidemic diseases of Carolina. They are sometimes directly and speedily fatal, especially when treated with heating remedies, on the absurd theory of forcing a sweat and expediting their eruption, but oftener lay the foundation for slow wasting consumptions; especially where bleeding and a low regimen has been neglected. The visitations of measles have not been matter of historical record, except in the journals of the Medical Society, from which it appears that they have occurred in 1791, '2, '3, '4, '5, '6, and 1802 and 1803; but no particular mortality is noted as attached to the disease.

Our elder citizens recollect that the measles were not only epidemic, but frequently fatal in the year 1772; especially when they fell on the bowels or lungs. Tradition informs us

that in the years 1747, 1759, 1775, or 1776, they were also common and fatal; principally by the bowel complaints which followed them.

Influenza in like manner, though a serious and frequent epidemic, has seldom been the subject of record.

Many persons remember that the influenza, after traversing the United States in 1789, reached Carolina and spread extensively. It was very fatal on the plantations near the northeastern line of the State, especially to prime full grown negroes. William Alston lost above thirty of that description. The whole mucous membrane, through all its recesses in the sinuses of the os frontis, was most grievously affected. Deafness, loss of taste and smell, for a long period were among its consequences. More have reason to remember the influenza of 1807. Gradually advancing from the northern States, it reached Charlestown early in September.* It spared neither age nor sex, though children oftenest escaped altogether; or if attacked, got through the disease with the least inconvenience. The reverse was the case with aged persons. It soon became so general that in some large families there was not a sufficiency of persons in health to attend on the sick. In a few weeks it is supposed that 14,000 persons, or half the population of Charlestown, had been afflicted with that disease. Of these, forty-five died; thirteen of whom were white persons and thirty-two negroes. The former were generally aged persons. The disease spread on all sides into the country. The mortality in Georgetown and Beaufort was considerably greater than in Charlestown. The disease in many cases was so mild as to preclude the necessity of application to a physician. In dangerous cases, when medical aid was required, bleeding, blistering, emetics, cathartics, and sudorifices were chiefly relied upon.

The influenza in its commencement resembled the yellow-fever with a pain in and over the eyes, and with red streaks over their whites. A sharp acrid serum was discharged from the eyes, and sometimes from the nostrils. In such cases a hoarseness and soreness of the throat was usual. The sense of smelling was sometimes impaired, the hearing was frequently injured, and in a few cases the powers of vision were

* This disease originated in New York in the month of August, and spread from that centre in all directions. It reached Canada in October, and had extended to the western and southwestern States, and even to the Havana in the course of three months. Members of Congress on their way to Washington, where they were summoned to assemble on the 26th of October, while traveling from their respective homes, met the disease in every State. Its progress was so rapid as to outstrip the slow movements of contagion, and must have arisen from some morbid constitution of the air. This is more probable from the circumstance that it was caught at sea by persons approaching the coast of America from distant countries.

diminished. A tightness and stricture across the breast, with a dry cough, was common. The matter expectorated was occasionally tinged with blood. The whole mucous membrane lining the fauces, nostrils, and bronchia, was uncommonly stuffed with phlegm. In the aged the disease assumed the form of a peripneumony; in the young and plethoric, that of a pleurisy. Persons of a consumptive diathesis, or who had been subject to old coughs or diseases of the breast, suffered most and oftenest relapsed. Spittings of blood and other serious precursors of consumption attacked such patients after the disease had in their cases apparently vanished and generally disappeared. An uncommon increase of consumptions followed in the year 1808, which exceeded anything ever before known in Charlestown.

The whooping cough rages more or less almost every year, but its visits have not been generally recorded. The returns of yellow fever, and of small pox in the early period of our history, made such strong impressions on the minds of the people as to form æras in the domestic history of private families. But the whooping cough though an epidemic disease, occasionally fatal, and one which attacks almost every person, yet it has been for the most part soon forgotten. It is nevertheless recorded that in the year 1804 it proved fatal to sixty-four children in Charlestown. It has been remarked that in seasons when Charlestown was healthy, the country was sickly. The reverse has also been noticed. Diseases are most ripe in the city in summer, but in the country in autumn. A constitution of the air prevails in one which is different from that of the other. For three months, July, August, and September, a free intercourse between them is not without danger. They fare best who keep steadily for that period either in the city or the country. These remarks, always true, have been eminently so in 1808; for in that most healthy summer there were few mortal cases of fever which originated in Charlestown, while excursions for a few days to the country in many cases proved fatal. The fevers which in summer and autumn attack the inhabitants of the city in consequence of their going to the country, lie dormant for some time, more or less; for a week, nine or ten days, and in some cases longer. That all danger is past cannot be certainly known in less than twenty-one days after returning to the city.

The diseases of negroes in Carolina differ in several particulars from those of white people. Palsies, apoplexies, and madness dyspepsia, and the whole train of maladies connected with the passions and acts of the mind, are less frequent with the former than the latter. Removed from all anxiety concerning their own support, or that of their

children; incapable of holding property or of advancing themselves, their minds are generally made up to their situation, and they are free from many tormenting passions and corroding cares which prey upon the health and break the hearts of their owners. To colds, fevers, and such complaints as result from a variable climate, they are rather more liable than white people. The dread of losing time and of incurring expense for the recovery of health is no inducement with them to take care of it. All these losses and all cares respecting future events fall on their masters. A respite from labor compensates for the pains of slight indispositions. They are therefore incorrigibly careless, and wantonly expose themselves to the dangers which result from the sudden changes of the weather. Their common intermitting fevers are easily cured, and seldom require more than a smart emetic; but epidemic fevers occasionally break out among them which not unfrequently baffle medical skill. These have no regular periods of returning. They were frequent in the revolutionary war, especially when great numbers of negroes were crowded in small confined spots. The disease had different names and was occasionally called camp, hospital, gaol, putrid, nervous, and malignant fevers. Its supposed causes are filth, impure air, putrid animal and vegetable effluvia, a moist atmosphere, great fatigue, and low scanty diet; but sometimes they break out without any visible known cause, and in both cases prove fatal to numbers of the most valuable negroes in particular neighborhoods or plantations, while the white people generally escape. The treatment of blacks laboring under these novel diseases* puzzled the physicians; for the symptoms were so various in different attacks that the best informed could not always trust former experience, and were sometimes obliged in the first cases to grope their way. These limited epidemics have been so destructive at different times to negro property as to add much to the uncertainty of planters' estates.

Of the diseases which have been reviewed, Carolina has its

* Among the novel diseases of negroes was one which became the subject of remark at the beginning of the revolutionary war, when large bodies of blacks were employed as laborers on the public works. This had the external appearance of dropsy, or universal anasarca, and was accompanied with extreme debility, great thirst, loss of appetite, and in many cases quickly proved mortal. In the cure of it the salt of tobacco was first extensively introduced into practice in Charlestown, and it has ever since maintained a superior rank among the medicines which are prescribed in dropsical complaints.

During the siege of Charlestown in 1780, a fever, answering exactly to the description of the hospital fever, broke out among the negroes employed on the works of the besiegers, which depopulated many of the plantations in the neighborhood of the scene of military operations. After the siege, this disease made its appearance among the negroes confined in prison, and carried off multitudes. Several of these turned yellow before they died. The mortality from it was so great that in one case eighty negroes given by an affectionate father to an only son, were in a few weeks reduced to forty-two.

full proportion. Of others it has less. Gravel and nephritic complaints in general have at all times been comparatively rare. The operation of lithotomy which has been performed seventeen times in Philadelphia by Doctor Bond, sixty times by Doctor John Jones of New York, and two hundred times by Doctor Turner of Connecticut, has been rarely necessary in Carolina. Only three operations can be distinctly and certainly recollected as having been performed on its inhabitants; two by Doctor Turner, and one by Doctor Glover. In each of these three cases the operation succeeded. Consumptions, though they have increased in Charlestown very much within the last ten years, and within the last four years from ninety-two to upwards of two hundred fatal cases in the year, and even more so since the general influenza of 1807, yet are much rarer in Carolina than in more northern climates. The same may be said of rheumatisms. In the statistic accounts of Scotland, the general prevalence of that distressing disease is referred to the severity of their cold weather, to the dampness of their houses uncorrected by large fires, and to a deficiency of fuel. The superabundance of wood, and particularly of light-wood, in the country enables even the poor in Carolina to guard against such complaints as far as they are the effects of cold. The consequences of being enveloped in, and breathing a terebinthinate air are not fully known. There is reason to believe that they are eminently beneficial. It is an old and well authenticated observation that persons, whether white or black, employed in burning tar kilns are always healthy. Miserable will be the lot of the poor, both black and white, in Carolina, when light-wood ceases to be common or to be easily procured. Of the numerous emigrants from colder countries there have been several who, though troubled in the land of their nativity with painful rheumatic affections or threatened with serious diseases of the breast, have found on their settling in Carolina that the first either vanished or were mitigated both in violence and frequency and that the last, if not cured, were rendered stationary.

The rickets, scrophula, scurvy, and diabetes, especially the first, are very uncommon in this State. Children, even slaves, seldom experience the parchings of hunger; especially on plantations where provisions are raised. Their youthful limbs are not crippled by early confinement at sedentary employments. Play is the chief business of most of them till they are sufficiently grown to work in the field or to do something of consequence. Hypochondriasis,* and indeed the whole tribe

* It is probable that the state of mind which leads to self-murder is less common in Carolina than in more northern latitudes; but it is certain from an examination of the records of the Coronor's office in Charlestown that few natives commit that foul crime in comparison with strangers. From this authentic source of informa-

of chronical diseases is less common in this warm climate than in those which are cold. The dangers and difficulties of parturition are also comparatively less. The general character of most diseases in Carolina is acute. Their onset is violent, their progress rapid, their termination speedy, and they require energetic remedies. Short credit is given to juvenile indulgences. The follies of youth and their distressing consequences follow almost immediately in the order of cause and effect. He that wishes to do the great business of life by preparation for futurity, or even to make a prudent and judicious testamentary disposition of his property, would do well to arrange these matters before serious sickness commences; for that is often so rapid as to leave little leisure to attend to anything further than the prescriptions of the physician till reason departs or death closes the scene forever.

Fevers are the proper endemics of Carolina, and occur oftener than any, probably than all other diseases. These are the effects of its warm, moist climate, of its low grounds, and stagnant waters. In their mildest season they assume the type of intermittents; in their next grade they are bilious remittents, and under particular circumstances in their highest grade constitute yellow fever. The efforts of the inhabitants to guard against these diseases merit a place in medical history. Their first plan is said to have been retirement from Charlestown to the country. This may have answered for the first thirty or forty years; for in that period very little of the swamps had been opened, and the high and dry pine lands were the chief spots both of residence and improvement. The increased cultivation of rice, the diffusion of marsh miasmata from the open cultivated low grounds, and the location of settlements near them in process of time turned the balance of health in favor of Charlestown. The wealthy planters who could afford the expenses of a double residence, spent their summers in town and their winters in the country. Within the last sixteen years the frequent recurrence of yellow fever in the crowded metropolis has induced numbers to adopt other plans. The sea islands, particularly Sullivan's and Beaufort, Edding's bay, and the sea-shore, generally has been resorted to as places of healthy retirement during the summer season. With the same views Walterborough, Springfield, Summerville, Pineville, and some other smaller establishments,

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tion it appears that in the first eight years of the 19th century there were twenty-four self-murderers in Charlestown. Of these, only two were born in the State. Six were newly imported Africans, whose situation was peculiar. Nine were from the northern parts of Europe, four from the more northern States of America; only two from France, and one from Jamaica. Migrations from north to south are frequently undertaken with extravagant expectations of great advantages from the change. These often fail and advantage is taken of their failure against the unfortunate for the worst of purposes by the worst of beings.

have suddenly grown into villages. A medical opinion, apparently well founded, has generally prevailed that the endemic diseases of Carolina were not the effect of heat alone, nor exclusively of superabundant moisture; but the result of both, producing and combining with putrefaction. The conclusion followed that health might be enjoyed in any situation exempt from putrefaction and moisture, and at a sufficient distance from the miasmata to which they give birth. Experience had proved that these miasmata seldom extended their effects as far as three miles, even to the leeward of stagnant putrefying materials, and much less on the windward side. Spots of high and dry land covered with pine trees, and at a sufficient distance from ponds, swamps, and other reservoirs of poisonous effluvia, have been diligently sought for; and to them families have retired from their dwelling houses, injudiciously located in the vicinity of the swamps, and there passed the summers sociably with their neighbors allured to the same place with the same views. Advantages neither foreseen nor calculated upon have resulted from these temporary villages. They became the seats of schools and of churches, neither of which were within the convenient grasp of the inhabitants when dispersed over the adjacent country. Experience confirmed the theory which gave birth to these establishments, for their inhabitants have generally escaped the fevers of the season; nor were their planting interests materially injured, for they could make short excursions to their plantations and return without inhaling the seeds of fever. Numbers in this manner parry the diseases of summer at the trifling expense of a slight building in the pine woods. The residents on Sullivan's island enjoy a wholesome air, inferior to none in the world, with the exception of persons laboring under diseases of the breast, many of whom are injured by the tonic qualities of the island air. Enjoyments without alloy are rarely the lot of man. While the inhabitants of that salubrious island revelled in health, and rioted in intellectual and social pleasures, they were surprised with the hurricane of 1804 which brought their lives into serious danger, and from which there was no possibility of escape. Apprehensions of the return of similar scenes have been ever since a source of annual anxiety. The extremity of heat elsewhere which makes the coolness of the island so great a luxury, is the exciting cause of these convulsions of nature which render a residence thereon dangerous. Experience of more than a century has demonstrated that hurricanes are always preceded by extreme hot weather, and generally accompanied with the yellow fever. They occur in the same season, and follow in the train of each other as effect

and cause. In such a case between the dread of pestilence in the city, of common fever in the country, and of an expected hurricane on the island, the inhabitants of the latter are at the close of every warm season in a painful state of anxiety, not knowing what course to pursue, nor what is best to be done.

An opinion generally prevails that South Carolina is unhealthy. This is neither correctly true nor wholly false. A great proportion of the State, especially of the lower country, is for the most part inundated. In it sluggish rivers, stagnant swamps, ponds, and marshes are common; and in or near to them putrefaction is generated. In all these places, and for two or three miles adjacent to them, the seeds of febrile diseases are plentifully sown and from them are disseminated; particularly between the months of June and November. On the other hand, the sea-shore and sea islands are for the most part healthy. The same may be affirmed of the ridges of land between the rivers. These extend from ten to forty or fifty miles. After deducting inland swamps, and two or three miles on the margin of the rivers, and around the ponds and marshes, many thousands of acres of high, dry, and healthy land will remain. As we advance westwardly these deductions lessen. The swamps terminate about 120 miles from the ocean. Beyond them are extensive settlements in which the blessings of health are generally enjoyed, with the exception of the margins of rivers and the vicinity of ponds and mill-dams. This is the case in the districts of Abbeville, Laurens, Spartanburg, York, Union, Newberry, Chester, Lancaster, Fairfield, and eminently so in Pendleton and Greenville. The greatest part of the high hills of Santee, though only seventy or eighty miles in a direct line from the ocean, is also in general, healthy. Such is the medical division of South Carolina as resulting from the natural qualities of the soil. Art has done something and might do much more for the improvement of the country. Every drop of superabounding and at present injurious moisture that is therein, may be turned to some useful account. When suffered to stagnate it is a curse, when properly dispersed it is a blessing. Marshes, low grounds, and ponds may be drained by the industry of man, and their surplus water made to fertilize the adjacent thirsty soil. The removal of obstructions in the rivers and creeks would give motion to much stagnant or sluggish water, and convert moist into dry ground. Inland navigation connected with irrigation might be carried to such an extent as to give an active and important use to much of that water which is now the hot bed of putrefaction. These things have been done in China and may be done in Carolina. Every step that is taken in this

glorious work advances both the health and wealth of the country.

The original settlers of Carolina had no thought that in less than a century Oyster-Point would become a place of commercial importance, and the capital of an independent State stretching from the ocean to the mountains. Had they anticipated half of what has already taken place, ten feet alleys, and streets thirty-three feet wide, would have made no part of their projected seat of government. It would then have been nearly as easy to have made the streets one hundred feet wide as any inferior number. In that case they would have admitted three rows of trees, one at each side, and one in the middle of every street. It would have been easy to have made no lots of less size than half an acre, and by law to have prevented their subdivision. In addition to the inconveniences of a low and moist situation, too many people in Charlestown, in consequence of its niggardly plan, are crowded on too small a space of ground. Close compact cities are the destroyers of the human race. Every family generates a portion of filth, and when they are near to each other, that becomes too great for the health of the citizens. Numbers are every year sacrificed to the avarice of the proprietors of lots. The evils of a crowded population are increased by high and close fences, which are daily increasing, and still more by building houses in contact with each other and without any interstice between. The daily removal of putrescible substances lessens the evils of an impure air, but is inadequate to the purpose intended. The only effectual remedy is fresh running water. This unites cleanliness with coolness. It removes noxious vapors, cools the atmosphere and increases its salubrity by extricating fresh and wholesome air from its own substance. The next best practicable mitigator of heat and corrector of foul air in Charlestown is trees planted in all the streets which can admit them. They are the coolers given to us by nature. In addition to their refreshing shade, they imbibe the poisonous materials which vitiate the air. They fan the earth by the vibratory motion of their leaves. Instead of obstructing the free circulation of the air, they increase a light breeze by creating an under current on the surface of the earth, where it is wanted. Cities built with marble, if destitute of trees and vegetation, would only afford a miserable residence to splendidly wretched inhabitants.

Much of the sickness in the country arises from an injudicious choice of sites for habitation. Health or disease, long life or premature death, hang very much on the choice of a salubrious situation for a house. This should never be on the side of a marsh or within a mile of it; but if this cannot be

avoided, the dwelling should be placed to the windward, which in this State is the south and west; for the unwholesome winds of summer mostly blow from these points. If circumstances make it necessary to live near to or on the north or east side of unwholsome spots, the evil may be mitigated by preserving or planting trees in the intermediate space.

South Carolina since the revolution has been favored with the privilege, seldom enjoyed by any State, of forming a city on medical and philosophical principles for health and comfort without any influence from mercantile convenience or land jobbing avarice. The extension of settlements far to the west loudly demanded on republican principles a removal of the seat of government from the vicinity of the Atlantic ocean. The general principle being resolved upon, no private views could control the sovereign people from establishing their government where they pleased; and wherever they fixed it a town would of course be speedily formed. A high and commanding situation about one hundred and twenty miles from Charlestown, and about three miles from the junction of Broad and Saluda rivers, commonly known by the name of the plane of Taylor's hill, was selected. In many respects this choice was judicious: perhaps a much better could not have been made to the east of the mountains. There was a sufficient elevation to carry off with management all superfluous water. Some of the defects in the original plan of Charlestown were obviated. No lots were to be less than half an acre. The two main streets crossing each other at right angles were to be each 150 feet wide, and none were to be less than sixty. It was unfortunately, but perhaps unavoidably placed on the north and east side of the neighboring rivers and no more than about three miles distant. It is to be regretted that the lots were not by the original terms of sale made indivisible, and their owners restrained from building more than one dwelling house on each—that the plat of the town was not so constituted as to have preserved all the timber between the town and the rivers as a defence against the south west winds, impregnated with the miasmata with which they are usually charged, and that all possibility of erecting mill dams or keeping up ponds of stagnant water was not legally or constitutionally forbidden. These regulations could with ease and propriety have been adopted at first, but cannot now be carried into effect without violating private rights. The place is sufficiently high to have in it no other than running water; and the streets are wide enough to admit without inconvenience, three rows of trees to be planted in each of them. These advantages, with the surrounding woods and vegeta-

tion, especially when drained of every drop of stagnant water, may keep the town healthy till the rising value of its lots paves the way for the destruction of pure air by a crowded population. This is to be apprehended, for the degree of heat therein is greater than in Charlestown, and is unallayed by salutary sea breezes; the refrigerating qualities of the trade winds; the ventilation from the motion of tide, water, and even of the east and northeast winds which seldom penetrate so far from the shores of the Atlantic as sensibly to moderate the heat of summer. The natural advantages of Columbia and its scattered settlements, together with the improved plan of the town, bid fair, under the direction of a well regulated police, to preserve it healthy for several years; but from its greater heat it will be more exposed to diseases than Charlestown when population, compact settlement and consequent filth shall be equal in both.

A medical society for the advancement of the healing art was formed in 1789, and incorporated in 1794. At their monthly meetings they converse on the prevailing diseases; examine and record their meteorological observations, and discuss some medical question or subject. The members are by their rules under obligations to furnish in rotation some original medical paper which, after circulating among the members, is made the subject of conversation and discussion at their next meeting. Of these papers, a few have already been published. Others remain sufficient both in number and importance to make a volume which probably will in time be brought forward to public view. In all cases respecting the medical police of Charlestown application has been made to this society for their advice, and it has been cheerfully given and essentially contributed to form beneficial regulations for preserving the health of the inhabitants. Three institutions emanated from the medical society of great public utility: the Humane society—the Charlestown dispensary, and the Botanic garden. An apparatus for the recovery of persons suffering under suspended animation was purchased by the society, and lodged near the most frequented wharves with directions how to treat the sufferers. The members tendered their medical services when called upon. They also applied to the City Council for their aid, who directed that all articles used, and all assistance rendered should, if required, be paid by the city; and that any retailer of spirituous liquors who refused the use of his house for trying the process of resuscitation should receive no new license for carrying on his business. The second institution, or the Dispensary, was instituted for the medical relief of the poor in their own houses. Most of the physicians and surgeons of the society in rotation gratuitously attend and pre-

scribe for the dispensary patients. These are admitted to the benefit of the institution by tickets from trustees. The City Council appoints the trustees and also the dispensary apothecary. To the latter an annual salary is paid from the city treasury for his medicines and services. Thus medical advice and attendance can be obtained at their own habitations gratuitously by all the indigent inhabitants who apply for it; and the whole expense has hitherto cost the city no more than 1,000 dollars per annum. The young physicians, when admitted members of the medical society, are classed into pairs; and in monthly rotation with the elder members, prescribe for and attend on the dispensary patients. In cases of difficulty, provision is made for consultations with some of the elder physicians appointed for that purpose by the medical society. In addition to the manifold advantages derived to the more indigent inhabitants from this institution, it proves an excellent practical school for the younger physicians, and furnishes a conspicuous opportunity for introducing their industry, talents, and acquirements to public observation.

The Botanic society was formed and incorporated in the year 1805. The Medical society gave to it three hundred dollars, fifty dollars per annum, and a large lot of land which had been generously given to them by Mrs. Savage, now Mrs. Turpin, to be used as a Botanic garden. The inhabitants were invited to join the association, and on their annual payment of any sum between four to ten dollars, at their option, they were entitled to privileges in proportion to their respective subscriptions, and became members of the Botanic society. An annual sum of 1,176 dollars thus obtained from voluntary subscribers, has given activity to the project. The garden was opened in the year 1805, and has been superintended ever since by a committee,chosen partly by the medical society and partly by the other members of the Botanic society. This committee keep in constant employ an experienced practical Botanist, and a few laborers under him. The institution has flourished beyond the most sanguine expectations of its friends. It is now enriched with a considerable number of plants, both indigenous and exotic, arranged according to the Linnean system, and additions are constantly making to it by the citizens and from foreign countries. From the proceeds of a lottery now pending, hopes are entertained that the society will be enabled to enlarge their plan so as to make their garden the repository of every thing useful, new, and curious in the vegetable world. A society of practitioners of physic from several surrounding districts has been lately formed, which now hold their meetings in Union district, under the name of Esculapean society of South Carolina. The duties and exercises

imposed by this society are similar to those imposed by the Medical society of South Carolina. Their funds are intended for the purchase of a Medical library.

For eighty or ninety years after the first settlement of South Carolina, the practice of physic was almost entirely in the hands of Europeans. Among these were several able physicians who possessed an accurate knowledge of the diseases of the country.

The 18th century was more than half elapsed before the Carolinians seriously undertook to educate their sons for the practice of physic, or before any native of America had established himself in South Carolina as a practitioner of medicine. About the year 1760 a few youths were put under the care of respectable physicians in Charlestown who, after spending five or six years in their shops, doing the duties of apprentices, and reading practical medical books, spent three or four seasons at the university of Edinburgh and then came home invested with the merited degrees of Doctors of Medicine. They were well received by their countrymen, and readily established themselves in business. This success encouraged others to follow their example and ever since a medical education has been more common. Anterior to the revolution nothing short of an European education was deemed sufficient to attach the confidence of the public to any medical practitioner; but the growing reputation of the university of Pennsylvania resulting from the splendid talents of its Professors, and the solid attainments of its graduates, has done away this impression. The conveniency of attending medical lectures in a neighborhood city for some time past, and at present, draws three in four of the Charlestown medical students to Philadelphia in preference to Edinburgh at the distance of 3,000 miles and in a climate often too cold for young Carolinians. The study of medicine becomes daily more fashionable, and the first people in the State now educate their sons for physicians.

In addition to the regular practice of medicine, there is much that may be called domestic. The distance of physicians, the expense, difficulty, and delay in procuring their attendance, has compelled many inhabitants of the country to prescribe for their families and sometimes for their neighbors. Wesley's primitive physic, Tissot, Buchan, Ricketson, Ewell, or some plain practical author is to be found in almost all their houses. With the aid of some family medicines, and of some well known vegetable productions, under the guidance of experience they prescribe for the sick and often succeed beyond expectation.

In cases of surgery they are more at a loss; but even here by the aid of common sense and from the pressure of necessity

aiding invention, they sometimes perform wonders. The author of this work in the year 1779, examined the stump of a man living near Orangeburg whose leg, after being horribly mangled, had been successfully amputated several years before by one of his neighbors with a common knife, carpenter's handsaw, and tongs. The last instrument was applied red hot to staunch the bleeding. The stump was far from elegant, but with the help of a wooden leg the patient enjoyed all the advantages which are secured by the most dexterous performance of amputation. There was no sergeon within sixty miles of the sufferer.

Capital planters have their sick house or hospital—their medicine chest—their tooth drawer and bleeder—and often their midwife for family use. The negroes are the chief objects of these establishments. From the simplicity of their disorders, resulting from their plain aliment and modes of life, the benevolent intentions of their owners are often carried into full effect. The pride of science is sometimes humbled on seeing and hearing the many cures that are wrought by these pupils of experience, who, without theory or system, by observation and practice acquire a dexterity in curing common diseases.

In the infancy of Carolina, when European physicians monopolized the practice of physic, there were more experiments made, more observations recorded, and more medical writings ushered into public view by the physicians of Charlestown, than of any other part of the American continent. Dr. John Lining communicated to the Royal Society meteorological observations on the weather of Charlestown for the year 1738, 1739, 1740, and 1742, which were the first ever published. He also favored the public with a series of judicious statistical experiments, perseveringly conducted through the whole of the year 1740.*

Dr. Lining was one of the first experimenters in the novel subject of electricity, on which he corresponded with Dr. Franklin, soon after the discoveries of that celebrated man had astonished the philosophers of both the old and new hemisphere. He also, in the year 1753, published an accurate history of the yellow fever, which was the first that had been given to the public from the American continent.

Dr. Lionel Chalmers made and recorded observations on

* From these it appeared that in the course of one year he had taken in nourishment and drink 42,443 ounces; that in the same time he had discharged by perspiration 19,721 ounces—by urine 21,276 ounces—and by stool 1,428 ounces; and that the weight of his body increased in March, October, November, December, and January; and diminished in April, May, June, July, August, September, and February, and that the diminution was greatest in September, being then 102 ounces.

the weather for ten successive years, that is from 1750 to 1760. The same able physician furnished a particular account of the opisthotonos and tetanus, which was communicated to the Medical Society in London, in the year 1754, and afterwards published in the first volume of their transactions. He also prepared for the press an account of the weather and diseases of South Carolina, which was published in London in 1776; but his most valuable work was an essay on fevers, printed in Charlestown in the year 1767. In this he unfolded the outlines of the modern spasmodic theory of fevers. Hoffman had before glanced at the same principles; but their complete illustration was reserved for Cullen, and laid the foundation of his fame.

Doctor Garden, about the year 1764, gave to the public an account of the virtues of pink root and at the same time gave a botanical description of the plant. This truly scientific physician was much devoted to the study of natural history, and particularly of botany, and made sundry communications* on those subjects to his philosophical friends in Europe.

In compliment to him, the greatest botanist of the age gave the name of Gardenia to one of the most beautiful flowering shrubs in the world.

William Bull was the first native of South Carolina who obtained a degree in medicine. He had been a pupil of Boerhaave, and in the year 1734 defended a thesis "De Colica Pictonum" before the University of Leyden. He is quoted by Van Swieten as his fellow-student, with the title of the learned Dr. Bull.

John Moultrie was the first Carolinian who obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine, from the University of Edinburgh, where, in the year 1749, he defended a thesis "De Febre Flava." Between the years 1768 and 1778 ten more natives obtained the same honor. These were Isaac Chanler, Peter Fayssoux, Thomas Caw, Charles Drayton, Tucker Harris, Robert Peronneau, James Air, George Logan, Zachariah Neufville, and Robert Pringle.

Since the revolutionary war the number of native students has very much increased. Among them are several young men of great hopes. It is no inconsiderable evidence of the

* Of these the following have been published in the transactions of the Royal Society: the *Halesia*, first described by Dr. Garden, as appears by the letter of T. Ellis, Esq., F. R. S., read before the Royal Society, November 20th, 1760. An account of the male and female cochineal insects, in a letter to John Ellis, Esq., read before the Royal Society, December 23, 1762. An account of an amphibious bipes, (the mud inguana, or syren of South Carolina,) communicated in a letter to John Ellis, Esq., read before the Royal Society. An account of two new tortoises communicated in a letter to Thomas Pennant, Esq., and read before the Royal Society, May 2, 1771. An account of the gymnotus electricus in a letter to John Ellis, Esq., read before the Royal Society, February 23, 1775.

increasing prosperity of South Carolina and the progress of medical knowledge therein, that within the last twenty-five years, or since the peace of 1783, many more natives of the State have graduated doctors of medicine than all the Carolinians who had previously obtained that honor from the first settlement of the province. Among them are physicians and surgeons who are equal to the judicious treatment of every disease, and the dexterous performance of every operation in surgery.

Three attempts have been made to regulate the admission of candidates for practicing the healing art in Carolina; but all failed. Clergymen and lawyers, before they are authorized to exercise their respective functions, are examined and licensed by competent judges; but the practice of physic is free to every man or woman who chooses to undertake it.

A summary view of fashions, medical opinions, and practices which have at different periods affected the health of the inhabitants and the practice of medicine in Carolina, shall close this chapter. The cocked hats which were common thirty years ago, exposed the wearers of them to the action of the sun much more than the round, flat, and deep crowned hats, which are now fashionable. The substitution of silk for varnished umbrellas has also been advantageous. The late increased general use of flannel next the skin, by adults, has defended them against the consequences of the sudden changes of the weather. Females, thirty or forty years ago, by the use of tight heavy whalebone stays injured their health, and sometimes obstructed their regular growth. To this succeeded a moderate use of lighter stays which were advantageous to the shape without injury to the health. These gave place to a loose manner of dressing, which though unnecessary to health, destroyed the elegance of their form. Some, by the use of suspenders to their petticoats ran the risk of inducing cancers, by an unequal and constant pressure on their bosoms. This mode of dressing, which obliterated all distinction between the blooming slender virgin and the fruitful wife has been for some time changing in favor of lengthening waists and tighter bracing. The present danger is of their proceeding too far; for such practices, carried to excess, endanger the health of single women; and in the case of married ladies, increase the pangs of parturition and lessen the probability of their terminating in the birth of living, well formed children. The great revolution in favor of the health of females, is the laying aside the old absurd custom of shutting them up from the commencement of pains, introductory to real labor, in close rooms from which air was excluded, and continuing them in this confined state, not only during the pangs of

child-birth, but for many days after their termination. Unreasonable prejudices against cool air were common thirty or forty years ago, and were acted upon to the injury and frequent deaths both of mothers and their infant offspring. The tight swaddling bands applied to the latter hastened the same event. A great reform has taken place; these mischievous practices have been laid aside. Cool air for several years has been freely admitted to the comfort of all parties in the chamber of confinement. The natural activity of infants, and the free expansion of their viscera, is no longer cramped by tight dresses. Most happy consequences have resulted—fewer women are lost—more children survive, and larger families are now raised than was common forty years ago.

The Carolinians are indebted to the late French emigrants for the more frequent use of baths, both hot and cold, and also of the bidet. Long experience in the West India Islands had taught them that such practices, and also a more free use of vegetable aliment, were suitable to warm climates. Cold water as well as cool air were undervalued by the elder inhabitants. The Author of all good has put both within the grasp of all men, with little trouble or expense; but the cheapness of the gift has been the occasion of its being slighted. Its value has lately been appreciated. Experience has proved that water judiciously applied, cold or warm, as circumstances require, cures many diseases and prevents more.

The practice of physic about fifty years ago was regulated in Carolina by the Boerhaavian system, and that of surgery by the writings of Heister and Sharp. Diseases were ascribed to a morbific matter in the blood. Medicines were prescribed to alter its qualities, and to expel from it the cause of the disease. To ensure its discharge through the pores, patients were confined to their beds, and fresh cool air was excluded by close doors and curtains. To hasten its expulsion, much reliance was placed on sudorifics. Neutral mixtures and sweet spirits of nitre were often prescribed with this intention. In cases of danger, recourse was had to saffron, Virginia snakeroot and camphor. In pleurisies and acute rheumatisms the lancet was freely used, but very seldom in other diseases. The medical treatment of most febrile complaints, commenced with purges and vomits; but after their operation the principal reliance was on sweating medicines. The bark was freely administered in intermittents, but there were strong prejudices against it. So many believed that it lay in their bones and disposed them to take cold, that the physicians were obliged to disguise it. Opium was considered as a medicine calculated to compose a cough, or to restrain excessive discharges from the system, but was seldom prescribed in sufficient doses, and

not at all in several cases to which it is now successfully applied. Like the bark, it was the subject of so many prejudices as to make it necessary to conceal or disguise it. It was seldom given without the advice of a physician. At present a phial of laudanum is to be found in almost every family, and it is freely taken, not only without medical advice, but frequently in cases in which no prudent physician would advise it. To the lentor and morbific matter of Boerhaave, which regulated the practice of medicine in Carolina for more than sixty years of the eighteenth century, succeeded the spasmodic system of Cullen. These theories were more at variance than the practice of their respective advocates. The attenuation of the lentor, and the expulsion of the morbid matter in one case, and the resolution of spasmodic strictures in the other, were both attempted in a great measure by the same means; but the followers of Cullen improved on the Boerhaavians by the more free exhibition of antimonial remedies, which are much more powerful than the medicines which had been previously in common use. For several years, emetic tartar was the most fashionable medicine, and by varying its form and dose, it was made to answer a variety of useful medicinal purposes. This has given place to jalap and calomel, which is the present favorite, both in regular and domestic practice. The old remedies, bleeding, blistering, mercury, opium, bark and wine, have been carried to a much greater extent than formerly, and applied to diseases for which they were seldom, if ever, prescribed fifty years ago. The new medicines, digitalis, lead, zinc, arsenic, melia, azederach or pride of India, muriatic acid, nitric acid, some of the gases, and artificial musk, are now common remedies in the hands of the most judicious practitioners, though seldom used and scarcely known to their predecessors. The practice of physic has undergone a revolution in Carolina, as well as the government of the State. This is partly founded in fashion, which extends its empire over more important matters than dress; but has a more solid foundation in a real change of the diseases of the country. Since 1792 these have been, both in degree and frequency, more inflammatory than before that period, and require freer evacuations and more energetic prescriptions.

The improvements in surgery made by Monro, Pott, Hunter, Bell, Desault, Physick, Hey, and others, have all been transplanted into Carolina. The surgery of the early period of its history was far inferior to the present. Diseases of the eyes were then not well understood. Few operations on them were attempted, and fewer succeeded. Fractures are now united, luxations reduced, and amputations performed

with less pain to the patient, with more expedition, and with greater success than fifty years ago. The inhabitants who from misfortunes need the performance of the most difficult and uncommon operations in surgery, are at present under no necessity of seeking foreign operators; for what can be done for them in London or Paris can also be done in Charlestown. The improvements made in midwifery since the days of Smellie, are in like manner well known and practiced in the State. These have been so great that instrumental delivery is now rarely necessary and seldom performed. Deaths from pregnancy and parturition are at present more rare in Charlestown, than when its population did not exceed half its present number. But few years have elapsed since there was any established regular dentist in Carolina. There are now three or four who find employment. The diseases of the teeth are not now more common than in former times; but many of them were at that period frequently suffered to progress unmolested from bad to worse, which are now prevented or cured by the dental art, which was one of the last transplanted into the State. Carolina, by her Lining, Chalmers, and Garden, has increased the stock of medical and philosophical knowledge; but cannot, like Pennsylvania, boast that she has produced a Rush, a Barton, and a Physic, eminently raised up for the advancement of the healing art, and of the auxilliary branches of medical science. Her practitioners, though they have not originated improvements in medicine, deserve well of their country; for they have been ever attentive and among the first to enrich it with the medical discoveries both of the old and new world.

The Medical Society of South Carolina was constituted in the year 1789, and consisted of the following members: Peter Fayssoux, Alexander Baron, Tucker Harris, David Ramsay, Andrew Turnbull, Isaac Chanler, George Logan, George Carter, Robert Wilson, Elisha Poinsett, James Lynah, George Hahnbaum, John Budd, and Thomas Tudor Tucker.

LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA, FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER III.

Ample powers for the government of Carolina were given by the royal charters. These, as far as they were legislative, were to be exercised by the proprietors with the consent of the freemen. Each appears to have had a negative on the other. Anterior to the settlement of the province, the proprietors employed the celebrated John Locke to draught "fundamental constitutions of South Carolina." What was their precise object does not appear. The articles agreed upon were not in the nature of a bill of rights, for they are far short of magna charta, and enumerate few of any consequence and derogate from others. The 101st declares "that no person above seventeen years of age should have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of honor or profit, who is not a member of some church or profession." The 96th declares, "that a Church of England being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the King's dominions, is so also of Carolina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of parliament."* These fundamental constitutions were not of the nature of a constitution, in the American sense of the word, for instead of emanating from the people, they were to be unalterable, though agreed upon before a single white person had settled in the province. The object of most of them is, "the establishment of the interest of the lords proprietors with equality and without confusion," as is stated in the preamble. They were wholly unsuitable and even impracticable for the immediate government of an infant colony. From internal evidence they do not appear to be so intended, for they proposed that "there should be eight Supreme Courts," and also "a court in every county," and that "all towns incorporate should be governed by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common councilmen;" nearly three times the number that now preside over the police of Charlestown though 128 years old. They contemplated three orders of nobility; and appointed a court to take care of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, and to regulate fashions, habits,

* In the folio edition of Locke's works these constitutions are printed as part of the same, but a note subjoined to this article disavows its having been drawn up by Mr. Locke. It was also objected to by John Archdale.

badges, games and sports, when as yet there were no commoners. They seemed on the whole to be calculated for a state of society far beyond that to which Carolina has yet attained. They were never accepted by the people, who, adhering to the charter as a constitutional rule, passed such laws in concert with the proprietors as the state of the province required. After twenty-eight years these fundamental constitutions were set aside by the proprietors on the requisition of the people, who in no one instance had acted upon them. The feeble and distracted state of the proprietary government was not, as has been erroneously represented, the effect of the speculative political theories of John Locke, introduced as the Constitution of South Carolina: for neither his fundamental constitutions nor their successive modifications by the proprietors, were at any time the law of the province or the rule of its government. The only part of them which seems to have been perpetuated is the biennial election of members of assembly. The 79th article proposes that all acts of parliament should become null and void at the end of 100 years without a formal repeal. This would have produced both good and evil, but which would have preponderated is questionable. The 70th article declares "that it shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward:" and that no one should be permitted to plead another man's cause, not a relation, "till he took an oath that he had not nor would not receive, directly or indirectly, any money or reward for pleading the cause he was going to plead." The proprietors were always friendly to the fundamental constitutions;* but they could not persuade the people to consent to their establishment. The charter which the assembly preferred as the best security of their rights, was silent on many important points. In supplying its defects on principles of analogy and in every act of legis-

* The proprietors were so desirous of the acceptance of these fundamental constitutions, that they sent out four successive modifications of them to render them more agreeable to the people. The original draughted by John Locke, was dated in 1669—an amended set in 1670—a further amended set in 1681—2. The date of the next amended set is unknown; but that of the last was in 1698. The genuine original 3d set, engrossed on a roll of parchment 18 feet long and 2 wide, is now in possession of Governor Charles Pinckney, and is subscribed in the real hand writing of the proprietors as follows:

"Sir Peter Colleton, Albemarle,
Seth Sothell, Craven,
Bath for Lord Carteret.

I subscribe this fundamental constitution except the 96th paragraph," this is quoted above, and authorizes an estalishment of the Church of England, "and what relates to fighting which for conscience sake I refuse and not otherwise.
John Archdale, for Thomas Archdale."

They who wish to read these much talked of but misrepresented constitutions, will find a copy of them in Mr. Locke's works, and in Dr. Hewat's History of South Carolina. As they were never received nor acted upon by the Carolinians, they were not deemed of sufficient importance to merit republication in this work.

lation, the concurrence of the proprietors and of the freemen of the province was necessary; but frequently this concurrence could not be obtained. In several particulars respecting the executive and judicial departments there was a collision of interests. The charter was construed by both in a manner most favorable to their own wishes. Each endeavored to gain upon the other by extending their respective claims. These dissensions continued to increase till, in conjunction with other more serious grounds of discontent which have been already related, the people by their inherent right to resist oppression threw off the proprietary yoke, and sought and obtained the protection of the crown. The king henceforward was the source of honor and office. Under the reigns of George the first and second, government was in general wisely administered and tended to the happiness both of the mother country and the colony. This agreeable state of things contributed not a little to the extension of settlements far to the westward. An evil resulted from this good, which in its turn produced an improvement in the administration of justice. For the first ninety-nine years of provincial Carolina, Charlestown was the source and centre of all judicial proceeding. No courts were held beyond its limits, and one provost marshal was charged with the service of processes over the whole province. For the first seventy or eighty years, when the population rarely extended beyond an equal number of miles, this was patiently borne; but in the course of the next twenty years it became intolerable. The distance and expense of attending courts in Charlestown were so inconvenient, that people in the back country were induced occasionally to inflict punishments in their own way, and by their own authority, on knaves and villains. Associations were formed under the name of regulators, who enforced justice in a summary way. For the accommodation of the remote settlers, and to remove all apology for these irregular proceedings incompatible with orderly government, an act was passed in 1769 called the Circuit Court Act; by which new District Courts were established at Beaufort, Georgetown, Cheraws, Camden, Orangeburgh and Ninety-Six, now Cambridge. One difficulty stood in the way, the removal of which was necessary before the projected reform could go into operation. The important and lucrative office of provost marshal for the whole province was held by patent from the crown by Richard Cumberland, well known in the literary world for his talents and writings. The proposed Circuit Court Act contemplated the abolition of the office of provost marshal of the province, and the appointment of seven sheriffs; one for Charlestown, and one for each of the six new districts. To reconcile private

right with public convenience, the province paid £5,000 sterling to Mr. Cumberland as a compensation for his resigning the office of provost marshal. The new arrangement soon afterwards went into operation. In the year 1789 these Circuit Courts were made more beneficial and convenient by being invested with complete original and final jurisdiction. In two years more it became necessary to make two additional Circuit Courts. From the rapidly increasing population, these districts were found too large for public convenience. In 1798 they were subdivided into twenty-four; and three years after a part of one of these districts was formed into a separate one, making in the whole twenty-five districts which are sufficiently small to meet the convenience of the people. Their names are:

1. Abbeville. 2. Edgefield. 3. Newbury. 4. Laurens. 5. Pendleton. 6. Greenville. 7. Spartanburg. 8. Union. 9. York. 10. Chester. 11. Lancaster. 12. Fairfield. 13. Kershaw. 14. Chesterfield. 15. Marlborough. 16. Darlington. 17. Sumpter. 18. Marion. 19. Horry. 20. Georgetown. 21. Charleston. 22. Colleton. 23. Beaufort. 24. Barnwell. 25. Orangeburgh.

The multiplication of court districts, proceeded from an honest desire to accommodate the people. The Legislature by successive reforms, each improving on what had been previously done, finally organized in the last years of the 18th century an uniform efficient judiciary system which brought law and justice within a convenient distance of the habitations of all the citizens. To meet the increased labor of attending so many new circuits, provision was made for two additional judges. This new arrangement contemplated six judges for twenty-five districts. To each of these was granted an annual salary of £600 sterling, that they might be enabled to devote themselves to the duties of their office. About thirteen years before the establishment of this enlarged system, an attempt had been made to accommodate the public by the establishment of courts in counties of small dimensions and limited jurisdiction, to be held by such of the inhabitants as were chosen and willing to serve as judges without salaries. This project was introduced and carried through by the talents, address, and perseverance of Henry Pendleton; who had witnessed many of the benefits resulting from the county courts in his native State, Virginia. What had been found beneficial in the oldest State of the Union, did not answer in the junior State of South Carolina, whose sea coast was too thinly peopled to need these courts; and whose back country had been too recently settled to have a sufficient number of men of talents, leisure, weight and respectability, to give dig-

nity to twenty-five or thirty county courts. After an experience of twelve or fifteen years, the whole system was abandoned by its friends; but all the counties were incorporated into the twenty-five districts, and the latter were for the most part substituted in the room of the former; but with this difference, that one of the six State Judges presided in every District Court. The change drew after it considerable expense, but as the benefit was also considerable the people cheerfully paid it. This was the second time a County Court system had failed in South Carolina. It had been introduced in an early period of the colony but imperceptibly, and without any positive repealing law, became obsolete. In politics perhaps than in any other art, the solid ground of experience is to be relied on in preference to the splendid but dazzling visions of theory.

In addition to the Courts of Common Pleas and of Sessions, there have always been in Carolina Courts of Ordinary, of Admiralty, and of Chancery. The two first have been held by proprietary or regal governors or by judges appointed by the proprietors, the King, or the State, in correspondence with the existing state of things. The Court of Chancery was in like manner held by the council of the proprietors, of the King and of the State in succession till the year 1784. In that early period, after the termination of the revolutionary war, the Court of Chancery was new modelled, and three judges were appointed to preside over it. Since the year 1791, when it received some modifications for the more speedy advancement of justice, it has been called the Court of Equity. This Court, in its principles of practice, possesses advantages over the Court of Chancery at Westminster Hall. The mode of compelling the appearance of the defendant in the Court of Equity in South Carolina, and of enforcing its decrees, is more easy and summary than that of the Court of Chancery in England.* The Court of Equity in this State, has also the additional advantage of a *viva voce* examination of witnesses, to which the Court of Chancery in England is a stranger and which is one of the most valuable privileges of the common law. South Carolina in the formation of courts of justice in other particulars, has generally copied after the models of corresponding courts in England; but with this difference, the State considered her courts as the courts of the people in their sovereign capacity, enforcing justice between separate units of one common mass of sovereignty. Since the establishment of the national government in 1789, causes in the

* Besides the usual process against the person, which it has incidentally with the latter Court for enforcing its decrees, a special act of the Legislature has given it power to issue an execution of *fieri facias* against the property of the defendant.

Court of Admiralty, and the appointment of judges for that Court, have been transferred to the United States as appertaining to the general government.

On similar principles, and with similar limitations, the common law of England has been respected by the courts of Carolina ever since the revolution. By Act of Assembly in 1712, it, together with the *habeas corpus* act and other statutes particularly enumerated, were declared to be in force in Carolina. Some of these statutes have become obsolete; others which made offences at common law of a highly penal nature or the subject of capital punishment, have seldom been acted upon. It has been the practice to frame indictments for them as offences at common law, in order to inflict a milder punishment. The rules of descent with respect to real property were, till 1791, the same in Carolina as in England; but in that year the Legislature passed an act to abolish the rights of primogeniture by which they made the estate, real as well as personal of persons dying intestate, distributable much in the same manner as by the English statute of distribution. In general all laws which were unsuitable to the present form of republican government have been altered or new modelled by acts of Assembly; but the common law of England is likely to continne till time and experience have matured a system more suitable to the present order of things.

During the reigns of the first and second Georges, no political disputes of greater importance than the wisdom and policy of augmenting or redeeming paper bills of credit interrupted the harmony between the different branches of the government. The interests of a commercial mother country and an agricultural colony coincided, with little or no clashing; but from an early period in the reign of George the 3d, when a project of American revenue was superadded to a commercial monopoly, there was a constant succession of political controversies between the Governor and Council on one side and the Commons House of Assembly on the other. By the constitution of the royal government, the concurrence of the King's Governor and of the Council appointed to advise him, was as necessary to every legislative act as that of the Commons House of Assembly. The two former being appointed by the crown, were partial to its claims and endeavored to enforce them. The latter being chosen by the people were equally zealous in support of their rights, and originated sundry measures calculated to give union to American measures for opposing the new system of parliamentary taxation. As often as these jarring claims came into contact, the legislative powers of the province were interrupted. The Governor and Council would pass no bills that favored the views of the

popular leaders, or even indirectly seemed to countenance their claims. The Commons House of Assembly, equally firm, would not sanction any measure calculated to favor British claims of taxation or to derogate from American rights. They even went further, for when they could not obtain the passage of a tax act without seeming to yield a right, they declined legislating on any subject whatever. From 1771 to 1775, the four years immediately preceding the American Revolution, there was but one legislative act passed, though ten or twelve was the usual annual average number of new acts, and fifty had been actually passed in the four years that immediaiely preceded this intermission of legislation. A state of things so unnatural requires explication. The Commons House of Assembly claimed the exclusive right of taxing themselves, or of giving or granting their own money as they pleased. To display their right they granted 1,500 pounds to the Bill of Rights Society in England, and put a clause in the tax bill to provide for the same. The Governor and Council would not pass the bill with that clause, and the House would not consent to expunge it. The bill was not passed—no tax was laid—the public debts were unpaid—each branch of the Legislature charged the other as the cause of the confusion and injustice which followed. The Commons House of Assembly, supported by the people, refused to pass any law till the royal servants sanctioned the obnoxious tax bill. The paltry present to the society in England was in itself no object; but the principle that the representatives of the people had an exclusive right to do as they pleased with their own money, was deemed of the greatest importance. The republican spirit of the province, and indeed of all the provinces, was rising. The project of an American revenue, and the debates for and against the constitutionality of that innovation had produced an exquisite sensibility on the rights of the colonies in every patriotic breast. The question was now fairly at issue between the people and the royal servants. The former, with the same spirit that induces their offspring now to submit to a general embargo, chose to be debarred of all the blessings of legislation rather than indirectly yield the smallest tittle of their claims to the exclusive right of disposing of their own money. The revolutionary contest immediately followed, and the question of the right of the Carolinians to make a present of 1,500 pounds of their own money to a society in England was merged in another of still greater consequence; whether they should be conquered rebels or independent freemen.

The thirteen years that intervened between the peace of Paris in 1763 and Declaration of Independence in 1776, were

eventful years in South Carolina. In that period the seeds of the revolution were sown, watered, grew and ripened. The people were made instruments in the hands of Providence to detach the colonies from the parent State, though they neither intended nor wished for any such event. The claim of a British parliament to tax them without their consent, roused them to reflect on their rights and to do something for their security. Every step they took for that purpose was thwarted by the King's Governor and Council. Their concurrence in necessary bills was sometimes withheld, and on other occasions they dissolved the Commons House of Assembly for entering on necessary defensive measures. The royal prerogative which had never been used to the disadvantage of the province by the two first Georges, under a new King and new ministry became a rod of iron to scourge the people for daring to assert their rights and resist meditated oppression. Pleased as the Carolinians had been with the royal government as infinitely preferable to that of the proprietors, they now found its excellency was merely accidental; and that, with a change of Kings and Ministers, it might in a short period pass over from good to bad. The exercise of royal prerogative to keep down the rising spirit of freedom produced a contrary effect, and made the people more determined to be the conservators of their own privileges. While the public mind was gradually alienating from a partiality for royal government, and expanding with more thorough knowledge of the rights of man, the physical force of the country was increasing with unexampled rapidity. By the combined influence of new views of government, and of a vast increase of population in the short space of twelve or thirteen years, the people of South Carolina without any preconcerted plan or design, were prepared with honest views and a respectable force to defend their rights. The year 1763 found them dutiful subjects—1775 left them subjects, but subjects prepared to resist oppression.

Though from the causes that have been mentioned there was but one solitary legislative act passed in Carolina for the five years that immediately preceded the revolution, executive functions were nevertheless, for the greatest part of that period, discharged as before. As the revolution advanced, the executive powers of the royal governor gradually declined, and in September, 1775, finally terminated. At that period Lord William Campbell, the last representative of his Britannic majesty, went on board one of the armed vessels of his royal master and left the province in a state of nature; without any form of government, other than the recommendations of committees, or congresses, appointed without the authority of written law or any definite specification of powers. After re-

maining in this unsettled state for some time it was determined to appoint a committee to prepare a draught of a constitution, or form of government, on the sole authority of the people; though they still acknowledged themselves subjects of the King of Great Britain. In consequence thereof, a temporary constitution was agreed to on the 26th of March, 1776, "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between the two countries should be obtained." The constitution, then adopted, was as exact a copy of the British form of government as the situation of Carolina would permit. A legislative body was constituted of three separate and independent branches; and an executive officer, by the name of President, was elected, with ample powers approaching to royalty. The reconciliation, then expected by some and wished for by more, was not realized. This temporary constitution, in a little more than two years, gave place to a new one, formed on the idea of independence, which, in the meantime, had been declared. The distinction between a constitution and an act of the Legislature was not, at this period, so well understood as it has been since. The Legislature, elected under the constitution of 1776, with the acquiescence of the people, undertook to form a new constitution; and, to give it activity, with the forms, and under the name of an Act of Assembly. This, after being fully discussed, was finally ratified in 1778. The religious rights of the people, on which the preceding constitution was silent, now, for the first time, obtained attention. The establishment of the Church of England, which took place in 1706, had been continued till the revolution. But, growing illumination on the principles of government, and the temper of the times, pointed out the impropriety of continuing under a free constitution that legal pre-eminence of one denomination of Christians over all others, which had been conferred partly for political purposes under a very different system of government. In making a new arrangement on the subject of religion, the distinction between toleration and establishment was retained. To the former all were entitled who acknowledged, "that there was one God—that there was a future state of rewards and punishments—and that God was to be publicly worshipped." To the latter all Christian Protestants were equally entitled, and it was declared "that the Christian Protestant religion was the established religion of the State," and "that all denominations of them should enjoy equal religious and civil privileges;" and "that the societies of the Church of England, then formed, should continue incorporate and hold the property in their possession." To preserve the idea of an established religion, and at the same time to do equal justice to all denominations of Protestants, the public support,

heretofore given to the Church of England, was withdrawn; and the privileges of the establishment, and particularly of incorporation, were held out on easy terms to all Christian Protestants. To accomplish this, an extensive nominal religious establishment was adopted on a plan similar to that suggested by Mr. Locke in the fundamental constitutions of the province. This contemplated to grant on petition the privileges of incorporation and of an established church to any fifteen persons who would associate for public worship, give themselves a name, and subscribe in a book the five following terms of communion: "1st. That there is one eternal GOD, and a future state of rewards and punishments. 2d. That GOD is publicly to be worshipped. 3d. That the Christian religion is the true religion. 4th. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are of divine inspiration, and are the rule of faith and practice. 5th. That it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth." They who had been called dissenters conformed to the new establishment, and readily obtained the privileges of incorporation, and as such were enabled to sue for and hold their property without the intervention of trustees. Thus, all Christian Protestants were put on an equal footing, and in consequence thereof harmony and good will was increased. At that time, there was no church of Roman Catholics in the State, nor of any denomination not comprehended under the general term of Christian Protestants, except that of the Jews.

The whole of this system distinguishing between toleration and establishment—between Christian Protestants and others, was abolished by the constitution of 1790; and religion was placed where it ought to be in a state of perfect freedom, in the following words: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind, provided that the liberty of conscience thereby declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State."

By the constitution of 1778, the title of the executive officer was changed from President to Governor, and he was deprived of his negative on the laws. Instead of a legislative council to be chosen by the representatives from their own body, a second branch of Legislature, denominated a Senate was to be constituted by election of the people. The idea of a Legislature consisting of a single branch, though advocated by some, was generally reprobated.

This constitution carried the people through the revolutionary war, and continued till the year 1790. The chief

difficulty attending it, was its great expense in supporting an enormously large representation. But it was deemed impolitic to lesson it while the war raged.

The State of South Carolina was one of thirteen confederated States whose general interest were managed by a congress of deputies from each. The powers of congress were found inadequate to the good government of the union, when the pressure of war and the cement of common danger was over. A more efficient form of government was called for by the States. South Carolina readily agreed to a proposition from Virginia for digesting such a form of government by a general convention, and appointed Henry Laurens, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler, and Charles Pinckney to represent the State in the same. The four last named attended and assisted in the deliberations of the convention, and concurred in the plan of government recommended by them. The people promptly adopted the present constitution of the United States, which was originally proposed in 1787, by this convention of delegates from the individual States. Since that period the government is complex.

A federal, legislative, executive, and judicial power pervades the State; but is confined to objects of a general nature more within the purview of the United States than of any particular one.

Every power that is necessary to a common national government has been ceded to the United States, but all that is purely domestic in its operation and consequences is reserved and exercised by the State.

This reform of the common bond of union which was adopted by South Carolina in 1788, necessarily involved another. To new model the constitution of the State in conformity to that of the United States, a convention of the people of South Carolina was called in 1790, which formed a constitution adapted to the new order of things. The large representation which, from motives of policy, began and had been continued through the war, was diminished one-half and several other improvements were adopted.

Though the form of government in South Carolina has been materially altered six or seven times,* yet each change has been for the better. In the eighteenth century, while experiments and the reasoning powers of man were improving the

* The government of South Carolina has been one proprietary, two regal, three representative. One by committees and congresses, or conventions of the people; two by the constitution of 1776; three by that of 1778; four by that of 1790. Besides these domestic changes South Carolina, as one of the United States, was successively subject to a congress with advisory powers from 1774 to 1781—to the confederation from 1781 to 1789—to the constitution of the United States from 1789 to the present time.

arts and sciences, the art of government was by no means stationery. South Carolina, as one of the United States and acting her part in the American revolution, has practically enforced the following improvements in the art of government:

1. That all power is derived from the people, and ought to be exercised for their benefit; that they have a right to resist the tyranny and oppression of their rulers and to change their government whenever it is found not to afford that protection to life, liberty, and property, for the security of which it was instituted.

2. That it is the true policy of States to afford equal protection to the civil rights of all individuals and of all sects of religionists without discrimination or preference, and without interference on the part of the State in all matters that relate only to the intercourse between man and his maker.

3. That the ultimate end and object of all laws and government is the happiness of the people; and that therefore no laws should be passed, or taxes or other burdens imposed on them for the benefit of a part of the community, but only such as operate equally and justly on all for the general good.

4. That war shall only be declared or entered upon by the solemn act of the people, whose blood and treasure is to be expended in its prosecution.

Plain and obvious as these principles are to American understandings, yet the government of nations over the greatest part of the world, and for almost the whole period of its existence, has been conducted on different principles and for very different purposes. Burdensome taxes have been levied in all countries on the body of the people to support the pride and luxury of a few. Wars, all of which are wicked, most of them mad, and none of them necessary, have been begun and prosecuted to gratify the passions and follies of rulers without any regard to national happiness. Thousands in every age have been shedding the blood of their fellow-men for trifles in which neither have any interest. Fire and faggot have been extensively used to promote uniformity in articles of faith and unimportant ceremonies of religion. Grievous persecutions have been alternately inflicted on contending sects of religionists as often as they had power in their hands. The rights and interests of millions have been sacrificed to aggrandize a few. All this mischief has been perpetrated under color of law and constitution. A government founded in reason, and the rights of man, and exclusively directed to its proper object, the advancement of human happiness, was first established by common consent in the eighteenth century; and in the woods of America. Its foundation in South Carolina rests on the following principles:

No power is exercised over the people but what has been granted by them with the express view of its being used for the general good.

No laws bind them, nor are any taxes imposed on them, but with the consent of themselves or representatives freely and fairly chosen every second year by a majority of votes.

There are no privileged orders. All are equally subject to the laws; and the vote of any one elector goes as far as that of any other.

"No freeman can be taken or imprisoned or disseized of his freehold liberties, or privileges, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

Religion is so perfectly free that all sects have equal rights and privileges and each individual may join with any, or with none, as he pleases without subjecting himself to any civil inconvenience.

These and similar principles of liberty and equality pervade the Constitution and laws of the State. The first is the work of the people in their sovereign capacity, and prescribes limits to all the departments of government. These departments are three—legislative, executive, and judicial; for it is necessary in regular government that laws be enacted, expounded, and applied, and finally executed. The legislative power is constituted and exercised by forty-five senators and one hundred and twenty-four representatives, who are all chosen by the people, and form two co-ordinate branches of legislature independent of each other. Bills cannot be passed into laws till after they have been read three times on three different days in each house, and are agreed to by both; deliberating apart. Laws thus made are expounded and applied to particular cases by judges elected by the Legislature and commissioned during good behavior who are afterwards independent both of the Legislature and the people. The Governor who is charged with the execution of the laws, and the administration of the government, is elected by the Legislature for the term of two years. The duties required, and the burdens imposed by the laws, are equally binding on the law-makers as on the people. They who are legislators cease to be so in the Senate at the end of four years, and in the House of Representatives at the end of two; and all power reverts to the people till by a new election they invest the men of their choice with authority to act for them. Every precaution is taken to identify the interests of the people, and their rulers. If the electors are not wanting to themselves the laws thus cautiously made, impartially expounded, and liberally executed

by the men of their choice, must be the collected will and wisdom of the people, deliberately pursuing their own happiness as far as is practicable in the imperfect state of human nature. Such, after two revolutions in one century and three attempts to form an efficient constitution, is the result of the efforts of the people of South Carolina for the preservation and advancement of their political interests.

The mode of passing laws varied with the forms of government. During the forty-nine years of proprietary rule, four hundred and ninety-seven acts were passed which have reached us. Of each of these it is declared that they were "enacted by the Palatine and the proprietors of the province by and with the advice and consent of the rest of the members of the General Assembly;" and that they were "read three times and ratified in open assembly." They were severally signed by the Governor for the time being, and by three, four, five, or six of thirty-two gentlemen who were deputies of the proprietors or members of the proprietary council. Their names arranged in the same order as they appear in the printed statutes, are Thomas Smith, Paul Grimball, Richard Conant, Joseph Blake, Stephen Bull, William Smith, William Hawett, Joseph Morton, Thomas Cary, James More, John Beresford, John Wick, Edmund Bellinger, Robert Gibbes, Henry Noble, Thomas Broughton, Nicholas Trott, Benjamin Barons, James Risbee, Charles Burnham, Francis Furberville, Samuel Eveleigh, Thomas Diston, Stephen Gibbes, Charles Hart, Arthur Middleton, Richard Beresford, Ralph Izard, Hugh Butler, George Chicken, Francis Yonge, and Alexander Skeene. There is no evidence that any person signed the laws as the organ of the freemen of the province by the title of Speaker, or by any other title in their behalf as a separate body. It is probable that the laws were passed by all the legislators deliberating together in one and the same apartment. In the fourteen months between the proprietary and regal government, while all power was administered by the sole authority of the people, twenty-nine laws were enacted and said to be so "by James Moore, Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council and representatives of the inhabitants;" yet they were signed only by James Moore declaring his assent to the same.

The period of royal legislation in South Carolina was only 50 years; for no laws were passed by the King's representative for one year after the proprietary government was renounced: nor more than one for five years before the royal government terminated. In this half century from 1721 to 1771, 687 laws were passed. The enacting style was, "by the

Governor, or President of the province of South Carolina, by and with the advice and consent of his majesty's council and the Assembly of the province." The laws were signed by the Speaker of the Assembly first, and then by the Governor or President.

The royal Governors or persons acting as such, with the title of President or Lieutenant-Governor were, 1st. Francis Nicholson from 1721—1725. 2d. Arthur Middleton, 1725—1730. 3d. Robert Johnson, 1730—1735. 4th. Thos. Broughton, 1735—1737. 5th. William Bull, 1737—1743. 6th. James Glen, 1743—1756. 7th. William Henry Littleton, 1756—1760. 8th. William Bull, 1760—1761. 9th. Thomas Boone, 1762—1763. 10th. William Bull, 1763—1766. 11th. Lord Charles Greville Montague, 1766—1769. 12th. William Bull, 1769—1775. 13th. Lord William Campbell, from June 1775 to September 1775.

The Speakers who signed the laws in behalf of the common House of Assembly were, 1st. James Moore, 1721—1725. 2d. Thos. Broughton, 1726—1730. 3d. William Donning, 1731—1732. 4th. Paul Jenys, 1733—1736. 5th. Charles Pinckney, 1736—1740. 6th. William Bull, 1740—1742. 7th. Benjamin Whitaker, 1743. 8th. William Bull, 1744—1746. 9th. Henry Middleton, 1746—1747. 10th. William Bull, 1748. 11th. Andrew Rutledge, 1749—1751. 12th. James Michie, 1752—1755. 13th. Benjamin Smith, 1775—1762. 14th. Rawlins Lowndes, 1764—1765. 15th. Peter Manigault, 1766. It does not appear that any person signed the laws in behalf of the King's Council other than the Governor, or President while acting as Governor.

During the existence of the temporary constitution, there were two Presidents, John Rutledge and Rawlins Lowndes: two Speakers of the legislative Council, G. G. Powell, and Hugh Rutledge: three Speakers of the General Assembly, James Parsons, John Matthews, and Thomas Bee: and one hundred laws passed with the concurrence of three branches of the Legislature in thirty-one months. The number is great but not excessive. This constitution was adopted after a suspension of regular legislative power for five years, and in the midst of an extensive war. To legislate for a country so circumstanced, required the almost constant attention of its new formed legislative bodies.

Between the establishment of the constitution of 1778, and the period of the removal of the seat of government to Columbia in 1790, there were six Governors, John Rutledge, 1779—John Matthews, 1782—Benjamin Guerard, 1783—William Moultrie, 1785—Thomas Pinckney, 1787—Charles Pinckney, 1789—each serving for about two years agreeably to the con-

stitution: and four Presidents of the Senate, Charles Pinckney, 1779—John Lewis Gervais, 1782—John Lloyd, 1783—Daniel DeSaussure, 1789: and six Speakers of the House of Representatives, John Matthews, 1776—Thomas Fair, 1779—Hugh Rutledge, 1782—John Faucherhaud Grimkè, 1785—John Julius Pringle, 1787—and Jacob Read, 1789. In this period of twelve years, 362 laws were passed with the signature of the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, which two houses constituted the Legislature. For two years of this period, legislation was suspended in consequence of the British successors in reducing the capital and over-running the greatest part of the country. After they had evacuated the State, so extensive were its desolations—so puzzling was the line of propriety in legislating between distressed creditors and impoverished debtors—and between those who by temporizing had saved, and others who by steady patriotism had lost their property, that legislation became a delicate and difficult task. From the year 1790, to the present time, a new æra has presented brighter prospects. A new constitution both for the United States, and for this State of South Carolina—a new seat of government—increasing harmony and reviving credit, produced a real melioration of the public affairs and made legislation an easier and a more pleasant duty. From this time to the present there have been Governors Charles Pinckney, 1791; A. Vanderhorst, 1793; William Moultrie, 1795; Edward Rutledge, 1798; John Drayton, 1800; James B. Richardson, 1802; Paul Hamilton, 1804; Charles Pinckney, 1806; and John Drayton, 1808—and six Presidents of the Senate, David Ramsay, 1791; John Ward, 1798; John Gaillard, 1803; Robert Barnwell, 1805; William Smith, 1806; Samuel Warren, 1808—and six Speakers of the House of Representatives, Jacob Read, 1790; Robert Barnwell, 1795; William Johnson, 1798; Theodore Gaillard, 1800; Robert Starke, 1802; William Cotesworth Pinckney, 1804; Joseph Alston, 1805.

In this period of eighteen years, 395 laws have been enacted by both houses, and signed by the President of the one, and the Speaker of the other. In the period of 138 years which have passed away since the settlement of South Carolina, 2,059 laws have been passed. Of these, 1,202 were enacted in the 106 years of the colonial existence of South Carolina, and 857 in the thirty-two years of its freedom and independence. This great comparative increase of laws in the latter period, may in part be accounted for from the pressure of war, the novel state of the country, and the great increase of population; but must be principally referred to the new form of government. If it is not the fault, it is certainly the misfortune

of republics to legislate too much. There being no interfering interest to check the wheels of legislation, the law-makers seldom meet with difficulties in passing laws especially of a private nature. Every petty association that chooses to be incorporated, has little more to do than to petition for that privilege. The sale of any public property; the opening a new road; the establishment of a ferry; the running the division lines between two districts; the altering any trival circumstance in the manner of transacting public business, and a thousand minor objects must all be done by laws expressly made for the purpose. It is a high privilege to be bound by no laws, but such as have been agreed to by common consent; but to obtain that consent for every trifle, must make legislation laborious, and in time enlarge the statute book to an enormous size. Where no proper remedy can be applied, the inconvenience must be patiently borne, but the wisdom of man is certainly equal to the adoption of some general rules or principles that will make the government even of a free State safe and practicable without a growing annual multiplicity of laws.

A Carolinian will abate of his astonishment at the darkness which overshadows the early history of the governments of the old world, when he is told that no law can be found on record in South Carolina, which passed prior to the year 1682, which was twelve years after the first settlement of the province, that the first authority for printing the laws was in 1712, and that there is not any regular record of judicial proceedings prior to 1703, nor any entered in bound books before 1710.

Those who live at a distance, and have been taught to believe that the Carolinians were and are a loose irreligious people, will be surprised to hear that the two oldest acts which have been handed down to us, are the first "for the observation of the Lord's day," and the second "for the suppressing of idle, drunken, or swearing persons;" and that there are several subsequent laws "for the better observance of the Lord's day," and "for punishing blasphemy and profaneness."

They who for many years past have been witnesses of the extension of the buildings and wharves into the waters, which wash three sides of Charlestown, will be satisfied that the present inhabitants have sufficiently retaliated for these early encroachments of the sea on the city, for the prevention of which the Legislature passed several laws from 1694 to 1725, and also built a strong curtain line on its east front. As long ago as 1695, an act was passed for registering births, marriages and burials, in which our fathers were wiser than we are. Charlestown was then so thinly settled, that within three years of the same time, an act was passed for clearing it of under-

wood. Much was done in these early days by judicious laws, to encourage the settlement of the province, and to promote learning and the religious instruction of the people; to preserve peace and regulate trade with the Indians; to open roads, establish ferries, and build bridges; to provide for the defence of the province, for the better ordering of slaves; to establish courts, regulate elections, encourage the raising of the staple commodities of the country, and to promote industry and order among the people.

These and similar subjects pointed out by the infant state of the colony, were attended to by its legislators under the proprietary government. The same have been in like manner steadily pursued since the country was taken under the care of the crown, but on a larger scale. The increasing trade of the province required some new regulations and new officers. Colonial wars with tribes of Indians, called for legislative direction. The extension of settlements required new and more ample arrangements for the convenience of the people and the administration of justice. To these and other subjects connected with the improving state of the country, the legislative powers of the royal province were advantageously directed, till the American revolution unsettled everything. The regular power of making, expounding and enforcing laws, was then for some time suspended, and afterwards extinguished, but was soon revived with increased energy on a system of representative government. The objects of legislation have ever since embraced every attribute of sovereignty; but during the revolutionary war they were chiefly confined to necessary defensive measures and matters of immediate pressing necessity; but no sooner was the war over than full scope was given to the spirit of law-making. Inland navigation, canals, toll-bridges, improvements of internal police, and in the administration of justice, together with a variety of other projects for meliorating the condition of the country, received the warmest patronage of the first General Assemblies which met after the peace of 1783. The State powers of legislation were then in a great measure uncontrolled; but in five or six years they were divided; and some of the most important, and all of a general nature, were transferred to the United States for the common good. The range of State legislation was circumscribed and since the year 1790, has been exclusively directed to matters of a local concern. The powers of the Legislature of the country have increased under every change of government but the last. This limited the sovereignty of the State; but in proportion as its legislative powers in matters of national concern have been curtailed, its real domestic happiness has been advanced. It has become powerful by

relinquishing power, and rich by giving up revenue; for both have been managed more for the interest, not only of South Carolina, but of all the States, than they ever could have been by the individual States, acting without system, and under the influence of divided councils. Before the revolution, Chief Justice Trott compiled the laws up to the year 1734, and Mr. Simpson brought into one view all of them which related to the powers and duties of justices of the peace. Soon after the revolution, Justice Grimkè took up the same business and gave a compilation of the most material laws from the settlement of the province to the year 1789, and also two separate works, one for the information and direction of justices of the peace, and another for similar purposes respecting executors and administrators of the estates of deceased persons. Before these publications of Judge Grimkè, knowledge of the ordinary acts of provincial and State legislation could only be obtained from the public records; for few or no copies of them could be otherwise procured. A work of great importance has been lately commenced and is to be continued; this is reports of adjudged cases, by Justice Bay, containing a judicial exposition of the laws, and an application of their principles to particular cases. These as far as sanctioned by the bench of judges, become established precedents and partake of the nature of law. They gradually diminish the necessity of referring to precedents from foreign countries, and will in time make the determination of our courts wholly American.

The penal code of barbarous antiquity is in a great measure still unreformed; but the mitigation of punishments and the establishment of a penitentiary for the reformation of criminals, are subjects now before the Legislature. The policy of adopting turnpikes, to be supported by a tax on travelers for the improvement of roads, is also in a train of investigation. Hitherto no provision for making or repairing roads has been sanctioned, but the occasional labor of the contiguous inhabitants. This has been found wholly inadequate: but no effectual substitute has yet been agreed upon. With respect to roads and bridges, South Carolina is far behind the northern and eastern States. On these subjects the existing laws require, and it is hoped will soon receive, amendment.

This general view of the laws of South Carolina will be concluded with as particular an enumeration of the gentlemen employed in the judicial department as can now be obtained. There have been chief justices of South Carolina as follows: ——— Bohun, in the seventeenth century; Nicholas Trott, early in the eighteenth; Richard Alleyn, 1719; Robert Wright, 1731; Thomas Dale, 1739; Benjamin Whitaker, 1739; James Greene, 1749; Charles Pinckney, 1752; Peter Leigh, 1753;

James Michie, 1759; William Simpson, 1761; Charles Skinner, 1762; Thomas Knox Gordon, 1771; William Henry Drayton, 1776; John Rutledge, 1791. Since the year 1791 there has been no appointment of a chief justice; the senior judge acting as such.

It does not appear from the records that there were any assistant judges prior to 1736. In the previous infancy of the province, a single chief justice presided over the courts in Charlestown, which were then, and for thirty-three years after, the only ones held in the province. About that time the middle country began to be settled. An increasing population required an increase of judges. Since that year the following gentlemen have been appointed assistant judges:

Thomas Dale, 1736; Robert Austin, 1737; Thomas Lamboll, 1736; Benjamin De La Conseillere, 1737; James Mazyck, 1739; William Bull, Jr., 1739; Robert Young, 1739; Othneil Beale, 1740; John Lining, 1744; John Drayton, 1753; William Simpson, 1760; Robert Pringle, 1760; William Burrows, 1764; Rawlins Lowndes, 1766; Benjamin Smith, 1766; Geo. Gabriel Powell, 1769; John Murray, 1770; Edward Savage, 1771; John Fewtrell, 1771; Charles Matthew Cosslett, 1772; William Henry Drayton, 1774; William Gregory, 1774; Thomas Bee, John Matthews, Henry Pendleton, 1776; Edanus Burke, 1778.

Since the evacuation of Charlestown, in 1782, the following gentlemen have been appointed judges of the Court of Common Pleas and of Sessions, in the following order: 1. John Faucheraud Grimkè; 2. Thomas Heyward; 3. Thomas Waties; 4. William Drayton; 5. Elihu Hall Bay; 6. Ephraim Ramsay; 7. William Johnson; 8. Lewis Trezevant; 9. Joseph Brevard; 10. Samuel Wylds; 11. William Smith. The first, third and three last, are the judges in 1808. Since the year 1784, when appropriate judges were first appointed by the Legislature to preside over the Court of Chancery, the following gentlemen have been appointed to that high office:—John Rutledge, Richard Hutson and John Matthews, in 1784. These have been succeeded by Hugh Rutledge, James Green Hunt, Edanus Burke, William James, Waddy Thomson, Theodore Gaillard, and William Henry DeSaussure. The last four, with Hugh Rutledge, are at present, 1808, judges of the Court of Equity. Each of them can hold a court, but an appeal may be made from its decisions to the bench of judges.

On a retrospect, the gradual improvement of the judiciary system must be obviously striking. For ninety-nine years there were no courts, judges or lawyers beyond the limits of Charlestown. For two-thirds of that period the Courts of Common Pleas and of King's Bench were held by one and the same single judge, from whom there was no appeal but to

himself on a new trial. In the year 1719 the government and people, by their representatives, remonstrated to the lords proprietors against Nicholas Trott, as being not only sole judge of the Courts of Common Pleas, of King's Bench, but also of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, and at the same time as a counsellor, one of the judges of the Court of Chancery; but they could not effect his removal from any one of these incompatible offices. For the first sixteen years of the royal government, the Courts of Common Pleas and of Sessions were both held by one and the same person by the name of Chief Justice, and without any appeal to any other than to himself. All this time, and till the year 1769, no suit could be commenced but in Charlestown, and no officer but the provost marshal could serve a process in any part of the province; by which means the expenses of a suit were often half the amount of the debt. Some relief was obtained by the Circuit Court Act, but that was only partial. These Circuit Courts were not courts of original jurisdiction, nor of record, for the first twenty years after they were constituted. Since the revolution, the former districts have been successively subdivided till the same portion of country, with the addition of Pendleton and Greenville, has been formed into twenty-five districts, and the number of judges increased from one to six. Every cause may now be reexamined by a bench of judges, of whom, at least, three out of four take it up as new, and without any prepossession. The same successive reforms have attached to the Court of Chancery: for the first 114 years of provincial Carolina, justice was dispensed in that court by the counsellors of the executive authority, who were generally destitute of competent legal knowledge. From 1784 to 1808 three appropriate judges presided over this court; but from their decisions there was no appeal but to a full bench, of which they, from whose decision the appeal was made, constituted a majority. At present an appeal can be made to a bench of five, or at least of four judges, all of whom, except one, takes the case up as new, and without any bias from having presided over the court from whose decision the appeal was made. Before the revolution, and for five years after, there was but one ordinary for South Carolina; but since the peace of 1783, the twenty-five districts have been accommodated with one for each. The good of the people was the object of these modifications of the several departments of government. The end has been obtained with respect to a great majority of the inhabitants, who are orderly and well disposed; but nevertheless, the increased facility and decreased expense of going to law has fostered a spirit of litigation. The number of suits in the State courts exceeds the number instituted in provincial Carolina in a much greater proportion than can be supposed to arise solely

from an increase of population.* Such is the imperfection of all things human, that every earthly good has an alloy of evil mixed with it. The disposition to bear and forbear, and to accommodate disputes, has been lessened by the multiplication of courts and diminution of the expenses, and other inconveniences of seeking legal redress for small matters.†

The mode of admission to practice law in the courts of Carolina, has varied with times and circumstances. Before the revolution it depended on a rule of court, and was rarely conferred on any others than regularly bred European or native Carolinian lawyers. Since the year 1785 the door of admission has been widened, particularly in favor of citizens of the United States. The last law on the subject was passed in 1806. By the rules therein laid down, an examination of the candidate on legal subjects, and also a year's residence, not only in the State, but of actual study in the office of some practicing attorney or judge, is in every case indispensably necessary. This is required of American citizens, though they have studied and been admitted to practice in other States; but from graduates commencing their legal studies, three years, and from others four years study of law is required before they can be admitted. In the year 1808 there were forty-eight practitioners of law in Charlestown. The whole number admitted to the bar, for the twenty-seven years which immediately preceded the revolution, was fifty-eight; but in the twenty-five years subsequent to its termination, in 1783, no less than 238 were admitted in Charlestown, exclusive of those who passed their examination in the country. Of these several never practiced nor intended to practice.

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* For the seven years before the courts were disturbed by the revolution, the greatest number of judgments entered up in Charlestown in one year was 390, and the average of these seven years was 236 judgments for each. In seven years since the revolution, or from 1800 to 1806 inclusive, 5,858 judgments have been entered up, which is an average of 838 for each year. There were 1,850 causes at issue for the January term, 1809—and 1,150 causes were tried in the May term of 1806. This disparity of nearly one for four, previous to and since the revolution, will be more obvious when it is known that all the judgments, obtained in the country districts before the year 1789, were entered up in Charlestown; and that, in the latter period, the judgments entered up in Charlestown are only those obtained in Charlestown district, which is no more than one of the twenty-five into which the State is divided: and it will be still more striking when it is known that the whole population of the State in 1765 was 130,000, rather more than double of the whole population of Charlestown district, which, in 1800, was only 57,486. For much of these details the author and his readers are indebted to James Nicholson.

† The Methodists, in South Carolina, manage these matters in a way peculiar to themselves. In some cases they prohibit, and in all, discourage their people from going to law. They reprobate their contracting debts without a fair prospect of paying them according to contract. In the case of failure to pay, if the debt was contracted wantonly and with improper views, the debtor is left to himself or dismissed from their society. If its non-payment is the effect of unexpected misfortunes they lend him money to discharge it. Though this can only be done to a limited extent, yet their funds are so prudently managed as to save most of their followers from the expenses of law-suits, which are often ruinous to the poor of other societies.

FISCAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER IV.

From the settlement of Carolina, taxes were uniformly the free gifts of the people. For the first twelve years none were imposed. The earliest on record is in the year 1682. This appears in the form of an act of the Legislature, "for raising a tax of £400 for defraying the public charges of the province." But the mode of raising that sum has not descended to posterity. The largest sum imposed in any one year of the first thirty-two, was £800; and the whole which appears to have been raised by taxes during that time did not exceed £2,320: but in that period a new principle of revenue was introduced. In 1691 a duty was imposed on skins and furs. These were then the principal exports from the country. The amount of this duty is unknown, but it must have been considerable, perhaps adequate to the public exigencies; for no tax act appears on record for the ten years next after that duty was imposed.

With the new century there were new calls for money and new modes of raising it. Taxes on the former plan were also continued and enlarged. In 1702 an act was passed "for raising £2,000," to provide for an offensive expedition against St. Augustine. Though the expedition failed, this sum was not sufficient. To supply its deficiencies, acts were passed in each of the two following years for raising £2,000; and about the same time a tax of ten per cent. was laid on furs, skins, liquors, and other goods and merchandize imported into and exported out of the province.

In 1708 an act was passed for raising the sum of £5,000, and in 1710 for raising £3,000, and in 1713 for raising £4,000. In 1714 a specific duty was laid on all negro slaves imported, but the amount charged on each is not mentioned. An act for raising £30,000 from the estates real and personal of the inhabitants, was passed in 1715, and in the year 1716, there was an act for raising 35,000 in that year, and 30,000 for each of the two ensuing years. Of these taxes, £1,600 were apportioned among the merchants and other inhabitants living within the limits of the plat of Charlestown. This is the first instances of a tax laid expressly on merchants and the inhabitants of Charlestown. In the year 1719 an act was passed for raising the sum of £70,000 on lands and negroes. The

augmentation of taxes from £2,320 for the eighteen last years of the seventeenth century to £215,000 in the first eighteen years of the eighteenth century needs explanation. It was not the consequence of increasing wealth or accidental sudden prosperity, but proceeded from causes directly the reverse. The commencement of the eighteenth century was uncommonly disastrous to Carolina. The abortive expedition against Augustine—the invasion of the province by Feboure—the expedition under Col. Barnwell against the Tuscaroa Indians of North Carolina—the Yamassee war and the suppression of the pirates, all took place between 1701 and 1719, and drew after them debt, taxes, paper-money and depreciation. Such are the consequences of war, whether offensive or defensive, successful or abortive, injurious to all establishments, but doubly so to such as are in their infancy. The first link in this chain of evils, was Gov. Moore's expedition against St. Augustine in 1702. To lessen the burdens resulting from it, £8,000 in bills of credit were issued by the Assembly which were to be sunk in three years by a duty laid on liquors, skins and furs. The credit of this paper-money was for some considerable time undiminished; and it would have continued so to the end if it had stood alone, for it was well received by all and ample funds were provided for its redemption. But a new plausible project, contrary to the expectation of its friends, diminished the value of the bills. Interest was then ten per cent., and lands were increasing in value from the successful culture of rice. These circumstances suggested the idea of a land bank as an easy and practicable mode of obtaining, money and of supporting the credit of paper. In the year 1712, the enormous sum of £52,000 was issued in bills of credit to be loaned out on interest to such of the inhabitants as could give the requisite security and agreed to pay interest annually in addition to the twelfth part of the principal. These land bank-bills came into circulation under circumstances similar to those which introduced the late paper medium sanctioned by the Legislature in 1785; but their fate was different. On their emission, the rate of exchange and the price of produce quickly increased. In the first year it advanced to 150, and in the second to 200 per cent. In ten years after, 1722, it was fixed by law at four for one. In addition to the injury done by the land bank-bills, a further depreciation resulted from a further emission of £15,000 by the Legislature in 1716, to assist in defraying the expenses of the Yamassee war. The people lost confidence in bills of credit, the multiplication and extension of which was so easy and tempting.

In Carolina, as a British province, sterling was the legal

money of the country; but unfortunately there was very little of it in the province or in any of the British colonies. The greatest part of their current gold and silver was foreign coin. The local assemblies settled the value thereof by laws peculiar to each province. To remedy the inconveniences arising from the different rates of foreign coin in the several colonies, an act of Parliament was passed and a proclamation founded thereon by Queen Anne in 1708, for ascertaining the current rate of foreign coin in all the colonies. This fixed their current nominal value in British America at one-fourth above the nominal value in sterling money. But the demand for more circulating medium in a new country than could be furnished in coin was so urgent, that this regulation was not regarded, and the confusion arising from the different values of British sterling and provincial current paper money became general throughout the colonies. In some a dollar passed for six shillings, in others for seven and sixpence: in North Carolina and New York, for eight shillings: in South Carolina for one pound twelve shillings and sixpence. In the latter, the comparative value of sterling coin and paper-money diverged so far from each other, that after passing through all intermediate grades of depreciation, it was finally fixed at seven pounds of the paper bills for one pound sterling. It afterwards assumed the character of currency as distinct from sterling, and formed as it were another denomination and species of money. Persons who had entered into contracts before the paper bills had attained that fixed point suffered great injury; but in contracts made afterwards the parties made their engagements in conformity to the existing state of things. In the meantime, the confusion which results from the fluctuating value of money pervaded every department of business. The merchants in Carolina complained of the justice of making these bills of credit a legal tender in the discharge of sterling debts, and interested the merchants of London in their behalf. By the persuasion of the latter the proprietors were induced to direct Governor Robert Johnson to insist on their redemption. Laws were passed for that purpose, but were not carried into full effect. The change of government soon followed.

With the new royal government, the same fiscal measures were substantially pursued; several specified articles were subjected to impost duties; taxes were raised almost every year, and varied from about 20,000 or 30,000 pounds which were among the lowest, to 50,000 or 60,000, which were among the highest prior to the year 1755. Paper bills of credit were also continued. Nicholson, the first royal Governor, willing to soothe the people, gave his assent in the year 1722 to an emission of £40,000 in bills of this description. It

had the intended effect of making the inhabitants more pleased with their change of government, but paved the way for an enormous increase of paper money. The readiness of Nicholson to concur in an emission of bills of credit, increased the eagerness of the people for more, and made them restive under the opposition of his successors to their projects for increasing its amount. Disputes between the different branches of the Legislature for and against bills of credit, were carried to such an height, that there was not one legislative act passed between the years 1727 and 1731. When the King's Council refused to pass laws favorable to paper money, the Provincial House of Commons for some time declined their concurrence in passing any whatever. Each branch endeavored to throw on the other the odium of involving the country in the evils which resulted from a suspension of legislative acts. The House of Commons finally carried their point; for an act to emit £210,000 in bills of credit to be loaned out at eight per cent. was passed in 1736.* A second sum of £210,000 was

* These large emissions of paper money were not made without opposition, as will appear from the following protest of Arthur Middleton, James Kinlock, and Joseph Wragg:

"South Carolina.

"The joint and several protests of Arthur Middleton, James Kinlock, and Joseph Wragg, Esqrs., three of the members of his Majesty's Council, against the bill for stamping, emitting and making current the sum of two hundred and ten thousand pounds in paper bills of credit, &c.

"1st. The said Arthur Middleton, James Kinlock, and Joseph Wragg, do hereby jointly and severally protest against passing the said bill; for that there is no present necessity for enlarging the said paper credit, because it is notoriously evident that the course of exchange between sterling money and the present paper credit, within this two years last past, hath advanced in proportion from seven to ten shillings Carolina moneys on every twenty shillings sterling, to the great prejudice not only of all persons concerned in trade in this province, but to all the merchants in Great Britain trading here, who have very large debts outstanding in this province.

"2dly. For that it appears by the bill itself that the bills of credit now proposed to be issued by this bill bear no manner of proportion to sterling or proclamation money; for that by the said bill it is declared that the said sum of two hundred and ten thousand pounds of the said bills is but equal to about thirty thousand pounds sterling.

"3dly. For that no means is provided by the said bill for ascertaining the value of the bills thereby intended to be emitted, nor any provision made how the proprietors of such bills shall receive any recompense or satisfaction for the same.

"4thly. For that notwithstanding there is no value annexed to the said bills, nor any method prescribed for ascertaining the value of the same whilst in the hands of the possessors, and consequently the value of such bills must be always fluctuating and uncertain, yet they are made a tender, and forced in payment, on the King's subjects, of all debts, past, present, and to come, contrary to all reason and justice.

5thly. For that as it has been found by constant experience that the continued increase of this sort of paper currency has from time to time depreciated the value of the paper credit, wrought up the course of exchange to what it now is, seven hundred and forty pounds, and upwards, of the now current bills for one hundred pounds sterling; so by enlarging the present currency the same will diminish its value, increase the price of the commodities of the country, raise the course of exchange, and be highly detrimental to such of the trading interest both here and in Great Britain, who have now debts outstanding in this colony to a very great value.

"Lastly, For that the said bills are made to be a perpetual bank, and are to be

issued by the same authority and on the same terms in 1746.

In consequence of the too free emissions of paper money in the first half of the eighteenth century, it had no steady value; and under color of law much confusion was introduced, and much injustice was done. The currency of the province was sometimes as low as ten for one, sterling, though its average was only seven for one. Another denomination of money was also introduced and referred to in laws. This was called proclamation money, and was at the rate of one for five, which was an aggregate of the depreciation by the proclamation of Queen Anne in 1708, and of the provincial legal depreciation of 1722. The former of which was one in four; the latter four for one.

In the ten years which followed the commencement of the war between France and England, or from 1755 to 1765, South Carolina paid in taxes £2,020,652. Of this, the enormous sum of £535,303 was raised in the year 1760, when the Cherokee Indians were at war with the Carolinians. The whole amount paid in taxes for the twenty years' peace that intervened between the French war and that which is called the American, or Revolutionary war, was £375,578, which is one quarter less than the taxes for the year 1760. The interval between the first and last tax laid on South Carolina as a colony was eighty-seven years; both were times of peace and required no extraordinary supplies; yet after making every allowance for the difference between sterling and currency, the last provincial tax was more than twenty-four times the amount of the first. This fact is a strong proof of the progressive improvement of the country.

The last emission of provincial paper money was in 1770, when the sum of £70,000 was issued for defraying the expenses incurred for building the several court houses and gaols required by the Circuit Court act passed in the preceding year. The whole amount emitted in bills of credit by

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perpetually current; which is expressly contrary to the intent of the twenty-first article of his Majesty's royal instructions, which recites the great inconveniences that have heretofore happened in South Carolina from the issuing of large sums of paper money, without sufficient funds for the gradual repaying and cancelling the same: for all which reasons we do protest against the passing of the said bill, and pray that this our protest may be forthwith entered and recorded in the journals of the council in assembly.

"May 29th, 1736."

It is remarkable, that though the American revolution took place only forty years after these events, that they were so little known as to be never referred to in the debates relative to paper money. In the interval, a new race had sprung up who had no personal knowledge of them. Tradition was obscure, history was silent. Newspapers gave no information. Old official records were seldom examined or referred to. From these causes the Carolinians of 1776 had little advantage from the knowledge of what their forefathers had done in 1736 or in 1719. It is hoped that in consequence of the present increased means of diffusing and perpetuating knowledge, the like will not occur again.

provincial Carolina in the sixty-eight years which intervened between the first and last emission of paper was £605,000, of which more than two-thirds were secured by mortgaged property; and except 60,000, all of it had been issued after a great depreciation had taken place. As the early emissions were generally called in before later ones were thrown into circulation, the whole sum current at any one time must have been far short of the whole amount emitted. The ingenuity of the early legislators of America was frequently employed in discussing the advantages and disadvantages of paper bills of credit. In two points they all agreed—that under proper restrictions they might be useful to a certain extent; but that all proper restrictions were seldom imposed and seldomer observed. The present Constitution of the United States has rendered the discussion uninteresting in a practical point of view. Bank bills immediately exchangeable for gold or silver, have been found a safer expedient for increasing the circulating medium.

For five years before the revolution, the people of Carolina were singularly circumstanced. From the course of trade there was very little of either gold or silver in the province. No tax bill had been passed, no emission of paper had taken place since 1746, except that of 1770, which amounted to no more than £10,000 sterling. From necessity barter was often substituted for money. To remedy in part this inconvenient mode of doing business, two expedients were adopted. The clerk of the Commons House of Assembly in 1774, gave certificates to the public creditors that their demands were liquidated and should be provided for in the next tax bill. So great was the want of money—so high was the credit of the State, that these certificates passed currently for their full value. Henry Middleton, Benjamin Huger, Roger Smith, Miles Brewton, and Thomas Lynch, men of large estates, issued in April 1775, their joint and several notes in convenient sums payable to bearer. These were readily exchanged for good bonds drawing interest, and went into circulation as money, and passed freely from hand to hand. The abilities of the obligors were well known, and it was generally believed that they would or could, or in every event might be made to pay. The people were pleased to get anything that answered the end of money, and the issuers of the notes anticipated a clear gain of the interest of their whole capital £128,000. While these speculations and anticipations were indulged, the revolutionary war came on. The courts of law were shut. A flood of paper money was issued — depreciation followed. The bonds given in exchange for the notes were paid off with the new depreciated bills of credit, while the holders of the

notes, preferring them to every other species of paper money, hoarded them up under the impression that in every event payment in good money might be procured from some of the payers whose names were subscribed to the same. Thus in the end a project which was really a public convenience and promised to be a private benefit, turned out both unprofitable and vexatious.

At the commencement of the revolution, South Carolina though abounding in natural riches, was deficient in the money of the world. For several years before the termination of the royal government, from three to 5,000 negroes had been annually imported into the province. This increased the capital of the country, but turned the balance of trade against it and caused the greatest part of its gold and silver to centre in Great Britain. In this scarcity of a circulating medium, payments were often made by a transfer of bonds. The necessities of war required something current in the form of money. Paper bills of credit had aided the exertions of Carolina in every period of her colonial history when fighting for Great Britain; the same expedient was resorted to in this juncture to assist in fighting against her. The first emission took place in June, 1775, and the last in February, 1779. In this period, not quite four years, the sum of £7,817,553 was thrown into circulation under the authority of the new order of things. These sums are in the old provincial currency at the rate of seven for one, sterling. When the last emission became current, it was not worth more than one-tenth of its nominal amount. The real value of all the emissions at the times they were respectively issued was £481,065, or nearly half a million of pounds sterling. Though Carolina engaged in the revolutionary war with an empty treasury, yet she drew from her credit, resources to the amount of about half a million of dollars for each of the first four years of the contest. The animation, unanimity, and enthusiam of the people—the immense value of the staple commodities of the province—the strict observance of good faith in performing all its engagements had established a credit superior to the mines of Potosi, and gave currency to everything stamped with public authority. To a people thus circumstanced, whose credit was unstained and who though deficient in gold and silver, abounded in real wealth, the paper currency was very acceptable and greatly facilitated the transfer of property. It set in immediate motion the late stagnant streams of commerce—invigorated industry—and gave a spring to every branch of business. It had an operation on society similar to what might be expected from a government becoming suddenly possessed of a large quantity of hidden treasure, and throwing it into circulation for the public benefit.

The paper currency retained its value undiminished in South Carolina for one year and nine months, viz: from June, 1775 to April, 1777. To this period commenced a depreciation destructive to credit; ruinous to the monied interest; and greatly detrimental to the success of military operations. The progress of it was scarcely perceivable in the first four or five months of 1777, and was comparatively slow throughout that year. From the commencement of the year 1778, when great quantities of the continental money began to flow into the State, it became much more rapid. The enormous expenses of the armies kept up by Congress in the extensive campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777, in the northern States, required immense supplies of money. This could not be raised in sufficient quantities either by taxes or loans. The only practicable resource left, was emissions of paper currency under an engagement to be redeemed at a future day. These Congress bills of credit were current in Carolina as well as its own bills, and contributed much to the depreciation of the State emissions.

The possessors of the paper money who, either from accident or sagacity, conjectured right about the event, finding that it daily lost part of its value, were perpetually in quest of bargains. As they foresaw that Congress would make further emissions for the supplies of their armies, they concluded that it would be better to purchase any kind of property than to lay up their money. The progressive superabundance of cash produced a daily rise in the price of commodities. The deceitful sound of large nominal sums tempted many possessors of real property to sell. The purchasers, if indulged with the usual credit, or if they took the advantage which the delays of the courts of justice allowed, could pay for the whole by the sale of an inconsiderable part. The sanguine, flattering themselves with the delusive hopes of a speedy termination of the war, were often induced to sell lest a sudden peace should appreciate the money, in which case it was supposed they would lose the present opportunity of selling to great advantage. From the same principles some hoarded up the bills of credit in preference to purchasing solid property at a supposed extravagant price. They mistook the diminished value of the money for an increasing price of commodities, and therefore concluded that by buying little, selling much, and retaining their paper currency, they were laying the foundations of future permanent wealth. Subsequent events, in opposition to the commonly received maxims of prudence and economy, fully demonstrated that they who instantly expended their money received its full value, while they who laid it up, sustained a daily diminution of their capital.

That the money should finally sink, or that it should be redeemed by a scale of depreciation, were events neither foreseen nor expected by the bulk of the people. The Congress and the local Legislatures, for the first five years of the war, did not entertain the most distant idea of such a breach of public faith. The generality of the friends of the revolution, reposing unlimited confidence in the integrity of their rulers, the plighted faith of government, and the success of the cause of America, amused themselves with the idea that in a few years their paper dollars, under the influence of peace and independence, would be sunk by equal taxes or realized into silver at their nominal value; and that, therefore, the sellers would ultimately increase their estates in the same proportion that the currency had depreciated. The plunderings and devastation of the enemy made several think that their property would be much safer, when turned into money, than when subject to the casualties of war. The disposition to sell was in a great degree proportioned to the confidence in the justice and final success of the revolution, superadded to expectations of a speedy termination of the war. The most sanguine Whigs were, therefore, oftenest duped by the fallacious sound of high prices. These principles operated so extensively that the property of the inhabitants, in a considerable degree, changed its owners. Many opulent persons, of ancient families, were ruined by selling paternal estates for a depreciating paper currency, which, in a few weeks, would not replace half of the real property in exchange for which it was obtained. Many bold adventurers made fortunes in a short time by running in debt beyond their abilities. Prudence ceased to be a virtue, and rashness usurped its place. The warm friends of America, who never despaired of their country, and who cheerfully risked their fortunes in its support, lost their property; while the timid, who looked forward to the re-establishment of British government, not only saved their former possessions, but often increased them. In the American revolution, for the first time, the friends of the successful party were the losers.

The enthusiasm of the Americans, and their confidence in the money, gave the Congress the same advantage in carrying on the war which old countries derive from the anticipation of their permanent funds. It would have been impossible to have kept together an American army for so many years without this paper expedient. Though the bills of credit operated as a partial tax on the monied interest, and ruined many individuals, yet it was productive of great national benefits by enabling the popular leaders to carry on a necessary defensive war.

Many attempts were made to preserve the credit of the currency. State and continental loan offices were opened, that the necessity of further emissions might be diminished, and the hearty friends of American independence deposited in them large sums on interest. The Legislature, in the year 1779, offered an interest on money lent to the State of three per cent. more than was paid by private persons. Notwithstanding all these douceurs, the supplies obtained by loans fell so far short of the public demands that further emissions could not be restrained. When the small quantities of specie that still remained began to be changed for paper bills at an advance, an Act of Assembly was passed prohibiting any person from receiving or demanding for any article a larger sum in paper than in specie. A law to prevent the ebbing and flowing of the sea would have been no less ineffectual than this attempt of the Legislature to alter the nature of things. Gold and silver no longer passed at par, and contracts were either discharged in paper or not discharged at all. The bills of credit being a legal tender in all cases would pay off old debts equally with gold and silver, though for new purchases they were of much less value. The merchants and other monied men, who had outstanding debts, contracted before or near the first period of the war, were great losers by the legal tender of the paper currency. For eighteen months they were not allowed to sue for their debts, and were afterwards obliged to accept of depreciated paper in discharge of them at par with gold and silver. This was not the result of intentional injustice, but forced on the Legislature by the necessity of the times. Besides, it was at that time the fixed resolution of Congress and the different Legislatures to redeem all their paper bills at par with gold or silver.

The public was in the condition of a town on fire, when some houses must be blown up to save the remainder. The liberties of America could not be defended without armies—armies could not be supported without money—money could not be raised in sufficient quantities otherwise than by emissions. It was supposed essentially necessary to their credit that they should have the sanction of a legal tender in the payment of all debts. This involved the ruin of the monied interest, and put it in the power of individuals to pay their debts with much less than they really owed. This unhappy necessity to do private injustice for a public benefit, proved in many respects injurious to the political interests of the State and the moral character of its inhabitants. It disposed those who were losers by the legal tender, and who preferred their money to the liberties of America, to wish for the re-establishment of British government, and filled others with murmur-

ings and bitter complaints against the ruling powers. The public spirited who were sincere in their declarations of devoting life and fortune to support the cause of their country, patiently submitted to the hardships from a conviction that the cause of liberty required the sacrifice. The nature of obligations was so far changed that he was reckoned the honest man who from principle delayed to pay his debts. Instead of creditors pressing their debtors to a settlement, they frequently kept aloof or secreted their obligations.

Much of the evil occasioned by the legal tender of paper bills might have been prevented if the laws respecting it had confined its operations to future contracts. A great deal might have been done at an early period by taxation to support the credit of the money. But the depreciation not being generally foreseen, no provision was made against the injustice resulting from it. The evils which had taken place from minor floods of paper money forty or fifty years before, were generally unknown to a new generation. In the first stage of the dispute, few Americans had any acquaintance with the philosophy of money or the subject of finance; and almost all were sanguine in expecting the establishment of their liberties without such long and expensive sacrifices. Had even all these matters been properly attended to they would only have moderated, but could not have prevented depreciation. The United States had no permanent funds to give stability to their paper currency. In the commencement of the war they were without fiscal systems or regular governments to enforce the collection of taxes. They were in possession of no resources adequate to the raising of sufficient supplies without large emissions of paper money.

The surrender of Charlestown on the 12th of May, 1780, wholly arrested the circulation of the paper currency, and put a great part of the State in possession of the British when many contracts for these nominal sums were unperformed, and after many individuals had received payment of old debts in depreciated paper. James Simpson, Intendant General of the British police, commissioned thirteen gentlemen to inquire into the different stages of depreciation, so as to ascertain a fixed rule for payment in hard money of outstanding contracts; and to compel those who had settled with their creditors to make up by a second payment the difference between the real and nominal value of the currency. The commissioners proceeded on principles of equity, and compared the prices of country produce when the paper currency was in circulation, with its prices in the year before the war; and also the rate of exchange between hard money and the paper bills of credit. The Legislature of the State took up the same

business in the year 1783, and, proceeding on the same principles as the British commissioners, agreed upon and established by law the following table of depreciation, which shows how much of the depreciated bills was necessary to make the value of £100 in good money in each month, between April 1777, when depreciation began, and May 1780, when by the fall of Charlestown the bills of credit ceased to circulate:

MONTHS.	1777	1778	1779	1780
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
January.....	.....	221 10	761 0	3775 0
February....	.....	211 10	832 0	4217 0
March.....	.....	267 10	893 10	4659 0
April.....	108 10	317 0	966 10	5101 0
May.....	117 0	328 10	950 0	5248 10
June.....	125 10	347 10	1177 0	.....
July.....	139 0	354 10	1457 0	.....
August.....	152 10	361 10	1537 10	.....
September...	166 0	380 10	1618 0	.....
October.....	186 0	405 0	2040 10	.....
November...	206 0	520 10	2596 10	.....
December...	226 10	629 0	3233 0	.....

The British successes to the southward in 1780 caused the continental money to flow back to the middle States. Its superabundance and incurable depreciation at last forced on the Congress and the several Legislatures, a scale of depreciation, though the face of the bills, the terms of their emission, and every public act respecting them, gave assurances that they should be ultimately redeemed at the rate of one silver dollar for every paper dollar. In September, 1779, the Supreme Council of the States, in their circular letter, rejected with horror the bare supposition that such a measure should ever be adopted; yet in six months afterwards it was done with the acquiescence of a great majority of the people. In other countries similar measures have produced popular insurrections, but in the United States it was peaceably adopted. Public faith was violated, but in the general opinion public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place and the redemption of the bills at par, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others who had obtained it at a cheap rate.

The paper currency continued to have a partial circulation in the northern States for a year after a scale of depreciation was fixed. It gradually diminished in value till the summer of 1781. By common consent, it then ceased to have any currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature without a sigh or a groan, it gently fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors, and continued so for ten years; when the Congress paper dollars were funded at the rate of 100 for one of silver. The extinction of the paper currency was an event ardently wished for by the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of American independence. The failure of its circulation disappointed them both. The war was carried on with the same vigor afterwards as before, and the people very generally acquiesced in the measure as justified by necessity.

The introduction of silver and gold by channels which were opened about the same time that the paper currency ceased to circulate, contributed much to diminish the bad effects of its annihilation. A trade was at that period opened with the French and Spanish West India islands, by which specie was imported into the American continent, and a vent was found for the commodities of the northern and middle States. The French army which arrived in Rhode Island, as has been before mentioned, early in the year 1780, put into circulation a great quantity of coined silver, and subsidies to a large amount were about the same time granted to the United States by his most christian majesty.

The unexpected introduction of so much gold and silver suggested to the Congress a new system of finance. The issuing of paper currency by the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were made in specie.

The supplies for public exigencies in South Carolina before the reduction of Charlestown, were principally raised by taxes on lands and negroes. Three contributions of this kind had been levied between the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the surrender of the capital in 1780. The first was in the year 1777, and was fixed at nearly one-third of a dollar per head on negroes, and as much on every hundred acres of land. A fear of alarming the people, and too sanguine hopes of a speedy peace, induced the Legislature to begin moderately; more with a view of making an experiment than of raising adequate supplies. The next tax was in 1778, nominally ten times larger than the former, but really at the time of paying worth only about twice as much. In 1779, a tax of twenty paper dollars per head on negroes, and one very hundred acres of lands, was levied. This about the time of payment was nearly equal to a specie dollar.

While the British were in possession of Charlestown, money

was plentiful where their power extended. Where it did not, the reverse was the case. Coin had no existence in any quantity among the friends of independence. Paper money had no general circulation, and its value was next to nothing. A few had hoarded up a little specie for this day of extremity. Plate, rings, keep-sakes, old coin, and such like articles were brought into use by those who possessed them; but the great bulk of the people lived without money or any substitute for it. Buying and selling in a great measure ceased. Those who had the necessaries of life freely divided with those who were destitute. Luxuries or even comforts were not contemplated. To make out to live was the ultimate aim of most. This was done to the astonishment of many who could scarcely tell how it had been effected. While the British were in possession of Charlestown, their sterling was the money of account. After their departure as currency and paper bills of every kind had vanished from circulation, the Legislature continued sterling as the money of the country; but added two pence to the dollar, and nine pence to the guinea in the vain hope of retaining them in circulation. This change of the money of account produced mischievous consequences among country people ignorant of public business. Some such made contracts, expecting that a dollar would pay £1 12s. 6d. of debt which was its value in the current money of the country before the fall of Charlestown; but according to the new regulations, it was equal to no more than 4s. 8d. Several even now keep their accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence: but a dollar is the legal money unit of the state, and is by degrees becoming the money of account with all the people.

When the British evacuated Charlestown, and the citizens regained possession, there was a show of money which had been left by the evacuating troops; but this soon disappeared. Though the object of resisting Great Britain was obtained, yet for several years many inconveniences were felt from the want of a circulating medium. A partial relief was obtained from a general evil. The debts growing out of the war were liquidated, and an acknowledgment on the part of the State of the sum due was given to the creditor in form of an indent. Interest on these evidences of debt was paid by another paper called a special indent. These were annually issued for five years, and were made receivable in taxes which were annually imposed for their redemption. The holders of them readily subscribed to the doctrine that a public debt was a public blessing; for to them it really proved so. It furnished annually from two to three hundred thousand dollars in the form of paper, which obtained a considerable circulation, and to a certain extent lessened the evils resulting from the want of

an adequate circulating medium. The value of the expedient depended on the punctual collection of taxes, which often failed. Nevertheless, the special indents kept up their credit at a moderate depreciation. The project of paper money had been frequently contemplated and sometimes brought forward; but the quantities of paper bills of credit, issued in the revolutionary war, and still unprovided for in the hands of almost every person, induced a general opinion that no new bills of credit could be emitted with any probable ground of hope that they would pass current so as to answer the end of money. After some years the experiment was made on a small scale. Bills of credit to the amount of £100,000 were issued by the Legislature under the name of paper medium, on a plan similar to that which had been adopted seventy-six years before: these were loaned on interest to the inhabitants in small sums on a mortgage of land or a deposit of plate. There was a general understanding among the members of the Legislature, that no further sum should be emitted on any emergency. The merchants, who were always losers by depreciation, came forward in a body, and agreed to take these paper bills at par with gold or silver. This association and a general conviction that the measure adopted was necessary, introduced this new paper into common use. It maintained its credit better than was expected. The depreciation was inconsiderable and so far short of what the inhabitants had often seen to be attached to other paper, that little or no impression was made to its disadvantage. To the borrowers it proved a great accommodation, and to the public a source of revenue; for besides the loss of bills, the annual interest, 30,000 dollars, was clear gain to the State. So much of the principal has been paid, that the outsanding balance at present only draws about 9,000 dollars annual interest. This is reduced by occasional payment of the principal; but the State finds so great a convenience in receiving interest on what costs nothing, that all who punctually pay it receive indulgence for the principal. The State has cleared 300,000 dollars by this project, and is likely to receive a considerable further sum. The same paper was a source of great emolument to the South Carolina bank. At a time when gold and silver were fast leaving the country, to arrest its departure, the directors of that institution discounted on the State paper medium. To the depositors of it they issued in exchange a new paper of their own, in which they promised on demand to pay its nominal amount in the medium of the State or the specie of the bank. On this deposit of State paper medium they discounted in their own paper to a considerable extent, and gained the whole discount and at the same time retained their specie

without the hazard of any great run being made upon it. In this mode they advanced their own capital to the amount of about 60,000 dollars, while they accommodated their customers and prevented the exportation of gold and silver.

In five or six years after the issuing of the paper medium the debts of the United States, and of South Carolina, were funded and ample provision was made for paying the interest and in due time the principal. This added an important item of daily increasing value to the circulating medium of Carolina. The energy of the new national government, with its offspring, the funding system, made important changes in the fiscal concerns of the State. Among many other benefits resulting from the former, was a settlement of accounts between the United and individual States. The pecuniary concerns of the revolution were adjusted on the principles of a mercantile partnership. All expenses incurred by individual States on behalf of the United States, were a fair charge against the latter. South Carolina, far removed from the seat of government, carried on the war in a great measure from her own resources but charged her advances in the common cause to the United States according to fixed rules. It was generally supposed that Carolina was a creditor State, but the extent and amount was unknown to all its citizens. To adjust accounts between the United States and the individual States, three commissioners were appointed in behalf of the United States; and each State appointed one to take care of its particular interest. Simeon Theus was appointed on behalf of South Carolina. There never was a more judicious or happy appointment. To facilitate his arduous labor the State permitted him to employ as many clerks as he chose, but he employed none. By working night and day, regardless of office hours, in about two years he brought forward an immense mass of accounts, co-extensive with the revolutionary war, and embracing all the advances of South Carolina, and supported so many of them to the satisfaction of the commissioners of the United States, that they certified a balance of 1,447,173 dollars due to the State over and above the four millions of dollars of its debt previously assumed by the United States. Certificates of funded stock were given to the State for that sum, and they have been regularly paid. This immense credit placed the finances of South Carolina on high ground. A funded public debt became a species of money and silenced the clamor for an increase of the circulating medium. The clauses in the Constitution which prohibited the State "from issuing bills of credit; from passing ex-post facto laws, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts," restored confidence between individuals and produced an astonishing melioration of public and private concerns.

One of the beneficial consequences resulting from this new and happy state of things was the establishment of the banks. The utility of these institutions was known before, and an effort to establish one in Charlestown with the small capital of 100,000 dollars was made in 1783, but failed from the want of subscribers. Men willing and able to advance that small sum could not then be found. Soon after the adoption of the funding system, three banks were established in Charlestown whose capitals in the whole amounted to twenty times the sum proposed in 1783. The first of these was a branch of the National bank with the name of the office of discount and deposit, which was established in 1792. Though one bank could not be raised in 1783, yet before ten years elapsed one would not satisfy the people. A second one by the name of the South Carolina bank was in the year 1792 projected, agreed upon, and filled in a short time. The advantages of these institutions were found to be so great that in nine years a third by the name of the State bank was projected and readily filled. Three hundred thousand dollars were subscribed by the State as a part of the capital of this third bank, and paid in six per cent. stock. The State gained by the transfer all that the dividend of bank stock exceeded the interest of funded stock. This excess was never less than two, and has been as high as four per cent. per annum. All the shares in these several banks were taken up and instantly sold for an advanced price. In every instance there were more subscribers than shares. The receipts for the first payment towards the National bank sold in Charlestown for five, six, and in a few instances for ten times the amount of the first cost. The term depreciation which was common in the revolutionary war, and for eight years after, became obsolete, and appreciation took its place. The unemployed money of individuals being deposited in the banks, added so much to their capitals as enabled the directors to discount extensively. In consequence thereof landed property rose in value—agriculture was promoted—commerce extended—embarrassed men assisted, and the people in general accommodated. The country rapidly rose from a state of depression and embarrassment to a high pitch of prosperity.

The establishment of banks has completely done away all inconveniences from the want of a circulating medium, an evil that has afflicted Carolina in every preceding period of her history except when it was remedied by bills of credit: a remedy for the most part worse than the disease. Since their institution, in ordinary times, every man whose capital and habits of punctuality entitle him to credit can obtain it. Thus a revolution has taken place in the fiscal concerns of South Carolina as well as in its government. Bank bills exchange-

able at sight for gold and silver are the true bills of credit, and have sufficiently increased the current money of the country without the hazard of depreciation or injustice which have for the most part followed all other bills. There still are ebbs and flows of money when it comes in like a tide, and what remains in private hands is very apt to go out like the ebb; but in these emergencies the banks being the principal holders of the gold and silver in the State, by curtailing their discounts can arrest the departure of specie and confine it in their vaults. So sudden have been the transitions from plenty to a scarcity of gold and silver, and the reverse in the former periods of Carolina history, that no man was safe in buying or selling on long credit; for he could not be sure that money would have the same value at the time of payment as in the moment of contracting. In the present state of things, gold and silver have a domicile in Charlestown. Though the quantity is not always the same, yet the variation is so much under control that great injustice or even inconvenience cannot readily occur from that source. This happy fiscal state never took place while Carolina was a British province, nor even for the first fifteen years of its sovereignty.

Since the termination of the revolutionary war, annual taxes to answer the current expenses of the State for the year have been imposed on the inhabitants. The first was in 1783, a dollar a head on negroes and in proportion on every hundred acres of land. From the first settlement of the province till that period, the lands had been uniformly taxed according to quantity without any regard to quality. A hundred acres of pine barren and a hundred acres of the most highly cultivated tide swamp, paid the same tax. The owners of the former were clamorous for an alteration so as to make quality as well as quantity a ground of taxation. The owners of the latter were very slowly convinced of the practicability of the discrimination, though they acknowledged its justice. The experiment was first made and carried into effect in the year 1785. All the granted lands were then classed according to their situation and quality, none higher than twenty-six dollars per acre and none less than twenty cents. A per centage was imposed on each class rated according to this valuation. The taxes from 1784 to 1788 were payable in special indents, but ever since in specie or something equivalent.

Till the year 1790, the State had the income of the impost duty, and from that fund paid its civil list; but the United States have since enjoyed that fruitful source of revenue. The State now depends for the support of its government on taxes imposed on lands, negroes, monies at interest, stock in trade, factorage, employments, faculties and professions, and a few

incidental sources of revenue; such as duties upon sales at public auction, on licenses granted to hawkers, pedlars, and theatrical performers, the interest of the paper medium loan, the interest and instalments of the debts due to the State from the United States, the dividends from its shares in the State bank, fines and forfeitures, &c.

The average of taxes annually collected, is about 135,000 dollars; and the State receives from other sources about 175,000 dollars. The appropriations of revenue are first for paying the salaries of the civil list, and other incidental expenses of government, both of which amount in common years to a sum between seventy and 80,000 dollars; and secondly, for paying extraordinaries and contingent accounts. These vary so considerably that they cannot be stated with precision. On an average they amount to about the sum of 145,000 dollars per annum.

For the last fifteen years government has been daily acquiring consistency, and becoming more adequate to the ends for which it was instituted. The fiscal department was the last which received a portion of this healthy vigor. Stricter laws were enacted and severer penalties imposed on revenue officers for mismanagement or neglect of duty. Committees of the House of Representatives were appointed to superintend the collection of taxes. Boards of commissioners were instituted and authorized to call all persons to account who had had any agency in the fiscal concerns of the State. Nevertheless, many frauds were committed without detection and much was lost from neglect and mismanagement. No man in or out of office could tell with any precision the amount of the debts and credits of the State. The concentration of all matters relative to revenue in a head of the department had been several times proposed but not adopted. Some could not see the utility of such an officer; others thought his salary might be saved. At length the defects of the financial system became so glaring as to induce the passing of an act in the year 1799 to establish the office of a Comptroller of the revenue whose duty it was, among other official details, to superintend, adjust, and settle all the former accounts of the treasurers and tax collectors of the State—to superintend the collection of the future revenue—to direct and superintend prosecutions for all delinquencies of revenue officers—to enforce executions issued for arrearages of taxes, and suits for debts due to the State—to decide on the official form of all papers to be issued for collecting the public revenue—and on the manner and form of keeping public accounts—to examine and count over the cash in the treasury—to prepare and report at every session of the Legislature estimates of the public revenue and public expend-

iture — and at the same time to render fair and accurate copies of all the treasurer's monthly reports, and a true and accurate account of the actual state of each department of the treasury—to suspend from office every tax collector who did not perform the duties of his office faithfully—to examine and compare the returns of taxable property from the different districts—to inquire into any defects or omissions—and to proceed against all persons accessary to the making false or defective returns. It was also made the duty of the treasurers, on receiving any public money, to give duplicate receipts; one of which was to be lodged with the Comptroller. And no public money was to be paid otherwise than in conformity to legal appropriations; and no sum for more than a hundred dollars was to be drawn out of the treasury but by the warrant of the Comptroller, expressing on what account such money was due by the State. Thus everything relating to revenue was subjected to the direction and control of a single person; and all power relative to the same concentered in his hands. The Legislature chose Paul Hamilton their first Comptroller who, besides an accurate knowledge of accounts, possessed a clear and systemising head and a quick discernment to detect errors and frauds. After a thorough examination of the resources, debts, and credits of the State, he made his first report in 1800; and a further one annually for the four following years. These reports astonished the Legislature. They then for the first time knew their real fiscal state, and were agreeably surprised to find it much better than they expected. From Comptroller Hamilton's last report in 1804 it appeared that the balance due to the State amounted to the unexpected sum of 754,755 dollars.

This flourishing condition of the public finances led to two important State measures. The richness of the treasury encouraged the Legislature to subscribe 300,000 dollars in stock to the State bank, and to establish and endow the South Carolina college at the new central seat of government. The clear gains of the former, which accrued to the State from the excess of bank dividends over interest on six per cent. stock, were sufficient to defray the expenses of the latter. The State may be said to have acquired for its citizens the advantages of both institutions for nothing, as they were carried into effect without imposing upon them any additional burdens. After five years faithful service, in which Paul Hamilton introduced the same order into the finances of the State which had been done for his illustrious namesake for the United States, he was honored by his grateful country with the highest State office in its gift. Thomas Lee was appointed his successor, who, with equal firmness and ability, prosecutes the same good work. From their exertions a chaos of public account has

been reduced to order, energy and decision infused into every department of finance; and the fiscal concerns of the State, recovered from disorder, are now in a flourishing and healthy condition.

One reform facilitated another. The State constitution of 1790 adopted no rule for apportioning the representation of the people in the Legislature. Afraid of interrupting public harmony, the convention, by common consent, made an arbitrary apportionment without regard to property, numbers, or any avowed principle whatever. A general conviction prevailed, that as government was instituted for the preservation of property as well as liberty, both should be respected. The principle was just, but the carrying it into effect impracticable anterior to the establishment of the office of a Comptroller General. As many wealthy citizens owned property in various and distant parts of the State, and had the privilege of making their returns of taxable property and paying their taxes where they lived, the exact comparative taxable property of any one district could not be ascertained till the returns from all parts of the State were brought under the view of one person; who, by dissecting and distributing them, could determine the precise amount and value of taxable property in each electoral district. This was done by Comptroller Lee. The Legislature adopted a principle, introduced and ably supported by Abraham Blanding, that one-half of the present representatives should be assigned to numbers and the other half to property. The population being ascertained by a census taken for the purpose, and the value of the taxable property of each electoral district being stated by the Comptroller, the apportionment of the representation, conformably to the principle just adopted, becomes a plain arithmetical caculation. Thus, a real difficulty, which threatened the peace of the State, was compromised to general satisfaction, and the reform in the fiscal department essentially contributed to a reform of the constitution and the stability of the government.

Since the first settlement of Carolina there has been a progressive rise in the price of property. Well chosen spots of land, which sixty years ago cost little more than the fees of office, will now command from ten to fifteen dollars per acre. Squares might have been purchased in Charlestown many years after it began to be built, for less money than single lots sell for at present. The appreciation of landed property is, on a general average, three for one, and in many cases ten or twenty for one.* The rents of houses, the price of slaves, the

*A tract of high land, the property of Dr. Harris, three miles distant from Charlestown, containing 140 acres, with 150 or 200 acres of salt marsh annexed thereto, sold, in the year 1713, for 305 pounds; in 1726, for 1,750 pounds; in 1728, for 2,000 pounds; in 1768, for 2,792 pounds. Land, opposite to this tract, lately

wages of laborers, the expenses of living and of educating children, have all advanced three if not four for one.*

A few observations on the rate of interest and usury, as connected with the fiscal history of Carolina, shall close this chapter. For the first fifty years after the settlement there is no evidence of any law fixing the rate of interest, nor of any against usury. Two laws were passed, one in 1720 and the other in 1721, against usury; the last of which indirectly brings into view the rate of interest. This prohibits the taking more interest for money lent than ten per cent. per annum under the penalty of a forfeiture of treble the amount. When Carolina was settled, interest in England was six per cent. When this law passed it was five. How it came to be ten per cent. in Carolina, without an express law, does not appear. Perhaps common consent and usage had fixed that rate; for no evidence exists that there ever was any written law authorizing it. As a reason for proscribing usury, it is stated in the law of 1721 that "divers persons have of late taken advantage of the great necessities of the people, and exacted twenty-five pounds interest for the loan of one hundred pounds for one year; and very often more." Twenty-seven years after, 1748, a law passed for reducing interest from ten to eight per cent.; and twenty-nine years after, 1777, it was reduced from eight to seven per cent. These reductions were both preceded by plentiful emissions of paper money. With the last laws for reducing interest, severe penalties against usury were incorporated. Since the institution of banks there has been no new law against usury, though the practice and legal prosecutions for it have been more common than they ever were before. The intention of the laws against usury is humane, being designed to save men from the effects of their own folly and indiscretion; but the policy of such laws is questionable. The rate of interest, when left to itself, will, like all other things, find its own level. When it is hedged round with penal laws the lender will not part with his money till he is secured, not only against the insolvency of the borrower, but

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sold for 100 pounds sterling per acre. In the year 1756 the South Corolina society declined to purchase fourteen acres of highland with thirty acres of adjoining marsh, all in Ansonborough. The highland was inclosed with a brick wall, and had on it a good dwelling-house and all necessary out-houses. The whole was then offered to the society for 600 pounds currency, or less than $3,700; though it would now readily sell for $100,000.

*In the year 1740, when the detail of an expedition against St. Augustine was before the Assembly, a joint committee of both Houses rated corn at one-fourth of a dollar per bushel, and rice at five shillings sterling per hundred. In Well's South Carolina Gazette, of September 17th, 1760, the price current of the following articles, reduced to dollars and cents, is as follows. Rice, per hundred, $1 53; Carolina flour, per hundred, $2 80; by the pound, tallow, 10 cents; by the barrel, pork, $7; by the bushel, salt, 25 cents; by the pipe, Madeira wine, $118; do. best, $155; Vidonia, do., $96.

the possibility of his being subjected to the consequences of violating the laws. This raises the premium, and increases the distresses of the distressed. The practice will exist with or without laws; for none have been found able to restrain it. It is far from being improbable that the repeal of all laws on the subject would be more for the interest of both borrowers and lenders than the present system of enormous penalties inflicted on those who ask and take more than seven per cent. for the use of their money.

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER V.

To facilitate the improvement of new countries the settlers should have a general knowledge of the climate, soil, and productions of such as are similar and have been previously cultivated. Information on these subjects, especially when corrected by philosophy and experience, leads to useful practical results. In these particulars the proprietors as well as the first settlers were deficient. The countries subject to Great Britain both in Europe and the American continent, were much colder than South Carolina; and her possessions in the West Indies much more steadily warm. The productions of neither were suited to this climate, which was a medium between the two. From inattention to these circumstances the first attempts at agriculture in the province were injudicious. They were directed to the cultivation of those highland grains with which the settlers were best acquainted, but these were unsuitable to the low sandy soil common on the sea-coast. An anxiety to raise provisions may have directed their industry into this channel, but the maize and potatoes, both natives of the country, would have answered better. The swamps and low grounds were of forbidding aspect, thickly wooded and hard to clear; and when cleared were not adapted to any productions with which the inhabitants for the first twenty-four years of the settlement were acquainted. During this period their efforts to cultivate the commodities which in England pass under the general name of corn, turned to little account. The woods presented a much more profitable object for their industry. In addition to bears, beavers, wild cats,

deer, foxes, raccoons and other numerous animals whose skins or furs were valuable, they abounded with oak and pine trees; the former yielded staves which were then in demand in the adjacent West India Islands. The juice of the latter extracted from the growing tree by incision and solar heat forms turpentine. This distilled yields the spirits of turpentine and the residue is rosin. The same tree when dead and dry, by the application of fire yields tar, and that when boiled becomes pitch. The trunk is easily converted into masts, boards or joists. Little labor was requisite in a country abounding with fuel and pines for obtaining these and other valuable commodities from this most useful of all trees. While the early settlers of Carolina were engaged in procuring naval stores, furs and peltry for market, and cultivating European grains on a sandy soil for provisions, providence directed them to a new source of great wealth. Landgrave Thomas Smith who was Governor of the province in 1693, had been at Madagascar before he settled in Carolina.* There he observed that rice was planted and grew in low and moist ground Having such ground at the western extremity of his garden attached to his dwelling house in East Bay street, he was persuaded that rice would grow therein if seed could be obtained. About this

* The exact time of the arrival of Thomas Smith in Carolina is not known, but it must have been soon after it began to be settled, for as early as 1688 he obtained in his own name a grant of about six acres of land on White Point. He or his father came from Exeter, in England, and was one of the many dissenters who migrated to America as an asylum from the persecution which was raised in the seventeenth century against nonconformists to the church of England. A tradition has been regularly handed down among the descendants of Thomas Smith, that he obtained the passing of a law, the principle of which continues to this day, for drawing juries indiscriminately from a box so as to preclude the possibility of packing a jury to carry any particular purpose. This tradition accords with authentic dates and facts: for on the the 15th of October, 1692, the first law on that subject was passed and was entitled "an act to provide indifferent jurymen in all cases, civil and criminal." This law, in common with the others passed on that day, was authenticated with the name of Thomas Smith in conjunction with Governor Philip Ludwel, Paul Grimball, and Richard Conant. That Thomas Smith was then a person of so much influence as to have a principal agency in passing a favorite good law is highly probable, for in seven months after he was constituted a landgrave and also appointed Governor of the province. He was the founder of a numerous and respectable family in Carolina, of which many of the fifth and sixth, and some of the fourth and seventh generation are now living. They have generally retained the principles of their common ancestor so far as to be zealous friends of religion. Among them have been found some of the most distinguished pillars both of the Episcopal and Independent churches. The immediate descendants of Thomas Smith were two sons: of these, one was the father of twenty children, and the other of four. Of these twenty-four grandchildren, seventeen were married; and their descendants have multiplied and branched out into many families. The number of the descendants of Thomas Smith who are now alive cannot be exactly ascertained, but there is reason to believe that it exceeds 500. For it is known that there are now living forty-five descendants of the Rev. Josiah Smith, who was only one of his seventeen married grand-children, and that there are more than twenty living descendants of Josiah Smith, cashier of the branch bank, who is only one of the very many of his great grand children. There is an evident fitness that the founder of so numerous a progeny, should be the introducer of rice, which of all known grains is best calculated for the support of an extensive population.

time a vessel from Madagascar being in distress, came to anchor near Sullivan's Island. The master of this vessel inquired for Mr. Smith as an old acquaintance. An interview took place. In the course of conversation Mr. Smith expressed a wish to obtain some seed rice to plant in his garden by way of experiment. The cook being called said he had a small bag of rice suitable for that purpose. This was presented to Mr. Smith who sowed it in a low spot of his garden, which now forms a part of Longitude Lane. It grew luxuriantly. The little crop was distributed by Mr. Smith among his planting friends. From this small beginning the first staple commodity of Carolina took its rise. It soon after became the chief support of the colony. Rice, besides furnishing provisions for man and beast, employs a number of hands in trade; and is therefore a source of naval strength. In every point of view it is of more value than mines of silver and gold. Rice is said by Dr. Arbuthnot to support two-thirds of the human race. No doubt can exist of its contributing extensively as nutriment to the great family of mankind.

Besides its consumption in Europe, Africa, and America, many millions of the inhabitants of Asia, live almost exclusively upon it. In plantations where it is cultivated, every domestic animal is usually fat and hearty. Among all the variety of grains none is more productive, nutritious, or wholesome than rice. In its simple state it is both a healthy and cheap food for the poor, and with proper preparation and additions it is one of the greatest delicacies at the tables of the rich; every particle of it is trebled in bulk and doubled in weight, and in its capacity for aliment, from the quantity of water it imbibes in boiling: for water is now known to be the principal ingredient in nutrition. He that eats rice at the same time receives mucilage and water, solid and fluid aliment of the most nourishing kind. Its emollient and glutinous qualities make it eminently useful in bowel complaints, and as such it forms an important article in the stores of armies and other large bodies of men. One pound of it has been found on experiment to go as far in domestic cookery, as eight pounds of flour. It is more durable than any other known grain. Its substance is so hard as not to be penetrable by the insects which deposit their ova in other farinaceous substances. It has been eaten in a sound and wholesome state four, five and six years after it was cleaned; and there is no doubt of its keeping good even more than twice as long when it is covered with its natural husk. To those who from age or infirmity are deprived of their teeth, rice is a most convenient aliment, for it requires little or no mastication. When introduced into the stomach after being well boiled, it is more easily digested than

almost any other solid food not thoroughly masticated. To that class of people whose deranged stomach cannot digest bread, unless well raised and thoroughly baked, rice affords a safe and agreeable substitute, for it requires no fermentation, and when sufficiently boiled is as likely to agree with the stomach as crusts of bread or the best baked biscuits. To exhausted armies, starving navies, or even to the weary traveler, though far removed from the haunts of men, if fuel, water and an earthen or metallic pot can be procured, rice quickly affords a palatable and strengthening aliment. In voyages round the world, flour of every kind and everything made from flour is apt to spoil, but rice sustains no injury from change of climate or the longest period of any voyage hitherto known. Such is the grain which was introduced into Carolina about 115 years ago, and has ever since been in high demand. With several in Charlestown and the adjacent country, it is the principal vegetable aliment they use for the greatest part of their lives. They experience nothing of that blindness which ignorance attributes to its constant use. The variation in the amount of the crops of this useful commodity is an important document in the history of Carolina; for it has been materially affected not only by the introduction of other staples, but by the political revolutions of the country. When it was introduced there were few negros in the province, the government was unsettled, and the soil and other circumstances most favorable to its growth were unknown. For the first twenty years after it began to be planted, the ravages of pirates on the coast made its exportation so hazardous as to discourage the cultivation of it. In the year 1724, about six years after the pirates were entirely suppressed, 18,000 barrels of rice were exported. Our knowledge of what was previously made or exported is conjectural; but each succeeding crop brought an additional quantity to market. In the year 1740, the amount exported was 91,110 barrels; in 1754 it had reached to 104,682 barrels. Till the middle of the eighteenth century the chief article of export was rice; but about that time much of the attention and force of the planters was transferred from it to indigo. Nevertheless the culture of this grain continued to advance, though slowly, till the commencement of the American revolution; when the average quantity annually exported was about 142,000 barrels. In the course of the revolutionary war, the small crops of rice were consumed in the country; and so many of the negroes were either destroyed or carried off that the crop of 1783, the first after the evacuation of Charlestown, amounted only to 61,974 barrels. With the return of peace the cultivation of rice was resumed, and continued to increase till the year 1792;

when the crop exported amounted to 106,419 barrels. About this time cotton began to employ so much of the agricultural force of the State, that the crops of rice since that period have rarely exceeded what they were about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The culture of rice in Carolina has been in a state of constant progressive improvement. Though it can be made to grow on highland, yet the profits of it when planted there are inconsiderable. The transfer of it to the swamps was highly advantageous. It gave use and value to lands which before were of no account, and by many deemed nuisances; and it more than trebled the amount of crops. Had the first mode of planting been continued, the highland would soon have failed; but much of the rice swamp in Carolina is inexhaustible.

Another great improvement is the water culture of this valuable grain. The same preparation which fits the soil for the growth of rice equally favors the growth of grass and weeds. The old method of destroying these intruders with the hoe was so laborious as to curtail the crops; but when reflection and experience had pointed out that overflowing the rice fields at a proper season, would kill the grass and weeds while it nourished rice, a plant delighting in water, the practicability of planting more ground became obvious.* For the first seventy or eighty years after rice became a staple commodity, the attention of the Legislature and of individuals was steadily fixed on the contrivance of some labor-saving machinery for separating the grains from its closely adhering husk. After many attempts machines, worked by the tides, were contrived and erected by Mr. Lucas, which are equal to the beating out twenty barrels a day by the force of tide water with the help of a few hands. Before they were introduced, the labor of the negroes in doing the same business by hand was immense. It sometimes crippled the strength of the men, and often destroyed the fertility of the women. Being done at unseasonable hours, it was a frequent source of disease and death. All this mischief in a great measure has been done away for the last twenty years, in which period rice mills have

* South Carolina is indebted to Gideon Dupont, of St. James Goose Creek, for the water culture of rice: he was an experienced planter of discernment and sound judgment, who after repeated trials ascertained its practicability. In the year 1783 he petitioned the Legislature of the State on the subject. A committee of five was appointed to confer with him. To them he freely communicated his method, relying on the generosity of the public. The treasury being then empty, the committee could only recommend granting him a patent. This he declined. His method is now in general use on river swamp lands, and has been the means of enriching thousands, though to this day his own family have reaped no benefit whatever from the communication of his discovery. Thomas Bee, now federal Judge for the district of South Carolina, was one of the above committee; and on his authority these particulars are stated.

become common in all parts of the State where rice is extensively cultivated. Some of these machines have been lately improved by Mr. Lucas, his son, and Mr. Cleland Kinlock of Georgetown, to such an extent, that from the beating out of the grain to the packing it in barrels for market, the whole and every part is performed by the same impelling power. When the late improved method of thrashing out the grain from the straw, invented by Mr. DeNeale is also taken into view, it may be asserted that the saving of labor in the culture and manufacture of rice has been carried to an astonishing height. The Carolina rice machines are far superior to any in China, though machinery has been long employed for the same purpose by the ingenious people of that ancient country. From these improvements the same force of hands that formerly would have raised two barrels can now with equal facility raise three. The rice of Carolina is equal in quality and better manufactured than that of any other nation. The only thing now wanting is to raise it, as in some foreign countries, with little or no other manual labor than that of sowing and reaping. This is only to be effected by keeping it constantly in water to the height of four, five, or six inches. When it terminates through water of that depth it will be generally free from those weeds and grasses, which if not kept down by constant labor, stunt its growth. The Agricultural Society of South Carolina have therefore resolved to give a gold medal to the maker of the best experiment on the culture of rice sown on land which shall, immediately after sowing, be covered with water from four to six inches deep, and kept inundated to that or a greater depth during the whole progress of its growth; except when it may be necessary to reduce or take off the water for the purpose of changing it, or of weeding the rice. As an auxiliary to this project, the same society have resolved to give a gold medal for the best hydraulic machine, to be worked either by wind, steam, or animal power, which shall be erected and used during the season, and which shall raise to a height not less than twelve feet the greatest quantity of water in a given time. They also have resolved to give a silver medal for the next best machine used for the same purpose to raise water to a height not less than four feet. This mode of cultivating rice is practiced in the Delta of Egypt, where the land is irrigated with water raised by the labor of oxen applied to simple machinery. If these projects succeed, and become general, the laborers may be withdrawn from the rice fields for five of the best months in the year and applied to other objects; for water will perform all the necessary intermediate operations between sowing and reaping. The culture of that grain may then be said to approach near to perfection.

The second great staple of Carolina was indigo. Its original native country is Hindostan; but it had been naturalized in the West India islands, from which it was introduced into Carolina by Miss Eliza Lucas, the mother of Major General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Her father, George Lucas, Governor of Antigua, observing her fondness for the vegetable world, frequently sent to her tropical seeds and fruits to be planted for her amusement on his plantation at Wappoo. Among others he sent her some indigo seed as a subject of experiment. She planted it in March 1741 or 1742. It was destroyed by frost. She repeated the experiment in April; this was cut down by a worm. Notwithstanding these discouragements she persevered, and her third attempt was successful. Governor Lucas, on hearing that the plant had seeded and ripened, sent from Montserrat a man by the name of Cromwell, who had been accustomed to the making of indigo, and engaged him at high wages to come to Carolina and let his daughter see the whole process for extracting the dye from the weed. This professed indigo maker built vats on Wappoo creek, and there made the first indigo that was formed in Carolina. It was but indifferent. Cromwell repented of his engagement as being likely to injure his own country; made a mystery of the business, and, with the hope of deceiving, injured the process by throwing in too much lime. Miss Lucas watched him carefully, and also engaged Mr. Deveaux to superintend his operations. Notwithstanding the duplicity of Cromwell, a knowledge of the process was obtained. Soon after Miss Lucas had completely succeeded in this useful project, she married Charles Pinckney; and her father made a present of all the indigo on his plantation, the fruit of her industry, to her husband. The whole was saved for seed. Part was planted by the proprietor next year at Ashepoo, and the remainder given away to his friends in small quantities for the same purpose. They all succeeded. From that time the culture of indigo was common, and in a year or two it became an article of export. Soon after the dye was successfully extracted from the cultivated plant, Mr. Cattel made a present to Mr. Pinckney of some wild indigo which he had just discovered in the woods of Carolina. Experiments were instituted to ascertain its virtues. It proved to be capable of yielding good indigo but was less productive than what had been imported. The attention of the planters was fixed on the latter. They urged its culture with so much industry and success, that in the year 1747 a considerable quantity of it was sent to England; which induced the merchants trading to Carolina to petition Parliament for a bounty on Carolina indigo. The Parliament, upon examination, found that it was one of the most beneficial articles of French commerce:

that their West India islands supplied all the markets of Europe, and that Britain alone consumed annually six hundred thousand weight of French indigo, which at five shillings a pound cost the nation the prodigious sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. It was demonstrated that this expense might be saved by encouraging the cultivation of indigo in Carolina. It was proved that the demand for indigo annually increased, and it could never be expected that the planters in the West Indies would attend to it while the culture of sugar canes proved more profitable. Accordingly, an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1748, for allowing a bounty of sixpence per pound on indigo raised in the British American plantations, and imported directly into Britain from the place of its growth. In consequence of this Act, the planters applied themselves with double vigor and spirit to that article, and seemed to vie with each other who should bring the best kind and greatest quantity of it to the market. Some years indeed elapsed before they found out the nice art of making it as good as the French; but every year they improved in the mode of preparing it, and finally received great profit as the reward of their labors. While many of them doubled their capital every three or four years by planting indigo, they in process of time brought it to such a degree of perfection as not only to supply the mother country, but also to undersell the French at several European markets. It proved more really beneficial to Carolina than the mines of Mexico or Peru are or ever have been either to old or new Spain. In the year 1754, the export of indigo from the province amounted to 216,924 lbs. And shortly before the American Revolution, it had arisen to 1,107,660 lbs. In the Revolutionary war it was less attended to than rice. In the year 1783, it again began to be more cultivated: 2,051 casks of indigo was exported, and it continued to form a valuable export for some years, but large importations of it from the East Indies into England so lowered the price as to make it less profitable. Near the close of the eighteenth century, it gave place to the cultivation of cotton. The same grounds being generally suitable for both, were for the most part planted with the new staple; and indigo has been ever since comparatively neglected. Its culture was at all times in a great measure confined to the low and middle country.

Cotton has been known to the world as an useful commodity ever since the days of Herodotus, who upwards of two thousand years ago wrote that "Gossypium grew in India which instead of seed produced wool." As rice feeds more of the human race than any other grain, so cotton clothes more of mankind than either wool, flax, hemp, or silk. Both

of these articles have grown for many centuries in the East Indies in a country similar to Carolina. Though the same reasoning and analogy, and the same information that led to the introduction of rice might have pointed out the propriety of attempting the culture of cotton in Carolina, yet the latter was not planted to any considerable extent for one hundred years after the introduction of the former. It had been declared by Dr. Hewat in his valuable historical account of South Carolina, printed in 1719, "that the climate and soil of the province were favorable to the culture of cotton." The first Provincial Congress in South Carolina, held in January, 1775, recommended to the inhabitants "to raise cotton," yet very little practical attention was paid to their recommendation. A small quantity only was raised for domestic manufactures. This neglect cannot solely be referred to the confusion of the times, for agriculture had been successfully prosecuted for ten years after the termination of the Revolutionary war before the Carolinians began to cultivate it to any considerable extent.* In this culture the Georgians took the lead. They began to raise it as an article of export soon after the peace of 1783. Their success recommended it to their neighbors. The whole quantity exported from Carolina in any one year prior to 1795 was inconsiderable, but in that year it amounted to £1,109,653. The cultivation of it has been ever since increasing, and on the first year of the present century eight million of pounds were exported from South Carolina. The uncertainty of this crop has disgusted a few planters, and brought them back to the less hazardous culture of rice. These two staples have so monopolized the agricultural force of the State, that for several years past other articles of export and even provisions have been greatly neglected. In the great eagerness to get money, the planters have brought themselves into a state of dependence on their neighbors for many of the necessaries of life which formerly were raised at home. So much cotton is now made in Carolina and Georgia, that if the whole was manufactured in the United States, it would go far in clothing a great proportion of the inhabitants of the Union; for one laborer can raise as much of this commodity in one season as will afford the raw material for fifteen hundred yards of common cloth, or a sufficiency for covering one hundred and fifty persons. That part of it which is now manufactured in Europe, and brought back in an improved state, sometimes pays more, and on a general average nearly

* The labor-saving machines invented in England within the last thirty-five years, greatly promoted the manufacture of cotton, and thereby opened a steady and advantageous market for the raw materials. This was one of the principal causes which encouraged its cultivation in the United States.

as much in duties to the United States, as the planter gets for the raw material. The duty, being in proportion to the value, on a pound weight of fine cotton goods is much more than the cultivator of the commodity gets for the same weight of cotton in its merchantable state. This staple is of immense value to the public, and still more so to individuals. It has trebled the price of land suitable to its growth, and when the crop succeeds and the market is favorable, the annual income of those who plant it is double to what it was before the introduction of cotton.

The cotton chiefly cultivated on the sea-coast is denominated the black seed or long staple cotton, which is of the best quality and admirably adapted to the finest manufactures. The wool is easily separated from the seed by roller-gins which do not injure the staple. A pair of rollers worked by one laborer give about twenty-five pounds of clean cotton daily. The cotton universally cultivated in the middle and upper country is called the green seed kind. It is less silky and more wooly, and adheres so tenaciously to the seed that it requires the action of a saw-gin to separate the wool from the seed. This cuts the staple exceedingly; but as the staple of this kind of cotton is not fit for the finer fabrics it is not considered injurious. The quality of these two kinds is very different. The wool of the green seed is considerably the cheapest; but that species is much more productive than the other. An acre of good cotton land will usually produce one hundred and fifty pounds of clean wool of the long staple kind. An acre of land of equal quality will usually produce two hundred pounds of the green seed or short staple kind. Besides these, yellow or nankeen cotton is also cultivated in the upper country for domestic use. Two ingenius artists, Miller and Whiteney of Connecticut, invented a saw-gin for the separation of the wool from the seed which has facilitated that operation in the highest degree. The Legislature of South Carolina purchased their patent-right for 50,000 dollars, and then munificently threw open its use and benefits to all its citizens.

Such have been the profits of the planters of cotton, and so great has been their partiality for raising it, to the exclusion of other valuable commodities, that the history of the agriculture of Carolina, in its present state, comprehends little more than has been already given: but it is proper to bring into view what this has been and what it might and would be now if rice and cotton, especially the latter, did not absorb almost the whole energies of the planting interest.

Wheat, next to rice, is of most extensive use as an aliment. The culture of it was introduced and encouraged by Joseph

Kershaw, who, more than forty years ago, erected mills at Pinetree, now Camden, for manufacturing it into flour. These both encouraged and rewarded the cultivators of wheat. It became a favorite commodity for some time in the vicinity, and continued so for several years. The flour made there did not command as high a price in Charlestown as what was imported from the northern States. The Carolina wheat was not inferior, though perhaps these first mills might in some respect be so; but the difference in the quality of the flour has become so inconsiderable that when shipped to the West Indies in barrels, marked as if from Philadelphia and Baltimore, it sold as well as that which had been really shipped from these ports. The fraud, if detected, was considered more as an offence against truth than commerce; for the commodities were substantially equal. The manufacture of flour was suspended by the Revolutionary War. In the course of it Mr. Broome, one of Col. Lee's cavalry, passed over the foundation of Mr. Kershaw's mills. Struck with the advantages of the situation he returned when peace took place and erected there as complete a set of mills as any in the United States. And in the year 1801, 40,000 bushels of it were manufactured at two or three flour mills, all of which were within one mile of Camden, and from the proceeds 600 barrels of superfine flour were delivered for domestic use or exportation. From the demand of wheat and flour money flowed into the contiguous settlements. This good example was followed, and excellent merchant mills were erected in Laurens district, on the waters of Little river, by Thomas Wadsworth; and at Greenville, on the waters of Reedy river, by Alston, and in different parts of the State by others. There was every prospect that flour would soon make an important addition to the exports of Carolina. These prospects have been, for some years, obscured; for, by nice calculations, the planters found that they could make more money by cotton than wheat. Considerable quantities of flour are now imported, and though much is made in the interior country, very little, or none, is exported.*

The next great article derived from the cultivation of the earth is maize, or Indian corn; for its production the swamps,

* Such is the uncertainty of human affairs that the project of building mills for the manufacture of flour. which promised fair to be both a public and private advantage, has proved very injurious to the interests of all concerned. These mills, erected at great expense, are comparatively idle from the want of wheat; for the farmers in the neighboring districts raise little else than cotton. The owners of the Camden mills, in particular, have been materially injured by this general change of the staple commodity of the vicinity. It is worthy of their consideration whether they might not alleviate their losses by substituting homespun manufactures for that of flour. The same machinery, buildings and water power would answer as well for the one as the other.

when perfectly drained, and the highlands are both well adapted. The crop varies with the soil and seasons on high-and from ten to twenty-five bushels, and in the swamps from twenty-five to seventy-five bushels. The aliment derived from this grain is considered as more strengthening and better adapted to laborers than either rice or wheat. The negroes of Carolina give it a decided preference, and are said to be better able to perform their labor when fed on corn than on any other grain. From the year 1739 nearly to the end of the eighteenth century it has been an article of export, but on a moderate scale; for rice and indigo were always deemed more profitable. With the new staple, cotton, it cannot bear any competition. In the year 1792, when cotton was beginning to be extensively cultivated, 99,985 bushels of corn were exported; which exceeded any amount that can be recollected, either before or since. As the former advanced the latter declined. Corn, no longer an article of export, is now largely imported for domestic use on the sea-coast.

Though Carolina, by her rice, cotton and lumber, contributed largely to the food, clothing and shelter of man, yet these were not the only rewards conferred on the cultivators of its soil. It produced another commodity which, though not to be numbered among the necessaries, is by its votaries placed high in the list of the comforts of life. Tobacco is an indigenous plant of America. It had been successfully cultivated in Virginia before Carolina was settled. Little doubt could have existed that it might be made to grow in a more southern latitude; but it does not appear among the articles of export from Carolina till 1783, and then only six hundred and forty-three hogsheads are stated as the amount. In the following it had reached to 2,680, and in the year 1799 to 9,646 hogsheads. In the rich lands of the back country it was found to answer well; but the expense of bringing so bulky an article so great a distance to market, left little clear profits. It could not stand in competition with cotton.

The soil of Carolina produces also hemp and flax. They are noted as articles of export in the year 1784, but only in the small quantity of three tons of the former and 171 casks of the latter. Hemp is now cultivated for sale in the upper country, particularly between Broad and Saluda rivers; and the soil is so congenial to it that enough might be raised for every necessary use. The rice planters may console themselves that if the planting of that grain should ever cease to be an object of their attention, the grounds heretofore used for the culture of rice will answer very well for hemp or afford excellent pastures and grazing fields. Flax may be cultivated to any extent, but at present it is only raised for domestic purposes.

Barley has been successfully cultivated, and some exported. The low grounds of Carolina have produced fifty, sixty, and even seventy bushels to the acre. It ripens so early in May as to admit another crop to be made on the same ground in the course of the year. A sufficiency might be furnished to answer all demands if the planters found an interest in raising it.

Madder has been successfully cultivated by Aaron Loocock, but it has been dropped in favor of other pursuits less troublesome or more profitable.

The swamps abound with reeds, of which 147,750 were exported in 1784, and any demand for them might be supplied.

The commodities already enumerated have all been articles of export, and will probably be so again if cotton or rice should fail, but the capacity of the country to yield other valuable productions has been ascertained, though not carried to the extent of exportation. In this class hops and silk may be reckoned. The former is annually raised in small quantities, and may easily be urged so far as to answer any probable demand. The latter was the subject of successful experiments made very early in the eighteenth century, under the patronage of Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson.* In the year 1755 Mrs. Pinckney, the same lady who about ten years before had introduced the indigo plant, took with her to England a quantity of excellent silk, which she had raised and spun in the vicinity of Charlestown, sufficient to make three complete dresses. One of these was presented to the Princess Dowager of Wales and another to Lord Chesterfield. They were allowed to be equal to any silk ever imported. The third, now in Charlestown, in the possession of her daughter Mrs. Horry, is remarkable for its beauty, firmness and strength.

The culture of silk was attended to for a considerable time by the Swiss colonists near Purysburgh, and occasionally by private persons, particularly by Mr. Van Haslet, as late as the year 1787, in the vicinity of Charlestown. It is at present successfully continued at New Bordeaux in Abbeville, by Mr. Gibert; but the project has not been urged with perseverance nor to any great extent, probably from conviction that there were easier modes of making money. From the well known circumstance that mulberry trees grow spontaneously, and that native silk worms producing well formed cocoons are often found in the woods of Carolina, it is probable that the country is naturally adapted to the raising of silk.

The same observations will apply to wine, olives and oil;

* The plantation, on which Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson made his silk, is situate in St. Thomas parish, and has ever since been known by the appropriate name of Silk Hope. It is now the proporty of Nathaniel Heyward.

for the woods abound with native grapes, and wine has been made both from them and the fruit of imported vines. The olive tree has also been brought from abroad and naturalized, and their fruit prepared and preserved equal to imported olives. The former of Henry Laurens, the latter in the first instance by his daughter Martha Laurens Ramsay, and afterwards by others.

Though the demand for cotton should cease, or the price fall, there would be no ground for serious regret. Many other profitable objects of culture are within the grasp of the planters. When their industry and ingenuity is turned to these and other projects which might be mentioned, there is good reason to believe that the result will console them for their loss of a valuable staple by finding others which will add more to their comforts and real enjoyments than they ever have derived from the proceeds of their cotton crops.

Planters are the most independent and influential men in Carolina, especially when they are out of debt and have money remaining from their last crop to meet with cash in hand the expenses of the current year. Such of them as commence planting with both land and slaves bought on credit, often fail. Where either is inherited or acquired without debt, the other may be purchased by an industrious prudent man with a fair prospect of advantage. When crops are anticipated by engagements founded on them before they are made, ruin is often the consequence, and much oftener since the revolution than before; for the indulgence formerly granted to subjects in Carolina has seldom been extended to citizen planters. The failure of a single pre-engaged crop may break up a promising agriculturist driven to extremities by a pressing creditor.

Merchants and military men, when they have devoted themselves to agriculture in Carolina, have generally made good planters. Their former habits have a tendency to make them regular and methodical in business—to keep up strict discipline—and to count the cost of every undertaking. Professional men who attempt agriculture, seldom succeed in both as well as when they devote themselves diligently and exclusively to one pursuit. In no business do the random habits of desultory men more certainly lead to ruin than in planting.

The education of the sons of planters in distant countries is often injurious to such of them as are destined to follow the same line of business as their fathers. They frequently return with sentiments and habits very unsuitable to their future prospects. In consequence of their foreign education they may be better scholars but they are generally worse planters.

The opportunities of enjoying and communicating happiness

within the power of humane, good, and liberal planters, are great. If their inclination is for mental improvement they may riot in intellectual luxury. Books, leisure to read, and every facility for philosophical experiments or agricultural projects, are all within their grasp. So great are their advantages that Arthur Youngs might be reared in every district. If their disposition leads them to the practical arts of government, they may be Trajans on a small scale. All that has ever been urged in favor of an energetic efficient government applies to them. They can enforce obedience to any extent they please. If they make a good and judicious use of their power they can compel that observance of regularity and order, decency and propriety of conduct, which brings happiness in its train. There are several such planters in Carolina who do a full-orbed duty to their domestics; and instead of being tyrants over slaves, are wise and good rulers over well-governed happy subjects.

In 1785, a society was incorporated to promote the interests of agriculture. Their object was to institute a farm for agricultural experiments—to import and circulate foreign articles that were suitable to the climate of Carolina, and to direct the attention of the agriculturists of the State to useful objects, and to reward such as improved the art. They imported and distributed some cuttings of vines and olives. The latter answered well, but the vicinity of Charlestown proved too moist for the former. The society gave some considerable pecuniary aid to an adventurer undertaking to cultivate vines at Columbia, but their liberality was misapplied.

Their efforts hitherto have been crippled from the want of funds. This defect has been lately done away from the successful issue of a lottery, instituted for the benefit of the institution. It is now clear of debt and possessed of forty-two acres of land in the vicinity of Charlestown, in which agricultural experiments are occasionally made. The society consists of forty members, whose annual subscription of twenty-five dollars each, added to the proceeds of the late lottery, will enable them to proceed with vigor in their original pursuits.

From their future labors the public look with earnest expectation for illumination on various subjects, the improvement of which was the object of their incorporation.*

The agriculture of Carolina, though flourishing, is far short

* These expectations are in a train of being realized. The society have resolved upon a plan for advancing the agricultural interest of the State. Part of this has been already mentioned as connected with the culture of rice. In addition, they have resolved to offer medals. For an efficacious and practical method of destroying the caterpillars which infest the cotton plant, or preventing their ravages: For the best and most practicable method of discharging stains from cotton and rendering it perfectly white: For the greatest quantity of sweet oil made from

of its height. The art of manuring land is little understood, and less practiced. The bulk of the planters, relying on the fertility of the soil, seldom planting any but what is good, and changing land when it begins to fail for that which is fresh, seldom give themselves much trouble to keep their fields in heart. Beds of compost are rare. Twenty years ago there was no fixed price in Charlestown for manure, and it was often given to the first who offered to carry it off. The late increase of gardens in the vicinity has increased the demand and raised its price to something, but far less than it bears in other large cities. Cattle, sheep, and hogs experience little care and derive but a small portion of their comforts or food from the attention or the labors of their owners. For the most part they are left to provide for themselves from the bounties of nature. It is not uncommon for the planter, though possessing twenty or thirty milch cows, to enjoy fewer comforts from them than cottagers in other countries derive from two or three well looked after. Much good highland remains untouched for future laborers. Extensive marshes are yet in a state of nature, though no doubt exists of the practicability of reducing the most of them to a very useful state. Only a small proportion of the margins of rivers and of other swamps have as yet been brought under cultivation. Immense forests of pine land have hitherto yielded little else than lumber. They might, with a little manure, be made to produce corn, potatoes, turnips, and rye, in addition to kitchen garden vegetables. A numerous peasantry might be supported in them, though at present they are generally unproductive deserts. Pine lands are now the seat of health, and with proper management might be made the bulwark of the State; for they can be cultivated by white men, while the swamps and low grounds can be planted only by those who are black. A numerous population is maintained in Asia, and in the southern parts of Europe, in climates resembling that of Carolina.

Some observations on horticulture as a branch of agriculture will close this chapter.

The planters of Carolina have derived so great profits from the cultivation of rice, indigo, and cotton, that they have always too much neglected the culture of gardens. The high

olives raised in the State: For the greatest quantity of oil obtained from groundnuts, and from the seed of sesamum or bene, of cotton, and of sun-flowers: Also for the greatest quantities of the levant senna, cassia senna, raised, cured, and brought to market in the State; and the greatest quantity of rhubarb, rheum palmatum, castor oil, hops, and madder, all to be raised in the State: And to the person who shall first, within the State, establish and keep a flock of sheep of the true marino breed: And for the greatest quantity of figs, the produce of the State, dried and brought to market. The society have also resolved to establish a nursery of the most useful and ornamental trees, shrubs, and plants, and to offer them for sale at moderate prices.

price of their staple commodities in every period has tempted them to sacrifice convenience to crops of a marketable quality. There are numbers whose neglected gardens neither afford flowers to regale the senses, nor the vegetables necessary to the comfort of their families, though they annually receive considerable sums in money for their crops sent to market. To this there have been some illustrious exceptions of persons who cultivated gardens on a large scale both for use and pleasure. The first that can be recollected is Mrs. Lamboll, who, before the middle of the eighteenth century, improved the southwest extremity of King street, in a garden which was richly stored with flowers and other curiosities of nature in addition to all the common vegetables for family use. She was followed by Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Hopton, who cultivated extensive gardens in Meeting, George, and King streets, on lands now covered with houses. The former reduced the knowledge she had acquired by long experience, and observation, to a regular system which was published after her death, with the title of the Gardener's Kalendar; and to this day regulates the practice of gardens in and near Charlestown.*

About the year 1755 Henry Laurens purchased a lot of four acres in Ansonborough, which is now called Laurens' square, and enriched it with everything useful and ornamental that Carolina produced or his extensive mercantile connections enabled him to procure from remote parts of the world. Among a variety of other curious productions, he introduced olives, capers, limes, ginger, guinea grass, the alpine strawberry, bearing nine months in the year, red raspberrys, blue grapes; and also directly from the south of France, apples, pears, and plums of fine kinds, and vines which bore abundantly of the choice white eating grape called Chasselates blancs. The whole was superintended with maternal care by Mrs. Elinor Laurens with the assistance of John Watson, a complete English gardener. Watson soon after formed a spacious garden for himself on the ground now occupied by Nathaniel Heyward, and afterwards on a large lot of land stretching from King street to and over Meeting street. In the latter he erected the first nursery garden in Carolina. There every new and curious plant that grew or had been naturalized in the country might be purchased. The botanic publications of the day quote him as the introducer of several

* Mrs. Martha Logan was the daughter of Robert Daniel, one of the last proprietary Governors of South Carolina. In the fifteenth year of her age she married George Logan, the son of Colonel George Logan, who came from Aberdeen, in Scotland, and in the year 1690 settled in South Carolina, and there founded the respectable family of Logans, the sixth generation of which is now living. Mrs. Logan was a great florist, and uncommonly fond of a garden. She was 70 years old when she wrote her Treatise on Gardening, and died in 1779, aged 77 years.

productions of Carolina to the public gardens in England. By an exchange of such articles, he rendered service to both countries and enriched each with many of the curiosities of the other. These promising attempts at gardening were all laid waste in the revolutionary war. Watson's garden was revived and continued by himself and descendants after the peace of 1783, but has since gone to ruin. Robert Squib followed John Watson, and in like manner did honor to Carolina by circulating its curious native productions. Of these he transmitted several to English botanists, which grew and flourished. He is honorably mentioned in Curtis's Botanical Magazine "as not only well versed in plants, but indefatigable in discovering and collecting the more rare species of Carolina, and with which the gardens of England are likely soon to be enriched." He was also the author of a work entitled the Gardener's Kalendar, which was published in Charlestown. About the year 1786 the government of France sent out the celebrated traveler and botanist, Andre Michaux, who established a botanic garden ten miles from Charlestown into which he introduced a number of curious exotics in addition to a great variety of American productions. This also has gone to ruin, though many of the articles growing therein have been transplanted and preserved elsewhere.

There are now some valuable private gardens near Charlestown: one is situated in St. Andrews on the banks of Ashley river, and belongs to Charles Drayton. It is arranged with exquisite taste and contains an extensive collection of trees, shrubs, and flowers which are natives of the country. Among many other valuable exotics, a great number of viburnum tinus, and of gardenias, which are perfectly naturalized to the soil, grow there with enchanting luxuriance; but the principal object of the proprietor has been to make an elegant and concentrated display of the native botanic riches of Carolina, in which he has succeeded to the delight and admiration of all visitants.

Another is in St. Paul's district and was originally formed by William Williamson, but now belongs to John Champneys. It contains twenty-six acres, six of which are in sheets of water and abound in excellent fish; ten acres in pleasure grounds, walks, and banks; the remainder is used for horticultural and agricultural purposes. The pleasure grounds are planted with every species of flowering trees, shrubs, and flowers that this and the neighboring States can furnish; and also with similar curious productions of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Another part contains a great number of fruit trees; especially piccan nut and pear trees, which are ripe in succession from the middle of May to the middle of October.

Though all garden vegetables can be raised earlier in Carolina than in the Northern States; yet till very lately cabbages, potatoes, onions, and such like articles were generally imported for domestic consumption. Some are even now imported. Within the last twenty years a spirit of horticulture has increased in the vicinity of Charlestown so as to supply the market with a considerable variety and plenty of vegetables for domestic use; but many of the inhabitants of the country still remain destitute of the comforts which even a moderate attention to gardens could not fail of procuring. Rich in staple commodities, minor objects are by many comparatively neglected.

A passion for flowers has of late astonishingly increased. Many families in the capital, and several in the country, for some years past have been uncommonly attentive to flower gardens. Those who cannot command convenient spots of ground have their piazzas, balconies, and windows richly adorned with the beauties of nature far beyond anything that was known in the days of their infancy.

COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER VI.

Commerce is of noble origin in South Carolina. Its first merchants were the lords proprietors of the province. Two vessels were very early and constantly employed by them to introduce settlers and everything necessary either for their support or the cultivation of the earth. These plied between Charlestown on one side, and Virginia, the British West India Islands, particularly Barbadoes, and Great Britain on the other. From the West India Islands they imported rum and sugar, and in return carried thither staves and lumber. Sir John Yeamans, who was Governor of the province in the second, third, and fourth year after its settlement, owned an estate in Barbadoes, and was very active in promoting this exchange of commodities between the two countries, with both of which he was particularly connected. From Great Britain the Carolinians imported clothing, provisions, plantation tools, and domestic animals. To it they exported furs and peltry. Much of these were procured from the Indians,

which gave rise to a brisk trade between them and the settlers in the way of barter. This was the general course of commerce for the first thirty years after the settlement. About that time rice began to be an article of export.

Mercantile profit was not the object of the lords proprietors. To encourage emigration to their province they advanced money to supply the settlers. Their increased number bid fair to increase the demand for the lands of the proprietors so as ultimately to reimburse them for their advances. They pursued this policy till they had reason to complain of much going out and little coming in. The colonists, after a reasonable period of indulgence, were left to their own exertions; and the proprietors discontinued their mercantile intercourse with the settlement.

The trade of the province must have been inconsiderable for at least fifteen years, as that period had elapsed before any collector of duties for the port of Charlestown was appointed; and before the first legislative act respecting a pilot was passed. For fifty years, subsequent to the settlement, nothing certain is known either of the population in or the amount of exports from Carolina; but there is reason to believe that rice began to be exported about the beginning of the 18th century. Anderson states that 264,488 barrels were exported to England from 1720 to 1729; and that 429,525 barrels were exported between 1730 to 1739 inclusive. About the latter period the trade of the province was considerable both in imports and exports. The negroes then amounted to about 40,000. They and all other articles of importation must have been paid for chiefly by rice, naval stores, lumber, peltry, and furs exported from the country. To these first articles of export were added indigo, from 1747—tobacco, from 1782—and cotton, from 1792.* The aggregate value of exports was in such a course of progressive increase, that in the last year of the 18th century it amounted to 10,554,842 dollars, and in the first year of the 19th to 14,304,045 dollars.

For the 106 years of the colonial existence of South Carolina, all its trade centered in Great Britain and its dependencies; with the exception of as much rice as under the special indulgence of an act of parliament was exported to the southward of Cape Finisterre. This trade was carried on very much to the satisfaction and interest of Carolina. A considerable proportion of it was in the hands of native merchants, but more was carried on by emigrants from Great Britain and

*These periods mark the years when the exportation of these articles began to be considerable. Small quantities were exported before. In addition to these great articles of export, some minor ones might be added: such as Indian corn, cow-pease, beef, pork, leather, shingles, staves, &c.

Ireland. Many of these invested their commercial gains in a planting interest, settled and raised up families in the province. Several of them passed through all the grades between clerks, or shopmen, and wealthy merchants or substantial planters, in the interval between their youth and the period of their attaining or soon after their passing the meridian of life. They did not consider Carolina as a place of exile from the delights of Europe till they had amassed the means of enjoying life in their native lands, but took it for their home and acted with that liberality towards their adopted countrymen which might be expected from permanent inhabitants. Several of the present generation have derived their origin from merchants of this description.

All the little commerce which was carried on in the revolutionary war was forced against apparently insurmountable obstacles. The State had no adequate means for protecting its trade. Soon after the declaration of independence, some adventurous individuals began to send vessels to the Dutch and French West India Islands. It was early foreseen that the public would suffer most from the want of salt. To obviate this inconvenience eight gentlemen entered into a partnership to purchase six swift sailing vessels in Bermuda to be employed in importing that necessary article. They for a season supplied the wants of the people and continued this trade till their vessels were all taken.

Commerce soon began to flow in new channels. The old merchants whose fortunes were easy, unwilling to risk their capital, generally retired from business. A new set who had little to lose by boldly venturing, served their country and rapidly advanced their own interest. Various artifices were used to screen this contraband trade from legal seizure. Some vessels had captains of different nations, and registers of different ports; and were occasionally French, Dutch, English or American property as the exigency of the case required. Notwithstanding all this subtlety many forfeitures were incurred. The increasing demand for imported goods and the stoppage of all exportation to Great Britain, put it so much in the power of adventurers to sell imported articles dear and to purchase country produce cheap, that in the years 1776 and 1777, the safe arrival of two vessels would indemnify them for the loss of one. For the encouragement of trade two insurance companies opened offices which greatly forwarded the extension of commerce. A direct trade to France was soon attempted, and French vessels in like manner found their way into the port of Charlestown. This intercourse in its commencement proved very unfortunate; for out of sixteen vessels richly laden with the commodities of the country, four only arrived

safe. This heavy blow for a little time damped the spirit of enterprise, but it soon revived.

A considerable trade, though much inferior to what had been usual in times of peace, was carried on in this manner for the greatest part of the three first years of the contest when the operations of the British were chiefly confined to the northern States. It received severe shocks from repeated embargoes and the growing depreciation of the paper currency. To subserve military operations the sailing of vessels was several times interdicted. This solely distressed commerce, and prevented the country from obtaining supplies of foreign commodities. It also discouraged strangers from sending their vessels into American ports, as their return, for reasons of State, was so frequently prevented.

When in the course of the war the British turned their arms more immediately against Carolina and Georgia, the trade that had been previously carried on became inconsiderable. Nevertheless, as often as French fleets visited the coast or the absence of British armed vessels was satisfactorily ascertained, the merchants of Charlestown improved their opportunities and sometimes made successful voyages. With the fall of Charlestown all trade in behalf of Americans wholly ceased. The transition from the greatest want of imported articles to the greatest plenty, was instantaneous. In the train of the victorious army was a number of merchants and an immensity of goods. The shelves which for some time had been unoccupied, began once more to bend with the novel load of British manufactures. Such of the inhabitants as had credit or the command of money, easily obtained a supply of all they wanted. The contrast between the eighteen months which preceded, and the eighteen months which followed the surrender of Charlestown was striking; but soon after the expiration of the latter period, commerce again began to languish. Every day added to the probability that the late conquerors would not be able to keep the province. The Americans in a few more months regained nearly all they had formerly lost, and the evacuation of Charlestown was resolved upon by the British. The merchants who came with them were permitted to negotiate for themselves, and on the departure of the royal army obtained permission from the government of the State to remain under the protection of its laws. The impoverished inhabitants of South Carolina now experienced no other want but that of money, for much of the merchandize in Charlestown was left behind at its evacuation by the British. As a substitute for cash they stretched their credit to the utmost, and contracted debts which to several were ruinous and to all inconvenient.

With the return of peace, the Carolinians counted on an extension of their commerce as being no longer fettered with a British monopoly. But they soon found that when they ceased to be British subjects, they lost the advantages attached to that political character; that as aliens they could not trade to the British West India Islands, with which, from the first settlement of the province, they had carried on a lucrative commerce. With the war several had lost their capital and others their credit. Few Carolinians had resources left to enter into competition with the British merchants. In the hands of the latter the bulk of the trade of the country centered, and with them it has more or less continued ever since.

It was not only from this circumstance, but from the superior advantages of trading with Great Britain, that the Carolinians have been commercially connected with Great Britain nearly as much since the Revolution as before. They have a right to trade with all the world, but find it their interest to trade principally with Britain. The ingenuity of her manufacturers—the long credit her merchants are in the habit of giving—the facility of making remittances to her as the purchaser of a great part of the native commodities of Carolina, have all concurred to cement a commercial connection between the two countries. From the increased demand for the manufactures of Britain by the increased inhabitants of Carolina, the latter, as a State, is much more profitable to the former than she ever was when a province. Though the trade of South Carolina to Germany has greatly increased, and that to the Mediterranean, to France, Spain, United Netherlands, Madeira, and Russia, has also increased in the order in which these countries are respectively mentioned; yet the surplus that remains for Great Britain far exceeds all she ever derived from the same country as her colony. It may be confidently asserted that the trade between the two countries for one single year of general peace, free from all interruption, would now be of greater value to Great Britain than all she derived from Carolina for the first half of her colonial existence; or the fifty-three years which were immediately subsequent to the settlement of the province.

The merchants of Carolina do not seem fond of exploring new channels of commerce. There never was but one vessel fitted out in Charlestown for the East Indies. No voyages round the world, to the northwest coast of America, to new or remote countries, have originated there; as far as can be recollected.

The wars that for several years before and after the commencement of the nineteenth century, raged in Europe, have been of great advantage; and also a source of material injury

to the commerce of Carolina. In the first instance the privileges attached to neutral vessels, the extensive marine and enterprising spirit of American navigators, have made their flag the passport for the commodities of most of the belligerent nations. Carolina, as being near to their colonies in the West India Islands and on the Main, came in for a large share of this carrying trade and derived great profits from it. This was called by England, "War in disguise;" as it facilitated the transportation of commodities between the French and Spanish colonies, and their respective mother countries, to effect which their own reduced marine was unequal. Orders, and counter decrees, decrees and counter orders, alternately retaliating not on each other, but on unoffending third persons, followed each other in rapid succession, till neutrals were reduced to the alternative of either abandoning the ocean or subjecting themselves to almost certain capture by one or the other of the belligerents. The laws of nature and nations were disregarded. Both the hostile nations, England and France, so often and so grossly violated the rights of neutrals, that it is difficult to ascertain who was the first or the greatest aggressor. They both deserve the execrations of every friend to the rights of man, or of neutral commerce. The citizens of Carolina, conscious that they had given no just cause of offence to either, humbly hoped to be permitted to live in peace. But this boon was too great to be granted. Each of the nations at war endeavored to goad them into a quarrel with its respective adversary; and to compel them to do so, each hostile nation interdicted them and all Americans from trading with the other and all its dependencies: thereby shutting them out from nine-tenths of the ports with which, by the laws of nations, of nature, and of nature's God, they had a right to trade. That their innocent commerce might be saved from universal seizure, under color of British orders of council, and French decrees, the ruling powers of the United States in December, 1807, directed that the Americans should retire within themselves from all commercial intercourse with foreigners. A coasting trade is all that throughout the year 1808 remained of an extensive commerce, which, though not two centuries old, had grown with such unexampled rapidity as to be the second in the world. That year, which will be long remembered for the privations and sufferings resulting from a general embargo, was an eventful one to the inhabitants of South Carolina. Their foreign trade was in a moment, and with little or no previous notice, completely arrested. To vessels loaded and ready to sail, clearances were denied. Such as having already cleared out, had began their voyages, were pursued, and when overtaken brought back. The price of produce instantly fell more than one hundred per cent. or

rather could not be sold from want of purchasers. The labors of the past year were rendered unavailing to the relief of their owner though pressed with debt and threatened with executions. Factors, wharfingers, and others engaged in the transportation or sale of commodities, suddenly passed over from the full tide of employment to listless inactivity. A general stagnation of business in the midst of that bustling period which is called the crop season, instantly took place. The distresses of individuals were both the causes and effects of the distresses of others. A chain of suffering encircled the community. All this was magnanimously borne by a great majority of the inhabitants. Their reproaches fell not on the administrators of their own government, but on the authors of British orders and French decrees. The Legislature of the State applauded the measures of the general government and their applause was re-echoed by the people. The discontents of a few evaporated in private murmurings, and did not produce a single public expression of disapprobation or impatience. While others contended that they suffered most from the embargo, the Carolinians with justice preferred their claim to the honor of bearing it best. History is confined to the relation of facts, and does not extend to conjectures on contingent events, or it might be added that if the embargo had been as faithfully observed and as patiently borne in every part of the Union as it was in Carolina, the issue would probably have been very different, and certainly more to the honor of the United States.

OF THE ARTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER VII.

To procure food, clothing, shelter and defence, are primary arts at all times indispensable, but eminently so among the settlers in new countries or such as are inhabited only by savages. The first Europeans who located themselves in Carolina must have derived their food from the waters and woods, except what they brought with them and the maize they obtained from the Indians. Their clothing they must have imported, for the country afforded none other than the skins of beasts. The aborigines had no domestic animals, no stores of food artificially preserved, no cultivated fields or gardens

from which they could supply the wants of the new comers. The embarkation of the latter in January was probably the result of design, that they might be in readiness to improve the approaching season of vegetation. Of their proceedings no records, nor even any tradition has reached us further than that their Governor, William Sayle, set them a noble example of personal industry. Fom the nature of man, we must suppose that their first care was to make some rude shelter to cover them, and their next to prepare the ground for planting. After they had committed to its bosom such seeds as they supposed likely to grow and be useful; it was natural for them to employ their leisure time in fishing and hunting for their immediate support. They had no experience to guide them as to the nature of soils, and seeds or grains suitable to each other. Tradition has informed us that their first essays in planting were with highland grains on the high and sandy soil which was most easily cleared, as being slightly covered with wood. We know that more than once they labored under serious apprehensions of famine, and threatened to compel their Governor to abandon the country. Their agricultural efforts were for some time poorly rewarded, and much of their food and all their clothing was imported. In the arts of fishing and hunting they had advantages over the natives, to whom fish-hooks and guns were unknown. The arts of the new comers in destroying the wild beasts were eminently conducive to their comfort. The flesh of some of them was exquisitely agreeable. The skins of all were serviceable for domestic purposes. They were so common that hunters had no difficulty in finding game. From the Indians the settlers must soon have learned, not only to plant maize, but to dress it in its various forms. This agreeable vegetable, added to fish, oysters, crabs and shrimps, from the water; and deer and wild fowl, obtained by their guns from the land, must have constituted no mean aliment. The rapid increase of domestic animals, brought out by the first settlers, must soon have multiplied animal food to a sufficiency for every useful purpose. To trace the progress of the necessary arts from such rude beginnings to their present improved state is no easy matter.

As £12,000 were expended in equipments for the settlement, it is not improbable that tents were provided for the first and immediate shelter of the settlers on their disembarking. Whether they were or not, the accommodation must have been only temporary. With the Indians it is a prevailing opinion "that they are always at home, except when they are in a house." The rude wigwams of such out of door people, generally formed of bark and the limbs of trees, with-

out the aid of metal or of any instrument made of metal, must have afforded very imperfect models of architecture to the first settlers. Neither stones nor brick were within their grasp. But with the axes, saws and other tools, brought with them, in a country abounding with timber, they might, and doubtless did, construct cabins with such expedition as could not fail to impress the admiring savages with ideas of their superior skill. The first settlers were probably like the first Romans, a "populus virorum," or chiefly males, for it is reasonable to suppose that the dangers and difficulties of the enterprise would have generally deterred the weaker sex from being parties in the earliest embarkations.

This mode of originating a settlement has continued more or less ever since. There always have been in Carolina single men, and sometimes families, migrating from the earlier settlements and breaking ground on bare creation. The difficulties of such undertakings have been constantly lessening, but are always considerable. The time of commencing them is in March, or about the breaking up of the winter. The parties go with family and plantation utensils, a few bushels of corn, and some domestic animals. After fixing on a site, they build in two or three days a cabin with logs cut down and piled one upon another in the form of a square or a parallelogram. The floor is of earth, the roof is sometimes of bark, but oftener of split logs. The light is received through the door, and in some instances through a window of greased paper, or the bottom of a broken glass bottle. Experience, without the aid of philosophy, teaches them that fresh air is harmless; and they are therefore not anxious to exclude it by stopping crevices between the logs. Though sometimes they attempt it by introducing clay between them, especially on the lower parts, or as high as their heads. Shelter being provided, their next care is to provide food. This is frequently accomplished before the few bushels of corn brought with them are expended. To expedite vegetation, the large trees are deprived of their power to shade the ground, by cutting a circle around their trunks. This deadens them by preventing the sap from ascending. The under wood is destroyed. The ground, thus exposed to the action of the sun, is roughly prepared for planting by ploughing or hoeing. To its virgin soil is committed seed corn in March, or early in April. In ninety or one hundred days it is so far advanced as to afford a great deal of nourishment in the form of roasting ears. In six weeks more it is ripe. The increase on this new land is often great, and the grain will keep from one crop to another. Till it is so far grown as to be fit for eating, the settler is supported by corn brought with him, or bought or borrowed from his neighbors;

and with such fresh game as he can kill, or such fresh fish as he can catch. The same process may be repeated each succeeding year, and with increasing advantages, and diminishing difficulties. Thus, in the short space of one summer, the settler is possessed of a fixed residence, and has shelter and provisions from his own resources. His axe and gun in the meantime furnish him with the means of defence against Indians, wild beasts, and robbers. Lightwood or the heart of dry pine logs affords a cheap substitute for candles. The same materials which can easily be procured, enable him to kindle an instantaneous fire for any domestic purpose. The surplus of his crop may be bartered for homespun garments; or if he is happily married, he may convert the wool of his sheep, the flax or cotton of his field into coarse clothing for domestic use. Thus a natural family is constituted, and in a very short time provided with the three great necessaries of life—shelter, food, and clothing. From such humble beginnings hundreds of families in Carolina have been gradually raised to easy circumstances. Such as aspired to nothing beyond this style of living, were among the least valuable citizens; for laziness, not contentment, bounded their ambition; such as by active exertions sought to obtain something higher and better, were among the best citizens; for while they advanced themselves they advanced their country. Settlers of the latter description are not long content with their cabins and lightwood torches. In a few years they construct either a frame house or one made of hewn logs. In either case it is floored with boards, and covered with oak, pine, or cypress shingles; and for the most part consists of two stories or floors, one above another, and is divided into two apartments. A distinction takes place between the dwelling house and kitchen. Other grains besides corn are cultivated. Potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and garden vegetables are raised, and the table is supplied with wholesome and agreeable food. Apple or peach trees are planted, and from them cider is obtained and whiskey distilled. If the latter is used in moderation, the proprietor makes his neighbors tributary to him, and commands their labor and resources to a certain extent, in exchange for his liquor. He purchases one or two slaves. He builds a barn and other out-houses. His children are put to school. He becomes a member of a church. Tea, coffee, and sugar are found on his table—his house is glazed and decently furnished. His fields well secured. His stock enlarged and care taken of it. Cattle, sheep, and hogs are occasionally slaughtered for the support of his family, and the surplus salted for future use. Their skins are dressed and applied to sundry domestic purposes. Their butter supplies the place of oil in cookery, and their fat fur-

nishes him with candles to the exclusion of lightwood torches. His credit is good with the merchant; but of this he makes a a sparing use, dealing mostly for cash. Domestic manufactures are carried to such an extent that over and above clothing his family, some is left to barter for imported merchandize. Their plain native colors no longer satisfy his wife and daughters. The woods are ransacked for dye-stuffs. Indigo, either tame or wild, enables them to give a beautiful blue to their homespun. Sweet leaf, hopea tinctoria, imparts an elegant yellow color to the labor of their hands. Materials for impressing other colors, if desired, may be easily procured from the fields or woods.* Proceeding in this manner in the course of a moderate life, the industrious settler becomes an independent man in easy, and often comfortable, circumstances. If, on the other hand, his whiskey becomes too great a favorite, if habits of laziness increase, and labor is either neglected, or transferred to his slaves, everything is reversed.

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* The art of dyeing ought to make a conspicuous figure among the arts of the Carolinians, for nature has blessed them with a profusion of materials for that purpose. To encourage their attention to this subject, the following facts are mentioned: Captain Felder, near Orangeburg, procured a paste from the leaves of the sweet leaf, hopea tinctoria, and those of the yellow indigo, a species of cassia, for which he obtained one guinea per pound during the American revolutionary war. Unfortunately his process died with him.

Dr. Bancroft, the ingenious author of experimental researches concerning the philosophy of permanent colors, informed the writer of this history that his patent for introducing into England several dye-stuffs, gained for him £5,000 per annum, for some of the last years of his patent. In the course of his experiments, Dr. Bancroft found that some materials for dyeing could be procured in the greatest abundance from the woods of America, which were of equal efficacy with others which commanded a high price in England. This was particularly the case with the bark of the quercus tinctoria or black oak, which is very common in Carolina. Of this he annually imported and sold as much as gained him the above sum.

It may be of service to some persons residing in the country to be informed that Carolina affords, among many other dye-stuffs, the following materials for dyeing the colors to which they are respectively annexed:

Black.—Rhus toxicodendron, *poison oak*—the acrid juice of this small shrub imparts a durable black without any addition. *Gall-berry bush* grows in profusion on the margin of our bays, creeks and ponds; the leaves and berries of it are employed by hatters for giving a black to hats, as also by weavers for staining yarn. Lycopus Europæus, *water horehound*, or *gipsywort*—the juice of this plant also gives a fixed black dye. Actea spicuta, *herb christopher* or *baneberries*—the juice of the berries boiled with alum affords a fine black dye or ink. Quercus rubra, *red oak*—the capsules and bark of the oak affords a good fixture for brown or black dyes. Copperas or alum is commonly used for the *mordant*, or setting ingredients, as they are vulgarly called.

Blues.—Indigofera tinctoria, *common indigo;* amorpha fruticosa, *false indigo*—these are well-known dyes. Fraxinus excelsior, *common ash tree*—the inner bark is said to give a good blue color to cloth.

Note.—Preparations of the *cuprum*, *vitriolatum*, or blue stone, are used in dying blues.

Yellow.—Urtica dioica, *common nettle*—the roots of this give a faint yellow to cotton. Rhamnus frangula, *black berry*, *bearing alder*—the bark tinges a dull yellow. Berberis vulgaris, *barberry bush*—the root gives wool a beautiful yellow. Prunus chicasa, *common plum tree.* Pyrus malus, *apple tree*—the barks of both these are used in dyeing yellow. Betula, *birch tree*—the leaves give a faint yellow. Seratula tinctoria, *saw wort,* and contaurea jacea, *common knapweed,* give to wool a good yellow. Polygonum persicaria—*spotted arsemart.* Lysimachia vulgaris, *yellow*

Broken fences, neglected fields, dirty houses, famished slaves, squalid and uneducated children, point out a melancholy retrogradation in useful habits and pursuits. The erection of a distillery, and the purchase of slaves have a decisive influence on the future fortunes and characters of such settlers. They are blessings or curses, as they are used or abused.

The buildings in Charlestown were generally mean, and mostly of wood, before the great fire of 1740. Many of the new buildings erected in place of those which had been destroyed, were of brick, and generally more convenient and constructed with more taste. Twenty or thirty spacious brick houses were built by some of the wealthiest first settlers above one hundred years ago, which still remain serviceable dwellings. These were all in the vicinity of Charlestown and mostly on or near the banks of the Ashley.* Brick buildings have been increasing in Charlestown ever since the year 1740. In it there are a few of Bermudas stone, seven of clay; all the rest are of brick or wood. In Columbia, the college, the jail, the court house, and the foundation of the State house, and three or four private houses, are of brick and all the rest

willow herb, or *loose strife*. Scabiosa succisa, or *devil's bit*—the leaves impart a yellow color. Hypericum perforatum, *St. John's wort*, the flowers. Calnendula officinalis, *garden marigold*—the petals or flower leaves dried. Cuscuta americana, *american dodder*, or *love vine*, produces a bright, though not permanent yellow; it is however in great esteem. Hopea tinctoria, *horse laurel*, *horse honey*, *sweet* or *yellow leaf*, this shrub abounds in the country, and on James Island—is greedily eaten by cows and horses: the leaves are used for dyeing yellow. Helianthus tuberosa, *tuberose sun-flower*, *Jerusalem* or *ground artichoke*—the petals of this plant are used for imparting a yellow color to wool. Zanthoriza apiifolia, *parsley leaved root*, *yellow root*. Hydrastis canadensis, *yellow root*—both impart a beautiful yellow.

RED.—But few articles of this kind are known in South Carolina. Carthamus tinctoria, *bastard saffron*, is used for cotton; it is said to impart a fine red color to silks—the blossoms only are used. Rumex allosa, *common sorrel*—the roots impart a faint red, but is not lasting. Gallium soreale, *crosswort madder*, and indeed the roots of several species of gallium, impart a red color to wool. Sanginaria canadensis, *puccoon* or *bastard turmeric*—the roots impart a yellowish red color to wool. Cactus opuntia, *prickly pear*—imparts a beautiful red color.

CRIMSON.—Phytolacea discandea, *American nightshade*, or *poke*—the juice of poke berries boiled in rain-water and set with alum, imparts to wool a beautiful crimson, and when fixed with lime-water, produces a yellow color.

GREEN.—Arundo phragmatis, *common reed* or *cane*—the leaves of which impart to wool a fine green color. This color is principally obtained by first dyeing the stuffs yellow, and dipping them in indigo dye.

BROWN, GOLD, AND OLIVE SHADES.—Acer campestris, *common maple*—the bark imparts to cotton or wool a brownish purple, as does also the tops of the origanum vulgare, or *wild majoram*. Quercus rubra, *red oak*—the inner bark of the tree produces an orange or reddish brown color with alum; set with copperas, a good black. Juglans nigra, *black walnut*—the bark of the tree and fruit imparts to wool or cotton an excellent dark olive color. Humulus lupuli, *common hops*—the plant dyes a good brown. Agrimonia eupatorium, *common agrimony*, affords a tolerable gold color.

*In that vicinity, and Colleton district, a great proportion of the first white owners of the soil of Carolina located themselves. At an election in St. Andrew's in 1806, all the managers and members elected were owners of plantations which had belonged to their respective ancestors above one hundred years. The managers were William Bull and Thomas Cheffelle. The members elected were Elias Lynch Horry, senator, Daniel Elliot Huger, Christopher Fuller, and William Cattle, representatives.

are of wood. In Beaufort their college and fifteen dwelling houses, the arsenal, the Baptist church, and the barracks, are built of a composition of lime, oyster shells, sand, and water, commonly called tappy. The Episcopal and Independent churches, and three dwelling houses, are of brick. All the other buildings are of wood. In Camden, Jacksonborough, and the other towns, there are few or no brick dwellings. Of about one hundred and twenty houses in Georgetown all are of wood, except ten or twelve. Of a thousand houses in the country, not more than two or three are built of brick, stone, or any other materials than wood. Timber is every where abundant and cheap. Bricks are made with considerable labor and expense. Though stones are common in the upper districts, most of them require the hand of the artist to fit them for building. Brick and stone both require the cement of lime, which is procured with difficulty and expense in most parts of the State. Much of the ground in the vicinity of Charlestown is suitable for bricks. These when well burnt are very durable, and suit well with the climate; and oyster shell lime may easily be procured. The first four story house in Charlestown was built in 1806. Within the last eighteen years more lofty, elegant, and spacious brick buildings, both public and private, have been built in Charlestown, than in any preceding thirty or forty years. Within the same period Bartholomew Carrol introduced a new mode of building with clay. Seven houses thus built in Charlestown have hitherto answered very well, and they are as elegant, comfortable, and as free from moisture and all other untoward accidents, as any brick houses, though they cost much less. They stood the hurricane of 1804, which exceeded everything of the kind which had taken place since the year 1752: yet the example has not been followed by a single citizen. Some doubts were at first entertained of the safety of building lofty spacious houses with these materials; but the experience of thirteen years proves that moderate sized clay houses of two or even three stories, may be safely tenanted for that length of time: for aught that yet appears, they may be built as large and last as long as any other houses whatever. Wood in time yields to putrefaction, and may be destroyed by fire. Clay is incapable of the first, and instead of being destroyed by the latter, is only changed into brick.* The intrusion of water might involve danger, but this may with certainty be prevented.

* In the Repertory of Arts, vol. vi., page 369, or the volume for 1797, there is a specification of a patent granted to Henry Walker "for his invention of a method by which houses and other buildings of any dimensions might be erected in one entire mass at much less expense, and which would be equally durable, and less liable to accidents by fire than ordinary buildings." This is nothing but the application of fire, by means of flues, to the different parts of a clay house constructed upon Mr. Carroll's plan. The projector proposes to make not only the walls, but the floors of different stories, the staircases and roof, one entire mass.

Nature has made such ample provision for feeding the inhabitants of South Carolina, that little room was left for art. The sea, rivers, and ponds abound with fish; the banks of salt-rivers, with oysters, prawns, shrimps and crabs; the woods with game. Cattle and hogs multiply astonishingly, with little or no feeding or care. A fertile soil repays with large increase what is planted in it. A little industry in planting, fishing or hunting, and a little foresight and care in preserving what was thus procured from one season to another, readily supplies the wants of nature, as to aliment. With respect to drink, the country generally abounds with wholesome water. In Charlestown and the sea-coast, it has a slight admixture of salt, which is apt to disagree with strangers, but its disagreeable effects are only temporary and easily removed. The further we recede from the sea-shore, the water becomes cooler and better, and in the interior country, is equal to any in the world. Few people, in the simplest state of society, are content with this beverage of nature. Something more stimulant or pungent is generally coveted. Wine, porter, punch, lemonade and cider, are used by some, but the habits of Carolinians are in favor of a mixture of ardent spirits and water, commonly called grog, for a common drink, when water is not deemed satisfactory. This can be commanded almost every moment, and in every place, and is for that reason preferred by most to fermented liquors, which are frequently rendered acid in warm weather; hence breweries are rare, while distilleries are common. The art of preparing wholesome agreeable drinks by fermentation, which employs thousands in colder countries, is seldom practiced in Charlestown, and still less in the country.

A Carolinian in one season requires the warm garments adapted to cold climates, in another, those which are suitable for the inhabitants of the torrid zone. Wool, cotton, and flax and the skins of animals, furnish materials for both; but indolence prevents some from applying them to the purposes to which nature designed them, and the love of money has the same effect on others, who exhaust their energies in raising such articles as will sell in market for the greatest amount in money. Where slaves abound, and the staple commodities are raised in the greatest plenty, the least attention is paid to the domestic manufacture of articles for clothing. If the crop succeeds, and afterwards sells for a good price, there is money to buy clothing, but, if either fails, the reverse takes place, and no provision is made against the pinchings of a cold winter. The least wealthy are generally the most provident. The loom and the wheel are most steadily plied among the minor planters or farmers, who are content to follow the guidance of

nature in making provisions for the supply of those wants she has imposed on all the human race. Among such, domestic manufactures now are, and for a long time have been, carried on for almost every necessary family purpose. Tanners and shoemakers are common, who extract extensive accommodations for their fellow-citizens from the skins of animals both wild and tame, though seldom completely dressed; these defend the feet. Equal provision might be made for the head from the wool, the furs, the straw of rice and wheat, the strips of the willow bark, and the palmetto tree;* but these resources are neglected. There are several hatters in the western districts, but very few in the lower parts of the State. Wool, cotton, and flax, either combined or separate, are worked up into plain garments calculated for warmth, but are seldom made of so fine a texture as to be suitable for summer wear. Though domestic manufactures are daily increasing in quantity and improving in quality, and are carried on, especially in the interior parts of the State, to so considerable an extent that their aggregate value is very great, yet they are far short of a sufficiency for the supply of the inhabitants. The genius of the people leads them to agriculture, and they seldom depart from it but when under the pressure of necessity. The time is distant, and a great revolution must take place in the manners of the inhabitants, before they clothe themselves completely from their own resources. Their workshops will probably long remain in Europe or the more northern States; but as the country abounds with the suitable materials, they may, whenever they please, become a manufacturing as well as an agricultural State.†

The arts of defence were at all times necessary to the Carolinians. The Indians were sufficiently numerous to have exterminated them. The Spaniards had been in possession of Cuba and Florida longer before the settlement of Carolina than the whole time which has elapsed since it commenced.

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* Hats made of the palmetto are mentioned in Lawson's History of Carolina, written above a hundred years ago. They have been lately brought into more general use by the newly imported Africans, who on discovering the tree in this country, of their own accord began to make hats of the inner laminæ of its bark. It is probable from these circumstances, that both the tree and the art of making a covering of the head from it are common in Africa. Hats made of palmetto are uncommonly strong and durable.

† Since writing the above, while the public mind was in an impressible state from the privations of the general embargo of 1808, Dr. Shecut, by a series of warm addresses to the people, printed in the city gazette, roused a spirit favorable to manufactures. After sundry town meetings, an association was formed by the name of the Homespun Company, which has been incorporated. Shares in it are taken up, payable by instalments, which, when fully paid, will furnish a capital of about $30,000. A lot of land has been purchased, and preparations are far advanced for manufacturing coarse cloths, and some have been actually completed. Its progress and success are ardently wished for by the friends of American independence.

That the few first settlers, far removed from any friendly aid, were preserved under such circumstances, must be referred to the kindness of providence; for they were unable to have resisted any judicious attack from either Indians or Spaniards. What methods they adopted for self-defence are not precisely known. The earliest recorded act for settling the militia was passed in 1682. The first settlers doubtless brought arms with them, and it is reasonable to suppose, that from the moment of their debarkation some common defensive measures were adopted. From the year 1682, militia laws in succession have made it the duty of every freeman of competent age to be armed and enrolled for military purposes. These laws have always been substantially the same, being framed on the idea that every freeman is a soldier, and the whole body of the people an army liable to be called into actual service when public exigence requires it. With this force the province was exclusively defended for the first ninety years of its existence. In the year 1760 the regular troops of Great Britain for the first time aided the militia of the country against the Cherokee Indians, then in connection with France, at war with the province. On this source of defence, the State continues to rely for security against all internal and external enemies. It is at present respectable; and is divided into two divisions, each commanded by a Major-General. These divisions comprehend nine brigades, thirty-nine regiments of infantry, eight regiments and a squadron of cavalry, and one regiment and a battalion of artillery, besides artillery companies, which are attached to some of the regiments of infantry. The brigades are commanded by as many Brigadier-Generals, and the regiments are commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels. The Governor is Commander-in-Chief of all the militia of the State, both by land and sea. This increases every year. At present it approaches to 40,000 men.

The militia thus organized, are particularly under the direction of a Brigade Inspector, with the rank of Major for each brigade; and of an Adjutant-General holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, who superintends the whole, and reviews the militia regimentally throughout the State from year to year. The duties of the Brigade Inspectors are to attend the regimental and battalion meetings of the militia, composing their several brigades during the time of their being under arms, to inspect their arms, ammunition and accoutrements, superintend their exercise and manœuvres. The duties of the Adjutant-General are to receive and distribute orders from the Commander-in-Chief to the several corps, to attend all public reviews when the Commander-in-Chief shall review the militia, to furnish blank forms of different returns, to receive

from the several officers of the different corps throughout the State, returns of the militia under their command, reporting the actual situation of their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition; their delinquencies, and every other thing which relates to the general advancement of good order and discipline. From all which returns he is to make proper abstracts, laying the same annually before the Commander-in-Chief of the State. The appointment of these officers has much benefitted the public service, as the militia throughout the State are disciplined by the same rules, and are taught to perform the same menœuvres. Much good has also resulted from the attendance of the Governor at reviews. When in real service, the militia are entitled to receive the same pay and rations, and are subject to the same rules as the troops of the United States, except that in case of courts-martial respecting them, the court is to be drawn from the militia of South Carolina.

A naval defence was early contemplated. In the year 1686 an act was passed for raising £300 for building galleys for the defence of the province. From the year 1682 taxes were common for defraying public expenses. How, or for what these expenses were incurred, does not appear; but doubtless in part for defence. Charlestown was early fortified. The precise time is not known, but it is supposed to have been so between the year 1695 and 1704.* From an old map, furnished by Doctor Prioleau, as having long been in possession of his ancient and respectable ancestors, it appears that the forfications of Charlestown extended along East Bay street from Granville's bastion, adjoining Captain Messroon's house; northwardly to Craven's bastion near the Governor's bridge; and from these two bastions in converging lines to Meeting street, so as to strike it on the north, near its junction with the present Cumberland street, and on the south, near to the site of the Presbyterian church; and from one of these points on Meeting street to the other. These limits enclosed almost the whole of Charlestown, which was then improved, and were of difficult approach on the north and south sides, in consequence of two creeks, now obliterated, which then ran nearly parallel to them. On these lines were six bastions, and the outlet was by a draw-bridge near where the National bank now stands. To the southward, westward, and northward of these lines were small farms. The bastions on East Bay stood and were

* The first mention of fortification in the laws is in 1695, when an act was passed for appropriating the proceeds of a duty on liquors imported, and on skins and furs exported, "to a fortification in Charlestown." The preamble to an act "to prevent the breaking down and destroying the fortifications in Charlestown," passed in 1704, states, "that at great expense and labor, Charlestown had been fortified with intrenchments and other works, to make it defensible in this time of war."

serviceable in the revolutionary war; but nothing of them now remains but their foundations. Carteret bastion, at the northwest angle, and Colleton bastion at the southwest angle and the lines between the bastions on the north, south, and west sides, have all been so completley destroyed that not a trace of them remains. A second set of lines to the northward and westward of the first have also been laid waste. It is probable that they were destroyed or fell to pieces between the years 1720 and 1740. Charlestown was in no danger from Indians after the Yamassee war, which terminated shortly before 1720, and had but little to fear from the Spaniards after the settlement of Georgia in 1731. While the province belonged to the King of Great Britain he was attentive to its defense. At different times he presented to it sundry cannon for that purpose. Towards Cooper river the town was defended by a number of batteries, that no ships of an enemy could approach it without considerable hazard. Besides these, the passage up to it was secured by Fort Johnson, built on James Island, about three miles below the town. This fort stands in a commanding situation, within point blank shot of the channel, through which every ship in its way to and from Charlestown must pass. During the Cherokee war in 1760 and 1761, a plan was also formed for fortifying the town towards the land with a horn-work, built of tappy, flanked with batteries and redoubts at proper distances, and extending from river to river; but after a great sum of money was spent on this work, peace being restored, the prosecution of it was discontinued.

From the expulsion of the Yamassees, in 1715, the province had little occasion for the arts of defense against the Indians till after the middle of the eighteenth century, when that immense region, which lies between the western mountains and the river Mississippi, was claimed and contended for both by France and England. To awe the Indians and defend the inhabitants, slight forts were then built at proper distances over a great part of the western country, as has been already related. The era, when the arts of defense were pre-eminently called into exercise, was at the commencement of the American revolution. The old forts had generally gone to ruin. Fort Johnson was in the hands of an officer of the crown. A noble spirit of defense having taken possession of the Carolinians, they took possession of fort Johnson, and repaired it. They built an extensive fortification on Sullivan's Island, and several new forts, which, with old ones repaired, nearly encircled Charlestown both on the land and water side. After the termination of the revolutionary war the inhabitants, presuming on a continuation of peace, paid no attention to sev-

eral of these forts. Others were sold, and their sites converted into private property. In the year 1798, when war between France and the United States was deemed probable, some of them were repaired; but the dispute between the two countries being compromised, they were again suffered to go to ruin. In the present situation of affairs, when disputes exist between this country and both Great Britain and France, works of defense are once more put into a train of being rebuilt. The sites of all the forts having been lately ceded to the United States, the arts of defense will hereafter be conducted by the war department of the national government. It is hoped that such permanent works will ere long be erected as to make it extremely hazardous for any ordinary hostile naval force to enter the harbor of Charlestown. Provision on a smaller scale for the defense of Beaufort and Georgetown is contemplated. On the yeomanry of the country reliance is placed for defense against any land force that is likely to attack from that quarter.

Ship building is connected with the arts of a country and at all times ranks with its manufactures. For carrying on this noble art the Carolinians have great advantages. Their live-oak, their cedars and pines, furnish the best materials for the construction of serviceable and lasting ships. Their live-oak is equal to any wood in the world for the timbers of ships. It is of so solid a texture that, different from most other wood, it sinks in water. An experiment was made some years ago of the comparative weight of English oak and Carolina live-oak. A few cubic inches of the latter weighed eighteen pounds; but the same quantity of the former no more than fifteen. Ships built of live-oak have been known to last upwards of forty years, though employed in the destructive climate of the West Indies, and in carrying sugars, than which nothing is more trying to their timbers.

About the year 1740 the Carolinians began seriously to attend to ship building: five ship-yards were erected; one in Charlestown, three in the vicinity and one at Beaufort. In them twenty-four square rigged vessels, besides sloops and schooners, were built between the years 1740 and 1779.

At the commencement of the American revolution, when South Carolina first adopted the idea of defending herself against all hostile attempts to enforce the arbitrary claims of the British parliament, she had not possession of a single armed vessel. In this extremity, under the pressure of necessity, which could brook no delay, it was agreed to arm merchantmen. A coasting schooner was fitted out with sixteen guns, to which was given the name of the Defense. The Prosper, a merchant ship, was mounted with twenty guns, and soon after another coasting schooner, named the Comet,

was armed with sixteen guns. A galley called the Beaufort was built, and three small vessels were converted into galleys for the protection of the inland navigation. Another coasting schooner was fitted out with ten guns, which was intended for the protection of Georgetown. In the progress of the dispute, after British seizures had induced the Continental Congress to authorize reprisals, the Comet, the Defense and the Beaufort galleys were converted into brigs; and, cruising on the high seas, brought in several prizes. The Legislature erected a navy board, and delegated to Edward Blake, Roger Smith, Josiah Smith, George Smith, Edward Darrell, Thomas Corbet, John Edwards, George Abbott Hall, and Thomas Savage, "authority to superintend and direct the building, buying or hiring of all vessels in the public service, and to direct the outfits of the same, and the furnishing them with necessary ordnance, victualling, provisions and naval stores; to fill vacancies in the navy or marine, and to draw warrants on the treasury for the sums of money necessary for the purposes aforesaid." These gentlemen took charge of the above mentioned public vessels, and also built a brig of fourteen guns, to which they gave the name of the Hornet. This was the whole of the Carolina navy for the first four years of the revolutionary war.

In the year 1777 the Continental frigate Randolph, Captain Biddle, put into Charlestown in distress. After being refitted she sailed on a cruise, and in eight days returned with four rich prizes. This encouraged the State to attempt something in the same way with her little marine. The ship General Moultrie, Captain Sullivan, the brig Polly, Captain Anthony, and brig Fair American, Captain Morgan, belonging to private persons, were taken into public service on this occasion. They in conjunction with the Continental frigate Randolph and the State brig Notre Dame, early in 1778 sailed on a cruise. They descried a vessel to the windward of Barbadoes, and engaged her in the night, presuming that she was a frigate; but she proved to be the Yarmouth, a sixty-four gun ship. After an engagement of seventeen minutes, the Randolph blew up with three hundred and fifteen souls on board, who all perished excepting four; who, after tossing about for four days on a wreck, were discovered and taken up by a passing vessel. Captain Biddle, who lost his life on this occasion, was prized by his country as one of her very best naval officers. Captain Joor, a worthy, brave officer of the first South Carolina regiment, with fifty privates of that corps, acting as marines on board the Randolph, all likewise perished. The other vessels escaping from the Yarmouth, continued their cruise. They took seventeen prizes, but only four of them arrived safe in a friendly port.

The great advantages resulting to the State from their little navy, and the manifold distress sustained by the trade for the want of protection, induced the Legislature to take methods for purchasing or building three frigates. Alexander Gillon was appointed Commodore; John Joyner, William Robeson, and John M'Queen were appointed Captains. The commodities of the country were purchased and shipped on the public account, and the Commodore was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the State. He, with his corps of officers, sailed in the year 1778 for Europe, to prosecute the business on which he was sent. Various embarrassments from intercepted remittances and other causes prevented his completing the object of his mission. He accomplished nothing more than to purchase on credit for the use of the State a large quantity of clothing, and ammunition, and to hire a large frigate from the Prince of Luxembourg, for the term of three years, on condition of allowing the prince one-fourth of the prizes captured while she cruised, at the risk and expense of South Carolina. After innumerable difficulties were surmounted, this frigate began to cruise, and in a short time captured several valuable prizes. Her commander had also the sole direction of the Spanish and American marine forces, which, in May 1782, reduced the Bahama Islands under the crown of Spain. The fleet, consisting of eighty-two sail, which undertook this enterprise, was conducted by Commodore Gillon, from Havana, through the dangerous navigation of the Providence channel. Soon after the termination of this expedition the frigate arrived in Philadelphia. After being completely repaired at an immense expense, she put to sea from that port under the command of Captain Joyner. On the second day after she left the Capes of Delaware she was captured by three British frigates. In this spirited attempt to equip a navy, the expenses far exceeded the profits. It cost the State of South Carolina upwards of two hundred thousand dollars.

Since the termination of the revolution, ship building has been resumed and prosecuted with spirit in South Carolina. In the year 1798 the frigate John Adams, carrying thirty-two guns, was built at Cochran's ship-yard by Paul Pritchard.

The government of a country must be long settled, and the inhabitants much at their ease before the fine arts command their steady and continuing attention. This is doubtless the reason that they have made so little progress in South Carolina as scarcely to merit a place in its history. Sculpture, as an art, cannot be said to have any existence in the State; and engraving is only in its infancy. Thomas Coram has merit as a self-taught engraver, and James Akin has obtained dis-

tinction in the same art, but notwithstanding has found it for his interest to seek the reward of his ingenuity elsewhere than in the land of his nativity. There is some good music in Carolina; but almost all the eminent performers are foreigners, or the children of a few such as have domesticated themselves in the country.

Many youths of both sexes discover talents for drawing, but few have either the leisure or opportunities requisite to raise them to distinguished eminence. Among female artists the first place is due to Miss Rosella Torrans and her sister Mrs. Eliza Cochran. In landscape painting they are exceeded by none. From their assiduity in continuing to devote a portion of their time almost daily to the study and practice of this polite accomplishment, their improvement must continue to advance. Thomas Coram, by an innate love of the art and great industry, has far exceeded what could have been expected from his slender opportunities for improvement. His picture of the presentation of children to the Savior of the world, which he executed from a design of Benjamin West, and gave to the orphan house, is a work of extraordinary merit. It does great honor to the elegance of his taste and the liberality of his heart. Charles Fraser, who never was beyond the limits of the State, and has had his time engrossed by legal studies, has discovered so much taste and genius for painting, that nothing but leisure, traveling and practice is wanting to elevate him to first rate distinction among the professors of that elegant art. Washington Alston has enjoyed advantages in this line beyond any other Carolinian. From his enthusiastic attachment to the art, manifested by the sacrifices he has made to enable him to prosecute his studies—from his correct taste and persevering industry, the public anticipate with confidence that his talents will do honor both to himself and his country. Carolina, and indeed America, is deficient in that critical knowledge which is necessary to make such a nice discrimination of the comparative merit of artists as would stimulate their exertions by judicious applause proportioned to their respective grades of eminence. It is also too young, and too poor in men of taste, talents and wealth, to reward her native sons for devoting their whole time to any of the fine arts. In this respect our infant country is very far behind the ancient and refined nations of Europe. It is no matter of wonder that West, Trumbull and Copley, have sought for a reward of their talents elsewhere than in their native country.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the interior of the soil of South Carolina little is known. The cultivation of its surface has so fully employed the energies, and so amply rewarded the labors of the inhabitants, that their inquiries seldom penetrated to any considerable depth beneath it. The superabundance of wood precluded all necessity for ransacking the bowels of the earth for coal. This for the most part lies lower than eighty feet, the greatest depth to which the soil of Carolina has ever yet been penetrated. In addition to the common agricultural operations on the face of the soil, it was occasionally penetrated for the interment of the dead, for cellars, and the foundations of houses, for obtaining water, for carrying off superfluous moisture by drains and ditches, and for the extension of inland navigation. From these sources we know that in Charlestown and near the sea-coast, water for the most part springs about six or eight feet from the surface—that if the digging is continued, it springs so abundantly that it is difficult to penetrate much lower, and if that difficulty is conquered the water is too brackish for domestic use. We also know that our descent from the surface of highland in the low country is most generally through a sandy soil; but when we penetrate through river swamps, we frequently meet with the trunks of large trees which appear to have been buried for ages; and that as far as these swamps have been penetrated, they consist of a rich blue clay in a black soft mould of inexhaustible fertility.

In digging for domestic purposes, near the ocean, we have seldom penetrated more than ten or twelve feet. To go much deeper was generally reputed worse than labor lost, for it always introduced us to bad water. Mr. Longstreet conceived the idea that by penetrating forty or fifty feet he would get below the bad water, and find a plentiful supply of a purer fluid than the surface afforded. To bring this theory to the test of experience, he began in 1803 to dig in a vacant lot in Archdale street. For the first eleven feet nothing uncommon presented. The next stratum, eighteen inches, was a black marsh mud and sand. This suddenly changed to a yellow sand and clay, and continued so for twenty inches, then suddenly resumed the black appearance and gradually changed to mud. Mr. Longstreet next came to a bed of oyster, clam, and conch shells, many of which were entire; this stratum extended three feet. A yellow sand, intermixed with pow-

dered shells was next presented, and continued for two feet. Between the twelfth and twentieth foot from the surface, muddy brackish water filled the well so fast as finally to overcome the most strenuous exertions to empty it. This chiefly ascended from the bottom; for effectual precautions were adopted to prevent any quantity of water from entering by the sides. In such a crisis, a mind of less energy than Mr. Longstreet's would have abandoned the project. Instead of this, he replaced a considerable portion of the earth in the well, and laying aside his spade, drove down a hollow tube of three inches diameter in the cavity of which a machine for boring was introduced. These were made to penetrate through the earth to the depth of fifty-four feet. The soil between the 20th and 47th foot was a continued dry, stiff, black clay. It was of such a consistence as to bear the chissel or plane, and to be capable of being cut into any shape. Knives are sharpened by drawing them over its surface when made smooth. Another stratum of shells presented itself for the next two feet. The black clay then became less rigid, and soon terminated in sand with little resistance to the operator. On descending two or three feet the water rushed up the tube forty-eight feet, so as to be only six feet from the surface, and with such rapidity as to yield fifteen gallons in a minute. The joy of the projector on this event may be more easily conceived than expressed. This water, after exposure to the air for a few minutes, resembled common well-water in taste and appearance, and was nearly of the same temperature. It readily lathered with soap, and gave satisfactory evidence of its being softer than common pump-water. It was free from lime, iron, copper, lead, vitriolic acid, or any acid whatever in a separate state; but contained a small proportion of common salt, rather less than is to be found in common wells.

From the result of this experiment, Mr. Longstreet was sanguine in the belief that if he had been supported so as to carry down a circular close wall of forty feet diameter to the depth of sixty or seventy feet, he would have got below all bad water, and have commanded an inexhaustible reservoir of what was good; perhaps derived by subterranean communications from the upper country but certainly from a source sufficiently high to cause its ascent to the vicinity of the surface; and that this water percolated through the bowels of the earth would be free from impurities on its surface, and in quantities sufficient for the supply of Charlestown. After one thousand dollars had been expended, the further prosecution of the subject was dropped; but under an engagement to be resumed when adequate funds were provided for the purpose. The only advantage that has resulted from the experiment is

a little more information of the interior of that portion of the State on which Charlestown is erected.*

Another experiment was made nearly at the same time, but for very different purposes; which demonstrates the possibility of enjoying health in Charlestown though in a subterraneous residence. On the night of the 9th of October, 1802, William Withers, a horse dealer from Kentucky, descended through a grate into one of the covered arched drains that pervade the streets of Charlestown and passed along the same till he was opposite to the South Carolina bank. He then began operations to make a subterraneous passage across from the drain to the vaults in which the cash of the bank was deposited. In prosecuting this business he passed ninety days and nights under ground and in a prone posture. For the first twenty-two days after his descent, the weather was so uncommonly warm as to be on an average nearly seventy-nine on Fahrenheit's thermometer. For the last sixty-eight days, the heat varied from seventy-four to thirty-three on the same instrument. In the first period yellow-fever, intermitting, and other fevers of warm seasons were common among the inhabitants. In the last period pleurisies, colds, and catarrhal complaints were in like manner frequent; yet all this time Withers enjoyed good health, with the exception of a few slight headaches and pains in his bones, which generally went off with perspiration in the course of his next repose. He had no blanket nor covering of any kind but his light ordinary apparel which he never put off. He was sometimes exposed to serious danger from the springing of water, and his bed was earth which was often damp. His food was mostly bread, butter, and cheese; and, with the exception of one bottle of wine, water was his only drink. Butter burning in a lamp afforded him light.

Three days frequently passed without discharging the contents of his bowels.

The enjoyment of so much health for so long a time under

* It is submitted to the water company of Charlestown, whether, in case of their meeting with difficulty in procuring a sufficiency of water, it would not be worth while to make a further experiment on Mr. Longstreet's plan. That there are subterraneous streams of water running to the ocean from distant high lands is probable, and in some cases certain. In Modena, in Italy, on digging into the earth, a column of water rushed above the surface. The same is said to have taken place lately in the city of Washington. As the land of this State ascends about three feet every mile, if by accident an experimenter on Mr. Longstreet's theory should strike a subterraneous stream, flowing from any distant western source, its ascent above the surface would be great, and might be made very useful. If it only came from the distance of twenty or thirty miles, it might have an elevation sufficient to discharge water in the highest stories of ordinary houses in Charlestown. The first experiment, though made under great disadvantages, produced an ascent of forty-eight feet. The project is founded on such plausible grounds as to merit further trials. Elkington's successful plan for draining lands is founded on principles that corroborate Longstreet's theory.

such circumstances, was, in addition to the excitement of his mind, probably owing to the absence of several of the causes of diseases. The heat of well water and of the earth a few feet below the surface is generally the same in all countries as the medium heat on an average of the different seasons in these countries respectively. This, in Charlestown, is sixty-five, or at most sixty-six, on Fahrenheit's thermometer. Withers must have enjoyed a steady unvarying atmosphere of this temperature, while the inhabitants above ground were panting under a heat of eighty, or distressed with the cold of thirty-three on the same instrument, and subject to all the changes of an atmosphere vibrating from one extreme to the other.

The attempts at inland navigation in Carolina have extended our knowledge of the interior of its soil. The cuts which have been made across peninsulas, near the sea-coast, have brought to view such quantities of cypress timber as can only be accounted for on the idea that in former times an immense number of large trees of that species of wood grew there.*

In digging the Santee canal twenty-two miles across from Santee to Cooper river, the workmen met with different strata of clay, mud, sand, and soil. In one part there was a stratum of mud resembling soft-soap or jelly from about four to six inches deep, entirely free from any particle of grit. It lay on a stratum of lime stone. The lime stone met with in digging was generally covered first with sand, then clay, and lastly soil. In digging the summit canal which penetrated fifteen feet below the surface, there was a variety of strata, among which, was a very fine white clay; there was a stratum of red clay resembling red ochre. In this part of the canal the workmen got down to the natural bed of springs. In the course of this extended line of digging, were found trunks of trees seven feet below the surface, also many oyster shells of uncommon size, and bones of monstrous animals, unlike to any which are now known to exist. The latter were found eight or nine feet under the ground, and lying so near together as to make it probable that they originally belonged to one and the same

*"That part of the inland passage between Charlestown and Savannah, beginning at Wappoo Cut, and ending at Bear's Bluff, where it falls into Edisto river, I have examined with some attention, and can affirm that a great part of this distance has been a cypress swamp. The first stump is at the landing of Abraham Waight, Esq., deceased, on St. John's Island, six miles east of new cut; and this cut is full of them, and on them several vessels have been damaged. I have examined them at low tide, and at Mr. Young's place, eight miles west of new cut. Mr. George Rivers owns three or four hundred acres of this high marsh land, now covered with small cedars. This I examined three years ago, and found many stumps and large logs of cypress; and below this place, on the Wadmalaw side, a few trees are still growing near the high lands. The spring tides cover these lands. I believe this is the case through the whole of the inland passage, wherever it passes through high marsh lands accessible only to the spring tides."—*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Reynolds, Esq., to the author, dated 1st December,* 1808.

animal. Its size may be conjectured from its ribs, one of which, when dug up was nearly six feet long; and from one of its jaw teeth which was eight inches and a quarter long, three inches and a half wide, its root eleven inches and a half long. The depth of the tooth from its surface to its bottom was six inches and a half. The other parts of the skeleton were in a relative proportion.

The necessity for digging wells in the interior country is much less than on the sea-coast, for natural springs of water are more common as we advance towards the western mountains; where these fail, water cannot be generally procured without digging from fifteen to eighty feet. The intermediate soil is for the most part clay, but sometimes sand. Along the sea-coast, and for a hundred miles westward, South Carolina is generally low and flat, thence to its western extremity it is diversified, with hills rising higher and higher till they terminate in the Alleghany mountains, which are the partage ground of the eastern and western waters. In the vallies between these hills, a black and deep loam is found. This has been formed by abrasion from the hills, and from rotten trees and other vegetables which have been collecting for centuries.

Carolina, lying on the east side of the partage ground between the eastern and western waters, is considerably lower than the corresponding parts of the United States which are on its west side. Hence it follows that when the snows melt, or heavy rains fall on the mountains, much more of the water proceeding from these sources is determined to the Atlantic ocean than to the river Mississippi, in consequence of which, we are often too wet, while our western neighbors are too dry.

There are some circumstances which make it probable that the whole of the low country in Carolina was once covered by the ocean. In the deepest descent into the ground, neither stones or rocks obstruct our progress, but everywhere, sand or beds of shells. Intermixed with these at some considerable depth from the surface, petrified fish are sometimes dug up. Oyster shells are found in great quantities at such a distance from the present limits of the sea-shore, that it is highly improbable they were ever carried there from the places where they are now naturally produced. A remarkable instance occurs in a range of oyster shells extending from Nelson's Ferry, on the Santee river, sixty miles from the ocean in a south-west direction, passing through the intermediate country till it crosses the river Savannah in Burke county, and continuing on to the Oconee river, in Georgia. The shells in this range are uncommonly large, and are of a different kind from

what are now found near our shores, they are in such abundance as to afford ample resources for building and agriculture. On Doctor Jamieson's plantation six miles northeast from Orangeburg, and about eighty miles from the Atlantic ocean, ten hands can raise in a week as many of these oyster shells from their bed, though seven feet below the surface, as when burnt will yield twelve hundred bushels of lime. In digging for them there is nothing but common earth for the first seven feet, the soil for the next four feet is a whitish colored mass, intermixed with shells of the aforesaid description; a blue hard substance resembling stone succeeds for the next three or four feet, of this, lime may be made but of an inferior quality; under this is sand, the depth of which is unknown.

The sea-coast of Carolina is intersected by inlets, creeks and marshes. From their meanderings and junctions many islands are formed.* Some of these are increased on their western extremities by accretions, and diminished on their eastern border by the operation of the ocean dashing against them. On such of these as are contiguous to the main, mon-

*"I have been upon all the sea islands and hunting islands, from Sullivan's to Savannah river: some of them are bedded on clay on the north side, some on the south; whilst others. say St. Helena and Hiltonhead, have no clay at all. Their surfaces are nearly uniform. The vallies and rising grounds run northeast and southwest through their whole extent, and from their corresponding angles, indicate their formation under the water. The small islands lying between them and the hunting islands have the same form and figure. It is remarked by many, that all the small creeks running in and on each side of the sea islands, have grown much wider than they were forty years ago, cutting down the bluffs from ten to forty feet. At Edisto Island I was shown by Mr. Joseph Jenkins, a few years ago, a large live oak in the creek, now the abode of sheepshead and other fishes, which he assured me was a shade to the school-house when he was a boy. The hunting islands which skirt the sea islands must be considered as new land, and appear to have been formed above water; and though many of the sand hills follow the direction of the coast, yet internally, and at their endings, they lie in all directions, and must have received their figure from the prevailing winds. That the ocean now advances on the shore, I have no hesitation in believing, for the sea has very much narrowed the belt which is the barrier between them, and one of the islands opposite Edisto Island is pierced through in some places. Nevertheless, these islands must have existed a long time, since there are live oak and pine trees on some of them as large as any perhaps in the State. Hiltonhead has no island to skirt it; but yet it has the same belt of sand-hill land. This is also the case with Simmond's Island, the north side is clay, and similar to St. John's Island. On the southwest end of Edisto is a mound of shells from fifteen to twenty feet high, and its base half an acre of land. It is called the Spanish Mount; but as savages drew the better part of their subsistence from the sea, from the many banks of shells scattered about this point of land, I apprehend that there was a large settlement of Indians in the vicinity, and that this pile of shells may have been placed there by some regulations among themselves. On St. Helena are two mounds of human bones. The one fifteen, the other ten feet high. One covers a quarter of an acre, the other less. They are called "The Indian Burial-Place." I saw one of them opened when I was a lad, and well remember the red beads and broken earthen vessels among the bones, and these last lying in every direction. The Indians say that a great battle had been fought there, long before the white people were heard of. This is what I heard from my family, who were among the first settlers of this country; my grandfather, Richard Reynolds, being for a long time Commander of the English garrison first established on Port Royal Island."—*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Reynolds, Esq., to the author, dated Wadmalow, December* 1, 1808.

uments of Indian antiquities are occasionally found. Other islands are doubtless wholly of marine origin, and are accumulations of recrements thrown up by the action of the Atlantic waters. The main land, contiguous to these islands, is level with a surface of light black earth, on a stratum of sand. It is free from stones for eighty or one hundred miles, and has a gradual ascent. This has been mathematically ascertained by Mr. Peraux to be three feet for every mile of the first eleven from Charlestown. The high lands in the low and middle parts of the State generally produce extensive forests of pine, but yield poor returns for what is planted in them. These pine barrens, as they are commonly called, have little or no underwood, and are occasionally intersected with veins of fertile land, producing valuable timber. Swamps and bogs abound in the low country, which empty their waters into some river or inlet, communicating with the sea. Savannahs or plains, without trees, are also common, and some of them cover a considerable extent of the surface. The margins of the rivers in Carolina are of inexhaustible fertility, and make excellent rice plantations. These are composed of a large proportion of dark blue clay, and near the sea are often covered with rushes and salt water sedge, and extend themselves to the adjacent high pine lands. These swamps in their natural state abound with useful timber of various kinds, and when cleared, they reward their cultivators with plentiful crops, especially in seasons that are exempt from freshets. In the intervals between the rivers there are often inland swamps, fresh water lakes, and great quantities of low level land which, after heavy rains, continue for a long time overflowed. The remainder is dry, and for the most part sandy.

The soil of South Carolina is naturally, and for the purposes of taxation, politically divided into the following classes: 1. tide swamp; 2. inland swamp; 3. high river swamp, or low grounds, commonly called second low grounds; 4. salt marsh; 5. oak and hickory high land; 6. pine barren. The tide and inland swamps are peculiarly adapted to the culture of rice and hemp; the high river swamps to hemp, corn, and indigo. The salt marsh has hitherto been for the most part neglected, but there is reason to believe that it would amply repay the expense and labor of preparing it for cultivation. The oak and hickory high land is well calculated for corn and provisions, and also for indigo and cotton. The pine barren is the least productive species of our soil, but is the most healthy. A proportion of it is an indispensably necessary appendage to a swamp plantation. It is remarkable that ground of this last description, though comparatively barren, affords

nourishment to pine trees which maintain their verdure through winter, and administer more to the necessities and comforts of mankind than any other trees whatever. This may perhaps in part be accounted for by the well known observation that much of the pine land of Carolina is only superficially sandy; for by digging into it a few feet the soil in many places changes from sand to clay.

The tide swamps are of so level a nature that frequently a few inches of water can cover them for agricultural purposes. These in the Legislative valuation of lands for taxation form the first grade of land in the State. The swamps above the influence of the tides are subject to freshets and therefore hazardous, but in other respects are of immense value.

From this description of the low country it is apparent that there must be a predominance of moisture, and from the cooperation of heat, there is a strong tendency to putrefaction. From the same causes and the presence of acid gasses floating in the common atmosphere, metals are very subject to rust. This is particularly the case with iron which when exposed to the air loses in a short time all its brightness and much of its solidity.

In the middle country sand hills arise to a considerable height above the adjacent lands. Very little is to be seen growing upon them and that little is of a diminutive size. The soil produces scarcely any grass and is often so sandy that the footsteps of animals walking over it may be distinctly traced. On the low grounds between these hills, a rich mould is sometimes deposited and always fertilizes the soil. When rivers run through them, their margins are very rich and yield large crops.

In this middle country the high hills of Santee are situated. These arise two hundred feet above the adjacent lands. Their soil is a mixture of sand, clay, and gravel, and produces highland grain and cotton in abundance. Their inhabitants enjoy the comforts of life together with health, pleasure, and profit, in a greater combination than is common in the southern States.

Stones and rocks, hills and dales, begin to appear and long moss to disappear about the falls of the rivers. Loose stones on or near the surface are rarely so numerous as to be inconvenient or troublesome. A stone wall or a stone house is seldom to be found in South Carolina. Near the falls, the soil changes to a dark and fertile mould on a stratum of clay or marle. The water course are rapid, and as they pass along emit a guggling sound never heard in the low country. The hills swell into more towering heights and gradually form the base of mountains. These divide the State from Tennessee and the

eastern waters from those which empty themselves into the Mississippi.

The western limits of Carolina so much resemble the apex of a triangle, the base of which is on the sea-coast, that only four of the twenty-five districts into which it is divided can be called mountainous. These are the districts of Pendleton, Greenville, Spartanburg, and York. In that part of the State seven or eight mountains run in regular direction. Among them the Table mountain in Pendleton district is the most distinguished. Its height exceeds 3,000 feet, and thirty farms may be distinguished at any one view from its top by the unaided eye. Its side is an abrupt precipice of solid rock 300 yards deep, and nearly perpendicular. The valley underneath appears to be as much below the level as the top of the mountain towers above it. This precipice is called the Lovers Leap. To those who are in the valley it looks like an immense wall stretching up to heaven. At its base lie whitening in the sun the bones of various animals who had incautiously advanced too near its edge. Its summit is often surrounded with clouds. The gradual ascent of the country from the sea-coast to this western extremity of the State, added to the height of this mountain, must place its top more than 4,000 feet above the level of the Atlantic ocean; an eminence from which vessels crossing the bar of Charlestown might be seen with the aid of such improved glasses as are now in use. Large masses of snow tumble from the side of this mountain in the winter season, the fall of which has been heard seven miles. Its summit is the resort of deer and bears. The woods produce mast in abundance. Wild pigeons resort to it in such flocks as sometimes to break the limbs of the trees on which they alight.

The Oolenoy mountain is in the vicinity of the Table mountain. From it a cataract of water descends six or seven hundred feet. This forms the southern head branch of Saluda river.

The summit of the Oconee mountain near the head waters of Keowee and Tugoloo rivers is five or six hundred yards above the adjacent country. From it there is a most beautiful prospect of Georgia and of the Cherokee mountains. The country between Oconee and Table mountain is generally wild, but all the vallies are highly cultivated. Some of them have produced one hundred bushels of corn to the acre. From the numerous settlements in them, and the hoards of children who rush from every cottage to gaze on travelers it is apparently the most populous part of the State. When the country which is overlooked from these mountains is cultivated and adorned with villages and other embellishments, it will

afford such brilliant prospects as may give full employment to the pencils of American artists. In this part of Carolina, Indians have resided for time immemorial. Here were situated their towns, Eseneka, Keowee, Eustaste, Foxaway, Kulsage, Oustinare, Socony, Estato, Warachy, Noewee, Conorass, Tomassee, and Cheokee, besides many others whose names are now forgotten. In the midst of them near the eastern bank of the Keowee river stood fort George, in which a garrison was long continued for the protection of that part of the State. But time has swept away both the one and the other. A pellucid stream which meanders among these mountains makes two falls of nearly fifty feet each; then calmly flowing about two hundred yards it is precipitated upwards of eighty feet. This last descent is extremely beautiful. The rock over which it tumbles is in the form of a flight of short steps. At its summit it is about twelve feet broad but increases as it descends to ninety-six. The protuberances, which resemble steps, break the current into a thousand streams. These pour in every direction and cover their moss grown channels with foam. The original stream is small and turbulent. Although the weight of water is not great it is so dissipated as to produce a most beautiful effect. About four miles from General Picken's farm there is another cataract; to approach which it is necessary for visitants occasionally to leap, crawl, or climb. The mountains arise like walls on each side of the stream which is choked by the stones and trees that for centuries have been falling into it. The cataract is about one hundred and thirty feet high, and some sheets of the stream fall without interruption from the top to the bottom. All the leaves around are in constant agitation from a perpetual current of air excited by this cataract, and causing a spray to be scattered like rain to a considerable distance. Another cataract may be observed descending from the side of a mountain about six miles distant. This is greater and more curious than the one just described.

Paris's mountain is situated in Greenville district; from it the Table mountain, the Glassy, the Hogback, the Tryon, and King's mountain are distinctly visible. Many farms are also to be seen from this beautiful eminence. The rocks on its southern side are adorned with the fragrant yellow honeysuckle. Reedy river is formed by the streams which flow from its surface. A spring impregnated with iron and sulphur issues from its side. This is said to cure ringworms and other diseases of the skin.

The Glassy and Hogback mountains are situated near the boundary line of Greenville and Spartanburg districts. Waters flow from them which form the sources of the Tyger and

Pacolet rivers. These at their fountains are too cold to be freely drank in summer. On these mountains there are four or five snug level farms, with a rich soil and extensive apple and peach orchards. Cotton and sweet potatoes do not thrive thereon. The settlements are all situated on the south side, for the north is unfit for cultivation on account of prodigious rocks, precipices and bleak cold winds. Every part, even the crevices of the rocks, is covered with trees and shrubs of some kind or other. The chesnut trees are lofty, and furnish a quantity of excellent food for swine. In these mountains are several large caverns and hollow rocks, shaped like houses, in which droves of hogs shelter themselves in the great snow storms which occur frequently in winter. The crops of fruit, particularly of apples and peaches, never fail. The climate in these mountains is less subject to sudden changes, than in the plains below. Vegetation is late, but when once fairly begun, is seldom destroyed by subsequent frosts. Neither are there any marks of trees being struck with lightning, or blown up by storms. It is supposed that the mountains break the clouds, and that the lightning falls below; for there the effects of it are frequently visible. On the Hogback mountain there is a level farm of thirty or forty acres of the richest high land in South Carolina. This is covered with large lofty chesnut trees, with an undergrowth of most luxuriant wild pea-vines, very useful for fattening horses. These animals while there, are free from flies. The ascent to this mountain is very steep for about two miles; but with the exception of thirty or forty yards, expert horsemen may ride all the way to its summit. The prospect from it towards the north and west, exhibits a continued succession of mountains one ridge beyond another, as far as the eye can see.

From a spring on one of the small mountains, between the Hogback and the Tryon, water is conveyed more than a thousand feet in a succession of wooden troughs, to the yard of a dwelling house built by Mr. Logan. It empties into a large reservoir from which, when filled, it runs over, and soon mingles with the adjacent north Pacolet river, which is there a very small stream. Thus a great domestic convenience is enjoyed by a single mountaineer, which has not yet been obtained by the opulent city of Charlestown.

On King's mountain, in York district, the real limestone rock has been discovered. This has also lately been found in Spartanburg district. Before these discoveries the inhabitants had frequently to haul lime for domestic use upwards of an hundred miles.

Beautiful springs of water issue in plentiful streams from these mountains. They also for the most part produce a pro-

fusion of grass, and are clothed to their summits with tall timber. The intermediate vallies are small, but of great fertility. Hence the pastoral life is more common than the agricultural. The soil of the Table mountain is excellent; that of the others is stony and less fertile. But chesnut, locust, pine, oak, and hickory trees grow on them. The champaign country which becomes more level as it approaches the sea, affords an interminable view finely contrasted with the wild irregularities of these immense heights which diversify the western extremity of Carolina.

Only a small part of South Carolina is favored with mountains, but every part of it is intersected with rivers. Its side, which borders on the sea, is watered by the Waccamaw, Peedee, Black river, Santee, Wandow, Cooper, Ashley, Stono, Edisto, Ashepoo, Combakee, Coosaw, Broad, and Savannah rivers. Some of these have two mouths, others have several heads or branches. The Santee, in particular, is formed by a junction of Congaree and Wateree rivers. The same stream, which below is called Wateree, passes in the upper country by the name of the Catawba. Congaree is formed by a junction of Broad and Saluda rivers. Broad river unites in its stream three rivers, the Enoree, the Tyger, and the Pacolet, and afterwards becomes a component part of the Congaree; which last named river, uniting with the Wateree, takes the name of Santee.

Most of these rivers have a margin of swamp extending from half a mile to three miles. The short ones head in swamps, but the long ones in the mountains or other high grounds. They all run in a south-eastern direction from their heads to the sea, which if extended, would cross the mountains and vallies in an acute angle to the south of east. Waccamaw river takes its rise in North Carolina, and empties into Georgetown bay. Broad, Coosaw, Port Royal, and other short rivers, are properly arms of the sea. Their waters are deep, and their navigation safe. Broad and Port Royal rivers can safely and conveniently accommodate a large navy. They insulate a great part of Beaufort district, and by their windings and junctions form Islands. These generally are suitable to the culture of cotton or indigo.

Wando river empties itself into Cooper about three miles above Charlestown. It is navigable for about twenty miles, and then heads in swamps. Cooper river rises in Biggen and other swamps, and is about one thousand four hundred yards broad, where it empties itself into Charlestown harbor. It is navigable by schooners and sloops to Watboo bridge, about fifty miles, and its eastern branch admits like vessels as far as Huger's bridge.

Ashley river originates in the Cypress and other contiguous swamps, and, uniting with Cooper river at White Point, forms Charlestown harbor. Its navigation for sea vessels extends only a few miles, but for sloops and schooners as far as Bacon's bridge. Its width opposite to Charlestown is about 2,100 yards.

Stono river rises in swamps not far distant from the ocean, into which it empties itself between Keywaw and Coffin land. Its navigation extends above Rantowle's and Wallace's bridge, but to no great distance.

Ashepoo river springs from swamps in the low country, and empties itself into St. Helena sound. Its navigation extends nearly the whole of its short course.

Combakee river originates in Salt Catcher swamp. Its navigation for schooners and vessels, is about thirty miles. It empties itself into the Atlantic ocean through St. Helena sound.

Black river takes its rise in the middle country from the high hills of Santee. It winds between Santee river and Lynch's creek, and having formed a junction with the Peedee, their united waters are emptied into Georgetown bay. Its navigation for schooners and sloops extends many miles up its stream, and for flat bottomed boats, flats and rafts, as far as its forks.

Edisto river is too shallow to admit boats of heavy burden to any considerable distance. In a full river the navigation of its northern branch is open as far as Orangeburg, and its southern branch is also navigable some miles, until it is interrupted by islands and shoals. When the river is low, it is fordable at Parker's ferry, about thirty-five miles from the sea. This river takes its rise in the middle country from the ridge of highland which lies between the Congaree and Savannah rivers. These two last mentioned rivers, like all others which terminate in high lands, are subject to freshets.

Savannah river is bold and deep, and its navigation extends from the sea to Augusta for boats of seventy tons. At this place the falls of the river commence. Beyond it the navigation is continued for sixty miles to Vienna for boats of thirty tons or more.

The navigation of Santee river extends from the sea to the fork of the Congaree and Wateree rivers, thence up the Wateree to Camden on one side, and up the Congaree to Granby on the other, for boats of seventy tons. At these places the falls and rapids of the rivers commence; their upper branches are dispersed extensively over the country.* Sometimes they are

* Broad river, one of the branches of the Congaree, is the northern and eastern boundary or Union district. The Enoree river is its western and southern boundary. Besides these two rivers, the Pacolet runs through its northern portion,

obstructed by rocks, but in general their current is gentle and deep. In light boats and full rivers several hogsheads of tobacco have been brought down their streams with safety.

The Peedee also stretches from the sea towards the mountains, through the northern part of the State. Its free navigation extends from the sea to Greenville for boats of seventy tons, and from thence to Chatham for boats of lesser draught. Here the navigation is impeded by rocks and shallows, although in full rivers boats of light burden descend with the stream from North Carolina.

These large rivers, by innumerable tributary streams, spread themselves throughout all the upper country. Some of their branches are wider than the rivers themselves. Keowee, though two hundred yards wide for several miles above its confluence with the Tugoloo, is the narrowest of these two streams whose united waters take the name of Savannah river. Hence when the accumulated waters of rain and snow pour down their channels, the adjacent low lands and intervals are overflowed with destructive freshets.

The natural advantages for mills and other labor-saving machinery, are great in most of the upper districts, but especially in those at a moderate distance from the mountains. The springs which gush from their sides after running sixty or seventy miles, become streams from one to three hundred yards wide. These have many shoals where they spread wider, and are so shallow as to be generally fordable. In the intermediate spaces, the water is on an average from eight to ten feet deep. At many of these shoals the falls are sufficient with the aid of a small dam to impel the most weighty machinery. At some of them the falls are so great and abrupt as to admit twenty feet wheels upon the over-shot construction without any, or at most very short races: at others the ledges of rocks extending across the river form a natural dam quite sufficient for the obstruction of as much water as is required for working one or two mills. The artist has little to do but to erect his house and machinery. These places generally afford a sufficiency of durable materials for erecting the necessary buildings. They also frequently afford the rock out of which the mill stones are cut. Smaller streams, called creeks, take their rise at the foot of the hills: these are from ten to fifteen miles in length, and generally contain such a quantity of water as, with the advantages of the falls which

and forms a confluence with Broad river at Pinckneyville. Tyger river runs through its southern portion, and forms a confluence with Broad river at its south-eastern extremity. Fairforest creek, which from its size seems entitled to the appellation of river, takes rise in Spartanburgh, and after running twenty-five or thirty miles nearly through the centre of Union, discharges itself into the north side of Tyger river.

they afford, is sufficient to give activity to labor-saving machines of the largest size.

Many of the branches that take rise from the springs at the foot of the hills, after running two or three miles, afford beautiful sites for the erection of similar works upon a smaller scale. Some of these are now improved for the purpose of cleaning cotton with the saw-gin, and a few of them have also a pair of mill-stones fitted up in the gin-house which, without manual labor, serve for grinding a sufficiency of grain for a distillery and for domestic consumption.

The common tides along the coasts of South Carolina rise from six to eight feet at neap tides, and from eight to ten feet at spring tides; they are however much influenced by wind; for a neap tide with a south-eastwardly wind is higher than a spring tide with a north-westwardly one. Along the coast the depth of sea-water is from two to five fathoms to a distance of some miles from the shore. In general the tides ascend our rivers as far as thirty or thirty-five miles in a direct line from the ocean. This however is to be understood only in those rivers whose streams are not impetuous; for in the Santee the tides do not flow more than fifteen miles in a direct line and the salts are so kept back by the column of fresh water, continually flowing down, that, except in times of great drought, they do not ascend further than two miles from the sea. When a drought prevails, they scarcely ever penetrate more than three or four miles in a direct line. The salts proceed further up Georgetown bay, and are sometimes injurious to agriculture fourteen miles or more from the sea. The Savannah river partakes also of the same influences, and nearly in the same extent with Santee river.

Few lakes are to be found in South Carolina: one however, situated in Barnwell district, presents a beautiful sheet of water near a mile in circumference. Large rivers of this State present us with several instances where their waters have broken through peninsulas and worn a short channel as wide and as deep as the circuitous one which they before pursued. When the mouths of these old channels are partly stopped up, and the streams in them become slow, they are denominated lakes. Of such is Lowder's lake on Peedee river, over which the surrounding lands project elevations of near one hundred feet.

Asbestos which is incombustible, though capable of being drawn into threads and formed into a resemblance of cloth, is found near the head waters of Lynche's creek.

Soap stones, steatites, rock chrystal, white flint, Fuller's earth, clays of various natures and of beautiful colors, potter's clay, isinglass, ochres, chalks, and marles, have all been found in different parts of the State.

A quarry of gray stone, resembling free stone, which works well and splits easily, has been discovered at Beaver creek. The foundations of some of the locks of the Santee canal were formed of this stone. Rocks suitable for mill-stones are common in the upper country. Good slate has been found near the sources of Lynche's creek. Some fine clay was brought to Charlestown from the Cherokee country about the year 1760; which, being sent to England by Doctor Garden, was returned in the form of a tea equipage equal to the finest imported from China, and was long used as such in his family.

Iron ore is very common in the upper country, particularly in the mountainous districts, and of so good a quality that it yields one-fourth of its weight in excellent iron.

In the Cherokee mountains lead ore has been found in great abundance, and so rich as to produce two thirds of its crude weight in pure lead.

Specimens of copper and of several other metals have been discovered, but no thorough investigation of them nor of the other hidden riches of the State has ever been made. It is the general opinion of the inhabitants that the true wealth of Carolina is to be derived from its surface by labor and industry.

There are doubtless valuable medicinal springs in the State. Some are rising into fame and begin to be frequented, but their component parts and real virtues have not been hitherto ascertained with satisfactory precision.

So much of South Carolina is level that cascades are very rare, especially in the low country. There cannot be recollected a single instance of an overshot mill within 100 miles of Charlestown, though one might be advantageously worked at each end of the Santee Canal. There are many such in the upper country, and a few beautiful natural water falls. One of these is the precipice across Reedy river at Greenville Court House. The perpendicular fall is thirty-six feet, and exceeds the whole breadth of the stream. In dry seasons the river is fordable on horseback, or at particular times may be safely walked over by stepping from one rock to another; but when the water rises but two or three feet, any attempt to pass over it is hazardous in the extreme. The impetuosity of the current is such, that a person crossing, either by wading or riding, would be almost certainly thrown off his balance, precipitated down the fall and dashed against opposite rocks.

From the Glassey, Table and Oolenoy mountains, streams of water, fifteen or twenty yards wide, tumble into the vallies below, and in the whole of their passage dash upon and foam over rocks.

Nothing in South Carolina is equal to the Catawba falls.

They are situated above Rocky mount. Hills confine the descending stream as it approaches to them. When it advances nearer it is further narrowed on both sides by high rocks piled up like walls. The Catawba river, from a width of 180 yards, is straitened into a channel about one-third of that extent, and from this confinement is forced down into the narrowest part of the river called the Gulph. Thus pent upon all sides but one, it rushes over large masses of stone, and is precipitated down the falls. Its troubled waters are dashed from rock to rock, and foam from one shore to another; nor do they abate of their impetuosity till after they have been precipitated over twenty falls to a depth very little short of 100 feet. Below Rocky mount the agitated waters, after being expanded into a channel of 318 yards width, begin to subside, but are not composed. A considerable time elapses before they regain their former tranquility.

The wildness of the steep and rugged rocks—the gloomy horrors of the cliffs—the water falls which are heard pouring down in different places of the precipice, with sounds various in proportion to their respective distances and descents—the hoarse hollow murmuring of the river running far below the summit of the rocks and of the adjacent surface of the earth, are objects well calculated to excite emotions of wonder and admiration in the mind of spectators. The scenery is sufficiently grand and curious to attract the visits of the most distant inhabitants of Carolina.

These falls greatly impede the water communication between the upper and lower country. To open it is the object of an incorporated company. In their speedy and complete success every citizen, and especially the Santee Canal Company, has a great and decisive interest. These falls give such a command of water as points out Rocky mount and the vicinity to be a most eligible site for labor-saving machinery. Merchant mills and machines for lessening the expense and labor of carrying on manufactures of every description, may there be cheaply kept in constant motion by a water power which might be extended to every purpose of utility or convenience. It is situated in the heart of a fertile and thickly settled country, abounding with provisions and raw materials for manufacture, where labor and provisions are comparatively cheap, and where there is every prospect of a growing vent for all useful commodities among rapidly increasing inhabitants. The situation of Grimkeville at Rocky mount is not only fascinating for its beauty, but eminently calculated for the enjoyment of health and transaction of business. Its summit is considerable higher than the top of lofty trees in the vicinity, and it commands a most extensive view of the

surrounding country. At its base a shad fishery might be carried on to great advantage and to any desirable extent either for domestic consumption or exportation.

From the head waters of the Catawba in the vicinity of Morgantown, a turnpike road or a canal might be formed to the head waters of both the Kanhaway and Tennessee; which three rivers head near each other. Either, when accomplished, would facilitate an intercourse between Charlestown and the States of Kentucky and Tennessee on easier and better terms than it can be carried on between these Western States and any other Atlantic port in the Union.

Carolina partakes so much of the nature of a West India climate that generally five or six and sometimes seven or eight months of the year pass without frost. It partakes so much of the climate of temperate cold countries that only three months of the year are always exempt from it. Frosts have been known as late as May and as early as September. Except extraordinary seasons, the months of November, December, January and February never pass without it. It sometimes terminates for the season with the month of February, and has been known to keep off as late as the 13th of November.* The period of vegetation comprehends in favorable years from seven to eight months. It commences in January or February and terminates in October or November; a term too short for ripening the most delicate fruits of southern latitudes. The sugar-cane, ginger, bread-fruit, pine-apple, banana and coffee trees, cannot stand the severity of a Carolina winter; though they grow well in summer. Gooseberries, currants and cherries cannot, or rather have not been made to grow to any purpose in the low country. Wild cherries are common in the woods; but of garden cherries few or none, with ordinary care, bear fruit of any consequence; though the trees grow very well. Figs, apricots, nectarines, apples, peaches, pears, olives and pomegranates, also almonds, piccan or Illinois nut, though exotics, have been naturalized in Carolina to good purpose and stand all seasons. Orange trees are uninjured in ordinary winters, but the frosts of such as are uncommonly severe occasionally destroy their stems. Most of them grow again from the roots with the return of the next warm season. These thrive best in the low country near the sea, and in the most southern parts of the State. Apples and peaches may and have been raised in small quantities and of

* After the hurricane of September, 1752, the season was so mild that all the fruit trees put out in blossom, and the fruit of some ripened. There was no frost until Christmas day, when rare-ripe apples of the second crop were gathered fit to eat. Something of the same kind, though not to an equal degree, took place after the hurricane of 1804. On the 12th of December of that year, ripe mulberries and ripe wild cherries were gathered in the vicinity of Charlestown. Apples and pears grew to a large size, but did not reach maturity.

a very good kind in and near Charlestown; but in general they can only be cultivated to advantage in the middle or western parts of the State. Of all the variety of fruit none thrives better than pears, pomegranates and water melons. The latter grow in Carolina to an enormous size, and are equal if not superior to any in the world.

Carolina cannot be called a good fruit country, yet some is furnished from the stores of nature in almost every month of the season when it is most wanted. Blackberries, strawberries, apricots, and raspberries, are ripe in April and May. Plums, huckleberries, early pears, apples, peaches, together with figs and nectarines, follow. Watermelons and muskmelons continue from June to October. Pomegranates, late peaches, pears, apples, grapes, and winter-plums, come in towards the termination of the hot weather. Haws, sloes, and fox-grapes, in October. Chinquepins, chesnuts, and persimmons, still later. If to these refreshing and agreeable fruits we add the great variety of esculent vegetables, particularly asparagus, English peas, artichokes, Irish potatoes, green-corn, a variety of beans, squashes, pompions, okra, tomatoes, salads, beets, carrots, cabbages, and cucumbers, most of which are in season for a great part of the summer, we will find abundant reason of thankfulness for the ample provision made for the gratification and comfort of the heated thirsty inhabitants of our half West India climate.

Of the various articles of comfort which have been enumerated all except corn, potatoes, and caravansaras or Indian peas, are exotics introduced and naturalized by the care and attention of intelligent persons. Much has been done, but the field is open and invites to further experiments. Several of the finest countries of the world have a soil and climate like to that which we inhabit. As an independent people, we have access to all countries, and a mercantile intercourse with as many of them as we choose. The productions of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea, of Persia, India, China, Japan, of the greatest part of Africa, and of South America, might be successfully introduced into some parts of the State. Rice, indigo, and cotton, the three great sources of our wealth, all came from or grow in India; which is but one of the many countries resembling Carolina. Some commodities equally or even more valuable* may be in reserve to reward the investigations of the present inhabitants.

* A more remarkable species of cotton, naturally of a crimson color in the pod, has been mentioned by different travelers as growing in Africa, and principally in the Eyeo country. Mr. Clarkson states that a small specimen of it was brought to Great Britain in the year 1786. He adds that "the value of this cotton would be great, both to the importer and the manufacturer of muslins; the former would immediately receive eight shillings for a pound of it, and the latter would gain considerably more by his ingenuity and taste.—*Bancroft on Colors, pp.* 68 *and* 69.

As this State enjoys many of the comforts of tropical countries, it is in like manner subject to some of the violent convulsions of nature which agitate these peculiar regions. From the fatal consequences of earthquakes, we are happily exempt. A momentary one that did no damage, is recollected by some of our old citizens as having taken place on the 19th of May, 1754. Another is remembered by many still living, as having taken place about 2 o'clock in the morning of April 4th, 1799.

Though earthquakes in Carolina are harmless, thunder storms are not always so. When they take place, especially if in the night, their grandeur exceeds description. The frequent balls of fire bursting from cloud to cloud; the forked flashes darting between the clouds and the earth, and from the one to the other alternately, illuminate the whole surrounding atmosphere and form a magnificent and striking scene. The solemn sound of distant thunder, followed by the vast explosion on the one hand, and the repercussive roar on the other, appear tremendously awful. The beasts of the field start from the thicket and gaze at the surrounding prospect with evident symptoms of terror and astonishment, and the winged tribes seek the shelter of the groves. Sometimes indeed these storms are of short duration, particularly when they come attended with brisk gales of wind; but when that is not the case, they often last four or five hours. While the clouds are gathering, the atmosphere, though before serene, is suddenly obscured. To the inhabitants accustomed to view such appearances, and to experience their salutary effects in cooling the air and earth, the thunder storm produces more pleasurable than alarming sensations; but to strangers the "peal on peal, crushed, horrible, convulsing earth and heaven," is exceedingly solemn and terrifying. As the flashes of lightning from the clouds commonly strike the highest objects, and the whole country is covered with woods, the fury of the storm for the most part falls upon the trees. Such storms sometimes occasion considerable damage particularly to the ships in the harbor; and sometimes they are attended with showers of hail which fall with such force as to beat down the corn in the fields, and to break glass windows. Our elder citizens inform us, that thunder storms were in the days of their youth much more frequent and more injurious than they have been for the last thirty or forty years. This is remarkably the case in Charlestown, and is probably in part owing to the multiplication of electrical rods. Dr. Hewat, who wrote about 1775, asserts that he had known in Charlestown, "five houses, two churches, and five ships struck with lightning during one thunder storm." Nothing comparable to this has occurred for many years past. It is nevertheless

true, that during the summer there are few nights in which lightning is not visible in some part of the horizon.*

South Carolina, by its proximity to the torrid zone, is exposed to the conflicts of the elements in a greater degree than the northern States. To the southward the atmosphere is continually rarefied by excessive heat; a colder atmosphere from the northward, has a constant tendency to rush to the point of greatest heat and restore the equilibrium. To this warfare of elements may be ascribed the destructive whirlwinds which sometimes lay waste particular parts of Carolina. One of these took place May 4th, 1761. It was seen between one and two o'clock P. M., coming from the southwest like a large column of smoke and vapor. When it had advanced to the vicinity of Charlestown, it was providentially opposed by another whirlwind from the northeast; the shock of their junction was so great as to alter the direction of the former, whereby a great part of the town was left without the range of its violence. It then passed down Ashley river with such rapidity and force, that in a few minutes it reached Rebellion road where a fleet of loaded vessels lay; five of these were overset and so suddenly sunk, that the people in their cabins had not time to come on deck. Several others would have shared the same fate had not their masts given way. All those over which the whirlwind passed were laid on their sides. While many of the inhabitants, unsuspicious of any danger, sat at dinner, they were alarmed with an uncommon sound like the contin-

* On Tuesday morning, 12th November, 1799, from a little after midnight until daylight, the firmament in Charlestown exhibited a singular but splendid phenomenon. Instead of a few solitary meteors sporting along the sky, which is not unfrequent, they appeared in countless numbers, darting incessantly in all directions. Some of them emitted a light so vivid that objects in a chamber not very dark were rendered visible. A similar phenomenon was observed at the same time at sea, about sixty or seventy leagues from the bar. The like was seen at the same period as far to the south as 29 degrees of north latitude and 71 degrees of longitude. Accounts from Nassau, in New Providence, mentioned the same appearance to have been noticed there on the same morning. During the appearance of this uncommon phenomenon, the weather was very calm; yet the fears of some timid persons were so excited by the coruscations of effulgent light darting in all directions, that they apprehended the day of judgment and conflagration of the world to be at hand.

On August 2d, 1806, about seven o'clock, several thick clouds were gradually gathered in Charlestown, through which for more than an hour there was a superbly grand appearance of lightning, but without thunder. About a quarter past eight o'clock a smart shower of rain came on, accompanied with some lightning and thunder. This in a short time cleared away, though the clouds still continued to hover from the southwest to the north-northwest; the moon, then in the fourth day of its last quarter, rose with great splendor, while the firmament to the eastward was studded with a number of brilliant stars. At half-past eight o'clock a very unusual phenomenon occurred: a lunar rainbow was very plainly to be seen. It had none of the brilliancy of the solar rainbow, but was of a dark mud color. The arc was completely formed, rising at the summit to about 40 degrees above the horizon. It continued perfect for about ten or twelve minutes, and then began to disappear, and in a few minutes vanished. These uncommon phenomena were accurately observed and noted at the time of their appearance by Dr. Tucker Harris.

ual roaring of distant thunder. Looking round for its cause they saw a tremendous cloud advancing rapidly towards them with a circular motion, and large branches of trees hurled about in its vortex. Its diameter appeared to be about 300 yards, and its height thirty degrees, while a thick vapor emitted from it ascended much higher. The quantity of materials which composed this impetuous column and its prodigious velocity, gave it such a surprising momentum as to plough Ashley river to the bottom, and to lay the channel bare. Floods of water fell on those parts over which it moved. As the wind ceased soon after the passage of the whirlwind, the branches and leaves of trees which had been hurried along with it began to fall, and for half an hour darkened the air in their descent. A thousand axemen, employed for a whole day in cutting down trees, could not have done as much execution as was done by this whirlwind in one minute. Young and pliant trees by yielding to the storm escaped its fury, but those which were more inflexible and firmly rooted were broken off and hurled away. Among such were some live oaks of nearly two feet diameter; of these, though probably weighing more than two tons, no remains could afterwards be found, except their roots which were never separated from the earth. The same tremendous column was seen at noon upwards of thirty miles southwest from Charlestown. In the vicinity of the latter it arrived twenty-five minutes after two P. M. In its rapid intermediate course, exceeding fifteen miles an hour, it made an avenue of great width, tearing up trees, houses, and everything that came in its way. By four o'clock the wind was fallen—the sun shone out—the sky was serene—and every thing appeared so quiet that a stranger just arriving could scarcely believe that so dreadful a scene had been recently exhibited, if so many melancholy proofs of its reality did not obtrude themselves to his astonished view.

Minor whirlwinds often proceed through the upper country, sometimes in a width of a half mile, tearing up the largest trees in their way or twisting and shivering them to pieces.

Storms of hail also take place whose effects have been destructive to different parts of the State. The hills on both sides of the Catawba river near Rocky Mount, suffered severely from one which occurred some years ago. The discharge of hail stones was so heavy and large that the pine trees were completely killed, and still exhibit a wild and awful spectacle. Fields of wheat and other grain were beaten to pieces and destroyed. In April, 1793, a similar storm swept through part of Orangeburg and Ninety-Six districts; and in 1797 one passed along the eastern side of Cooper river, lasting about half an hour, and depositing on the ground hail

stones three inches in circumference. The grain in the fields, and the vegetables in the gardens, were completely destroyed, and birds and poultry were killed.

The commencement of the year 1800 was uncommonly cold, and several snow-storms took place in the months of January and February; some of these covered the grounds of the lower country six inches, and those of the upper country two or three feet deep. During this time a remarkable sleet fell in a vein of ten or fifteen miles wide from Broad river towards the Savannah. The cold and the sleet produced many long and heavy icicles appendant on the trees. The icicles by their number and weight bent saplings to the ground; but the full grown trees which did not bend were broken off in all directions, and the ground for miles covered with their ruins. The woods in that part of the State still present a wild and haggard appearance.

When either floods of rain or of melted snow pour down the rivers of Carolina, the adjacent low lands and intervals are overflowed with freshets. As early as the year 1701 we are informed by Mr. Lawson, in his history of Carolina, of a great inundation which about that time had rushed down Santee river, rising perpendicularly thirty-six feet. In January, 1796, a similar one came down the same river. No bridge could withstand its fury. Trees and houses were borne down by its stream. A wooden bridge over Broad river, a few miles above Columbia, and another about seven hundred feet long, over the Congaree river at Granby, upwards of forty feet high above the common level of the river, and many of whose piers were fastened by iron bolts into solid rock at its bottom, were swept away. At Granby, the tobacco ware-house, together with one hundred and fifty hogsheads of tobacco, was destroyed. The Camden tobacco ware-house on the banks of the Wateree river, met the same fate. Dwelling houses, corn houses, cattle, horses and hogs, were carried down by the violence of the current; and vast beds of sand were fixed on fertile tracts of swamp land, to their irreparable injury. The collected waters of almost all the rivers in the upper country at length formed a junction at the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree rivers, and rushed on the country below with destructive velocity. They rose at the rate of three inches an hour, and continued to rise for some days. The current in a great degree swept directly down the swamp, in a width in some places more than five miles from the high pine lands on either side. Great quantities of provisons—thousands of bushels of Indian corn—and many hundred barrels of rice were destroyed. Some of the negro houses of the lower plantations on Santee were torn up and carried by the torrent en-

tirely out to sea. Rice plantations within a few miles of the ocean, and on the best pitch of tide, were overflowed for near a week; the water being from two to three feet above the rice field banks. The force of the freshet was so strong that for some days the ebbing of the tides was scarcely perceivable. This great flood poured itself into Hell Hole swamp, and from thence entered the different bays which communicate with the eastern branch of Cooper river, passing over the high portage ground which divides the Santee from Cooper river, to ascend which the Santee canal was undertaken. At the same time a similar flood swelled Savannah river, laying the town of Augusta, in Georgia, generally two feet under water, and damaging goods therein to a large amount. It tore away an extensive bridge, near eight hundred feet long, belonging to Wade Hampton, which had been thrown over that river from South Carolina, and carried destruction before it down to the town of Savannah. The height of this freshet was supposed to be, at Augusta, from thirty-five to forty feet above the common level of the river. At Granby and Camden, the height of the waters in the Congaree and Wateree rivers must have been nearly at the same elevation. Just above the confluence of North and South Santee, the water was twenty-one feet above the common level. The best lands in the State were materially injured by this enormous freshet. It brought loss and distress to many individuals, and the well-earned prospects of a year's industry were either swept away or injured beyond the possibility of recovery.

Towards the termination of the hot season, blowing weather is common and in some measure necessary to restore the equilibrium between the heated air of the South and the cold air of the North. The autumnal equinox seldom passes in the vicinity of the torrid zone without some conflict of the elements more or less dangerous. In the 138 years which have taken place since the settlement of Carolina, several minor storms* have passed over without exciting any permanent public attention. But four having done extensive mis-

*In a blank leaf of the church book of the Independent church is the following note: "Memorandum.—There was a former register kept belonging to the meeting-house and congregation, which by misfortune of the great hurricane that happened the 5th and 6th of September, 1713, was lost; when the house where the late Mr. William Livingston, deceased, then lived, and in whose possession it was, at White Point in Charlestown, in this province, was washed and carried away by the overflowing of the sea." Of this hurricane nothing more is known. Since writing the above, a very old manuscript, written by the venerable Thomas Lamboll, who was born soon after Charlestown began to be built, and died in 1775, has been put into the hands of the author by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Lamboll Thomas, from which are collected the following particulars of the above hurricane, which are unnoticed by all historians. "1713.—On September 5th came on the great hurricane, which was attended with such an inundation from the sea, and to such an unknown height that a great many lives were lost; all the vessels in Charlestown harbor, except one, were drove ashore. The new Look

chief, are particularly remembered, and have been called hurricanes; an appellation usually given to those convulsive storms in the West India Islands in which the fields of sugar canes are destroyed, and the canes torn up and hurried away in confusion. The first of these hurricanes was in 1700. The swelling sea rushed in upon Charlestown with amazing impetuosity, and obliged the inhabitants to fly for shelter to the second stories of their houses. Happily few lives were lost in town, but a large vessel called the Rising Sun, belonging to Glasgow, and commanded by James Gibson, which had come from Darien with a part of the unfortunate Scotch settlers, at the time of the storm rode at anchor off the bar. The hurricane drove this ship from her anchor and dashed her to pieces against the sand banks, and every person on board perished. Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian clergyman, Lieutenant Graham, and several more belonging to the ship, being on shore, escaped the disaster. The men going next day in search of their unfortunate countrymen, found the corpses of the greatest part of them driven ashore on James's Island, where they spent a whole day in burying them.

Of the second, in 1728, very few particulars have been recorded. Newspapers, which are now so common, had then no existence in Carolina. During the summer of 1728 the weather was observed by the inhabitants of Charlestown to be uncommonly hot. A dreadful hurricane followed, occasioning an inundation which overflowed the town and the low lands, and did incredible damage to the fortifications, houses, wharves, shipping and corn-fields. The streets of Charlestown were covered with boats, boards, staves; and the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge in the higher stories of their dwelling-houses. Twenty-three ships were driven ashore, most of which were either greatly damaged or dashed to pieces. The Fox and Garland, men of war, stationed there for the protection of trade, were the only ships that rode out of the storm. This hurricane, though it leveled many thousand trees in the maritime parts,* was scarcely perceived an

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out on Sullivan's Island, of wood, built eight square and eighty feet high, blown down; all the front wall and mud parapet before Charlestown undermined and washed away, with the platform and gun-carriages, and other desolations sustained as never before happened to this town. To the northward of Charlestown the hurricane was more violent, but at Port Royal it was not much felt."

*One fact, preserved by tradition in a particular family, has reached us, which as an historical document fixing the date of this hurricane and pointing out the then situation of Charlestown, is worth mentioning. A considerable portion of that central, thickly-settled part of the city lying to the northward and eastward of the National Bank, was at that time an orchard, just beginning to bear nectarines, apricots, pears, and other choice fruit. The same day destroyed this orchard, the property of John Laurens, and gave birth to his son James. These cotempora-

hundred miles from the shore. The hurricane of 1752 excited the longest and greatest portion of public attention. The few surviving chroniclers who were witnesses of its devastation even now frequently take a mournful pleasure in reciting the particulars thereof to their listening grand-children and great-grand-children. In the months of June, July and August, 1752, the weather in Charlestown was warmer than any of the inhabitants, before or since, have ever experienced. The mercury in the shade often arose above ninety, and for nearly twenty successive days varied between that and 101. By such excessive heat the air becomes greatly rarefied, and a violent hurricane commonly follows and restores the balance in the atmosphere. In such a case the wind usually proceeds from the northeast. These storms indeed seldom happen except in seasons when there has been little thunder, when the weather has been long dry and hot. Accordingly, on the 15th of September, 1752, a dreadful hurricane took place. In the night before it was observed by the inhabitants of Charlestown that the wind at northeast began to blow hard and continued increasing in violence till next morning. Then the sky was suddenly overcast and it began to drizzle and rain. This northeast wind blew with so much violence as to stem the Gulf stream in its northern course and to throw it on the shores. About 9 o'clock A. M. the flood came rolling in

neous events, on the 3d of September. old style, were too interesting to be forgotten by those particularly concerned. When the circumstance of an orchard so near the centre of this city is compared with the present state of things, it cannot fail of exciting admiration at the vast increase of Charlestown in the short space of eighty years. The hurricanes of 1700, 1713, 1728, 1752, and 1804, were all in September, and between the 8th and 16th of that month. When allowance is made for the change of style, all of them appear to have taken place within eight days of each other in their respective years. Reducing the whole to the new style or present mode of computing time, the earliest was in 1804, on the 8th of September, and the latest in 1700, nominally on the 5th, but really on the 16th of the same month. The date of the hurricane of 1728, is by Dr. Hewat erroneously fixed in August. It is fixed as above, on the 3d of September, old style; that author assigned no date for the hurricance of 1700. It is fixed as above, on the 5th of September, old style, on the following ground: John Lawson, who wrote an account of Carolina one hundred years ago, states, that on the 28th of December, 1700, he set out from Charlestown for North Carolina. On the second day of his journey he fell in with a Scotchman living near Sewee bay, on an island then called Dixe's Island. The Scotchman treated his guest with oatmeal, and informed him, "That he had obtained the oatmeal, with several other effects, from the wreck of the Rising Sun, a Scotch ship which had been cast away near Charlestown bar on the 5th of the preceding September." Fixing these dates with precision is of importance; for when exactly ascertained, they not only tend to diminish the period of terror which in the season of hurricanes disturbs the minds of many in Charlestown, but furnish data from past experience for rational conjectures on the probable time of their taking place. The inhabitants of Sullivan's Island, and of the sea-coast, should be attentive to all great changes of the weather between the 1st and 16th of September, particularly after very hot summers, and especially when an uncommon roaring is heard from the sea. It appears that hurricanes have generally come earlier in the season. The two first, in 1700 and 1713, were on September 16th; that of 1728, was September 14th; that of 1752, September 15th; that of 1804, September 8th. It is therefore more probable that the next will be before than after the 8th of September.

with great impetuosity, and in a little time rose ten feet above high water mark at the highest tides. The streets were almost instantly covered with boats, boards, wrecks of houses and ships. Before 11 all the ships in the harbor were driven ashore; and sloops and schooners were dashing against the houses of Bay street. The stores on the several wharves from Roper's on the south and Wragg's on the north of East Bay street were all broken up and lodged in large heaps on the Governor's bridge and the yards or open ground in its vicinity.

When the gale came on there was a large ship at anchor at Sullivan's Island road. When it was over, that ship, no longer visible, was supposed to be foundered, but was shortly after found in Clouter's creek, about six miles north of Charlestown. During the gale she had drifted, with her anchors ahead, through the marsh opposite the city, called Shute's Folly, and also passed over another piece of marsh land three miles higher up, called Drum Island, without the loss of any of her crew, masts, or yards. After taking out two schooner loads of her cargo she was hove down at Hockbaw careening place. On examination it appeared that she had sustained no other damage than the loss of some of her sheathing plank, torn off by oyster shells. She was afterwards reloaded and safely arrived at London, after she had there been given over as lost.

Another vessel was driven with her anchors ahead from off White Point through the mouth of Vanderhorst's creek. In passing she carried away the southwest corner of the Baptist new church, and afterwards safely grounded on the west side of Meeting street. Her draft of water was from nine to ten feet.

A ship with a cargo of palatines had anchored in Ashley river a day or two before the gale. She, with her anchors, was driven into the marsh near to James Island where, by continual rolling the passengers were tumbled from side to side. About twenty of them, by bruises and other injuries, lost their lives. The Hornet sloop-of-war, with seven anchors ahead, drifted almost on shore near to the place where Gadsden's wharf now stands. Her bowsprit and foremast were cut away to prevent her foundering. She was the only vessel in the harbor that rode out the storm. All others were wrecked, damaged or driven on the wharves. The consternation which seized the inhabitants exceeds all description. Finding themselves in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and expecting the tide to flow till one o'clock, they retired at eleven to the upper stories of their houses, and contemplated a speedy termination of their lives. At this critical time providence

mercifully interposed and surprised them with a sudden and unexpected deliverance. Soon after eleven the wind shifted, in consequence of which the waters fell five feet in the space of ten minutes. By this happy change the Gulf stream, no longer stemmed by the violent blast, had freedom to regain its usual course, and the town was saved from eminent danger. Had the Gulf stream continued to flow in upon the town its destruction would have been inevitable. Almost all the tiled and slated houses were uncovered; several persons were hurt and some were drowned. The fortifications and wharves were almost entirely demolished—the provisions in the fields in the maritime parts were destroyed, and numbers of cattle and hogs perished in the waters. The pest-house, on Sullivan's Island, built of wood, with fourteen persons in it, was carried several miles up Cooper river, and nine of the fourteen were drowned.*

*Several of these particulars are stated on the authority of Josiah Smith. This was the greatest and most destructive hurricane that has ever yet taken place in Carolina. The attention of the public being called to the subject of hurricanes by a very destructive one which took place in 1804. the Medical Society wishing to perpetuate a minute account of both, directed Dr. Prioleau to collect and particularly state the material facts relative to these important events, and to modernize the cotemporary statements of the hurricane of 1752, which by a change of names and circumstances were no longer intelligible. This service he performed very much to the satisfaction of the society; of it much use has been made in this historic statement. The result of his inquiries was recorded in the journal of the Society. That part of it which relates to the hurricane of 1752 is nearly as follows: "As the hurricape of the year 1752 far, very far exceeded, both in violence and devastation, the one of 1804, it may be both useful and interesting to collect its history, not only to enable us to make a comparison between them, but to apprise us of the danger and destruction to which we may be subjected from eastwardly storms. By the politeness of our President, Dr. James Moultrie, I have been favored with a very excellent and minute account of the hurricane of 1752, written by his worthy and learned father, Dr. John Moultrie; from which, together with the information communicated to me by my father, who was in the city at the time, and has a perfect recollection of the occurrence, we shall be enabled to compile an accurate account.

"As great changes have taken place in our city since that period by increased population, extension, change of property, and other circumstances, and as the above account refers to buildings which have long since been demolished, and to places the names of which have been altered, it will become necessary, in order to understand the extracts, to make a partial reference to the situation of the city at that time. In doing which, it is only necessary to observe, that the aspect of the city has been very much changed since the year 1752. The creeks which ran partly through the town have been obliterated, the low grounds have been filled, and even the most elevated spots must have received additional height from the rubbish which must necessarily accumulate in so populous a place.

The town was in a state of fortification. At White Point there was a considerable fort. A very strong brick wall, the curtain line, extended on the east side of East Bay street from Roper's wharf to the Governor's bridge, at each extremity of which there was a bastion. The wharves were few in number, the most northwardly of which is now owned by Captain John Blake. With the exception of the low stores on the wharves, the vendue store which was opposite Tradd street, and the old Guard House, where the Exchange now stands, there was not an house on the east side of East Bay street, nor was there any land at that time on which one could be erected. The water washed the curtain line from one end to the other, except only in those places where the wharves projected from it. On the night of 14th September, 1752, it was cloudy and boisterous. Friday, September 15th, was extremely stormy in the morning; and the wind, blowing from

In September, 1804, after an interval of fifty-two years, another hurricane took place. This proceeded from a junction of two simultaneous gales of wind on the coast. The one commenced at the Carribee Islands and proceeded northwestwardly along the coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. The other commenced at the northeast, and proceeded southwestwardly. These two gales after having separately done much mischief, met, and forming a junction in the latitude of Charlestown or Beaufort effected still greater devastation. Their conflict was attended with torrents of rains; it retarded the gulf stream, and of course accumulated so much water on the coast as to inundate a great part of the low lands of South Carolina and Georgia.

For several days before the storm commenced, an uncommon roaring of the sea was distinctly heard, especially by the residents on Sullivan's Island. The tides were remarkable for high floods and for ebbs less low than usual.

At 10 o'clock P. M. on the 7th of September, 1804, a heavy

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the northeast, increased and continued with very little variation until eleven o'clock, A. M. Its violence was so great that no person could stand against it without support. About 9 o'clock A. M., when agreeably to the course of the tide it should have been low water, it was observed greatly to exceed the height of spring tides, and continued rising until the wind, which blew from the northeast and east-northeast, shifted to the south and southwest. The mountainous sea which then raged in the harbor began to fall, and the water returned in a very surprising manner. But for this change of wind, it is probable that the whole town would have been laid in ruins, as the tide had, according to the usual routine, two hours to flow, and a foot more of water would have inundated the highest spot. We cannot but shudder at the recital of the havoc it produced. Granville's bastion, situated at the southeast corner of East Bay street, on the very spot which is now occupied by Captain Messroon's house, was much shaken, the upper part of the wall beat in, the platform with the guns upon it floated partly over the wall. The upper part of the curtain line, a solid wall at least four feet thick, was beat in upon the bay, from Granville's bastion to Lloyd's wharf, now Geyer's; and from the spot where Cochran's wharf now is to Craven's bastion, which is now occupied by a house of Mr. Pritchard's, near the southeast corner of the Governor's bridge.

"The warehouses, scale-houses, and sheds upon the wharves, with all the goods in them, were swept away; the solid parts of the wharves much leveled. All the floating materials of the wharves, warehouses, and their contents—naval stores, boards, timber, shingles. staves, canoes, small craft, and barrels, were washed up under the curtain line from Lloyd's wharf, now Geyer's, to the place where Cochran's wharf now stands, and from thence to Craven's bastion, as the curtain line was beat in; the same confused mass was washed up against the houses on that part of the bay, to their great damage, and up into Queen street as far as Kinloch's court. All the vessels in the harbor, of every description, except the Hornet sloop-of-war, drove ashore. The small craft, except a few, were so torn to pieces, crushed and blended with the materials of the wharves and warehouses, as hardly to be discriminated.

"A pilot boat drove up on the pavement, close to Mr. T. Smith's door, the house which Mr. Gardner afterwards lived in, opposite to Keith's wharf, in the parlor of of which there was water to the depth of three feet.

"Dr. Caw's house, near to the corner of Lodge alley, was almost torn to pieces. The remains of two or three large petti-augers before it, the stables and chair-house next to it, and a great quantity of rafts of timber in the back yard of it, were all washed away.

"A wooden house of Mrs. Wragg's, corner of Bay and Amen streets, her green house, together with Mrs. Scott's (where Mr. Winstanley now lives,) out-buildings, were entirely demolished. Mr. Scott saved himself by swimming from his

gale of wind from the northeast commenced which continued during the night. It moderated about five o'clock in the morning of the 8th, but at seven it wore to the east and came on with redoubled force, and continued to increase until twelve o'clock, when it blew with tremendous violence, driving the spray of the sea across Charlestown Neck. The effect of this showed itself on the branches of tall pine trees fronting the east, blasting their leaves so that they appeared as if scorched with fire, and remained so for several weeks. In the afternoon it shifted round to the southeast, but did not in the least decrease until ten o'clock in the evening; it still, however, blew hard until one o'clock of the morning of the ninth, accompanied at intervals with heavy showers of rain.

The amount of property destroyed was immense; the whole of the wharves, from General Gadsden's on Cooper river, to to the extent of South Bay were greatly damaged. The heads and sides of most of them were shattered both by the violence of the waves and the beating of vessels against them. Very

house. The works of Craven's bastion, from the platform upwards, were all beat in, the platform torn up and crowded into a corner of the bastion, the guns dismounted and washed out of their carriages, the great gate burst open into the street, and the heavy doors have never since been found.

"Captain Walker's sloop, loaded for Jamaica, drove through Colonel Pinckney's, now General Pinckney's stables, into Robert Raper's, now Ancrum's yard, where she was crushed to pieces, and left her mast through the balcony door.

"Captain Walker's pilot boat beat down the fine staircase leading to Colonel Pinckney's house, now the General's, and made a small breach in the southeast corner of the house. Mr. Brown's house, corner of Bay and William's wharf, was so much shattered, as to be rendered almost unfit to be inhabited.

"Colonel Pinckney, who lived in the large white house at the corner of Ellery street and French alley, abandoned it after there were several feet of water in it. He conveyed his family from thence to Mr. Seaman's, where Mr. Thomas Jones now lives, corner of Guignard and Charles streets, in a ship's yawl. All South Bay was in ruins, many wooden houses were wrecked to pieces and washed away, and brick houses reduced to a heap of rubbish. The piazza of the house of Samuel Peroneau, in Meeting street, where Dr. Irvine now lives, the chair-house, stables, and store-house, were all washed away. Mr. Fenwicke's coach-house, on the spot where Judge Heyward now lives, was beat down, and a new chariot broke to pieces and carried into King street, where Mr. Allston now lives. A new brick tenement, opposite to where Major Ladson now lives, was beat down by the falling of a stack of chimneys upon it, and washed away almost to the foundation. A brick house where Mr. Bedon lived, in Church street, a few doors from General Washington's, was, with the out-houses, reduced to a heap of rubbish. Mr. Bedon and family unfortunately remained too long in the house, for the whole family, consisting of twelve souls, perished in the water, except himself and a negro wench. He was driven to the upper end of Broad street, and was taken into the window of the house of Mr. Hext, who lived at the corner of Broad and Mazyck's street, where Mr. John Huger now lives. The negro wench was driven on Cumming's point, and saved herself by clinging to a tree. The bodies of Mrs. Bedon, of one of her children, and of a Dutch boy, were found in the parsonage pasture, where Mr. Ehrick now lives, in St. Philip's street. Mr. George Eveleigh's house, where Dr. Polony lately lived, was much shattered; the brick pillars before his house, together with the gate and pailing, were washed away. Mr. Tomplatt, who lived opposite, was drowned and washed into a stable on the lot where Colonel Morris lives, in Meeting street. Mr. Screven's brick tenements, with their out-buildings, corner of Church street and Stoll's alley, was beat down. The new Baptist church had both its ends beat in, the doors and windows broken to pieces. Many other houses in Church street, continued, were destroyed.

"A loaded brig came up the creek, which is now Water street, and was left

few vessels indeed escaped uninjured; many were totally lost, and more materially damaged.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the eighth, which was the period of low water, the tide was as high as it generally is at common high tides. It appeared that during the preceding ebb, little water had left the rivers. At twelve o'clock it had risen upwards of three feet higher than what is reckoned a high spring tide. This made a complete breach over the wharves, and drove some small vessels on them. On Gadsden's wharf several stores were washed or blown down, and their contents of rice and cotton much damaged. The new street made to continue East Bay to White Point was destroyed. Through it the water passed up Water street as far as Meeting street, in which it was some inches deep, opposite to the Presbyterian church.

On South Bay the whole of the bulwark made to withstand the encroachments of the tide was destroyed. The house of Mr. Wm. Veitch, built on made land, was washed away, and

in Church street, on the spot where Mr. Verree's house now stands. In general, all wooden fences and brick walls which were much exposed, and high stacks of chimnies were blown down. All wooden houses above one story in height, were either beat down or shattered. Many gable ends of houses blown out. All tiled and slated houses without exception, were more or less stripped of their covering; those on the bay, in a manner quite uncovered. When the front was stripped, the wind blowing under the roof, burst the back part out in bulk.

"All the southwest point of the town comprehened between Tradd and King streets was inundated. White Point and South Bay were under water; it was two feet deep in Meeting street, opposite Major Ladson's. The tide flowing up the creek, which has been filled up and is now Water street, poured its water into Church street, as far as the corner of Tradd street. It flowed up the creek to Meeting street, through said street, round St. Michael's church, into Broad street, as far down as the corner of Church street, where the South Carolina Bank now stands, where it met the water which flowed up from East Bay through Queen street into Church street.

"The south end of the Bay, from Captain Messroon's to Major Reid's, and the north end from Queen street to General Gadsden's, was completely inundated. The water was several feet in General Pinckney's house, and in other houses in that neighborhood. It flowed up the creek over which the Governor's bridge is thrown, by the old magazine as far as Meeting street, where Mr. John Splatt Cripps now lives. It was generally believed that one foot more of water would have covered the highest spot in Charlestown.

"Sullivan's Island was covered with water. Some people were hunting there: in all, fourteen souls. Of these only five escaped on part of the roof of the Pest House, which was driven ashore near Hobcaw Point.

"A great part of James Island was under water: many houses thereon were beat down, and some people drowned.

"The plantations on Keewah Island were completely overflowed. Mr. William Matthews, his wife, and about forty-seven souls, were miraculously saved on an old corn house which stood raised on posts from the ground.

"The plantations between Pon Pon and Santee river had their negro houses and many of their out-houses blown down.

"An incredible number of trees were blown out by the roots, and many of the finest pine trees which stood the gale, rendered unfit for timber, boards, &c., in consequence of the internal part of the tree being split, or of what the workmen call *heart-shaken*.

"The roads were blocked up by trees falling across them. The bridges were carried away, and as the canoes or boats were either crushed to pieces or driven ashore, all communication with the country was thereby cut off for some days. The whole of this devastation was effected in the short space of six hours."

a negro killed by the fall of its chimney. Most of the families in this street fled from their dwellings.

In the city several houses which were covered with slate and pantile were partly unroofed. Many trees and fences were blown down. At twelve o'clock on the 8th, which was the period of high water, the tide had risen three feet two inches higher than what is called a high spring tide. As usual it began to decrease, but at six o'clock, the time of low water, it had fallen only two feet. As so little water had been carried out by the ebb, and a new flood was coming in, it was apprehended that this tide would be much higher than the former. But owing to the shifting of the wind more to the southward, the water continued to fall during the last four hours of what in the common course of things would have been a flood tide. So that at one o'clock A. M. on the ninth, the period of high water, it was not as high as it had been the preceding evening at the period of low water. On Sullivan's Island the situation of several hundreds who had resorted thither for the benefit of the sea air, and to avoid the heat of the city, was distressing beyond description. The western part of the island was completely under water to the depth of several feet. Upwards of twenty houses were either blown down, or their foundations undermined by the sea and completely washed away. The inhabitants of these houses escaped by resorting to the Lazaretto barracks and other parts of the island not so immediately exposed. Many houses were occupied by women and children alone who could not assist themselves and who, but for the prompt aid of several gentlemen, must inevitably have perished. The eastern part of the island was not completely covered. The inhabitants of that end had free communication with each other, walking dry shod along the narrow ridge of sand which runs longitudinally through the island. It is the opinion of several who witnessed the scene that in case the tide had continued to rise for half an hour longer, every house on the island must have fallen, and the destruction of every person thereon would have been almost inevitable. Of many families, part were in Charlestown and part on Sullivan's Island. Between these two places, six miles apart, there was no possibility of any communication. The residents on the island and in the city were reciprocally anxious for each other. Personal safety for the present moment was no security for the next. The inhabitants of the island could not tell whether they or their friends in the city fared worst. The latter feared that the former were overwhelmed and lost. In this painful state of suspense both remained for several hours, not knowing what was the fate of their friends, and equally uncertain what was to be their own.

Fort Johnson was so injured as not to admit the mounting of a single cannon. The breast-work, and pallisadoes of Fort Pinckney were washed away.

The gale was scarcely felt northwardly beyond Wilmington, North Carolina. It commenced at Georgetown on the 8th of September, between 3 and 4 o'clock A. M.; the wind was northeast, and blew with increasing violence until midnight. It then changed to southeast, and abated but little of its fury before the evening of the 9th. The rain descended in torrents. The devastation increased as the storm proceeded southwardly. At Savannah the gale began on Saturday, September 8th, and lasted seventeen hours. The water rose to eight or ten feet above the level of the common spring tides. Houses and stores were blown down by the wind and undermined by the water. Fences and trees were prostrated, ships and vessels were stranded and left high and dry on the wharves. Many negroes and others were drowned in consequence of the low islands on the coast being deeply overflowed. On Cockspur Island Fort Green was leveled, all the buildings destroyed, and thirteen lives lost. Muskets were scattered all over the island. Cases of canister shot were carried from one hundred to two hundred feet, and a bar of lead of 300 pounds was likewise removed to a considerable distance. A cannon weighing 4,800 pounds is said to have been carried thirty or forty feet from its position. Broughton Island was covered with water, and upwards of seventy negroes, the property of William Brailsford, were drowned by the oversetting of a boat in which they attempted to escape from the island to the main. The barn on the island being raised on made high land stood the storm, and in it the negroes would have been safe. At St. Simon's Island great damage was done. The crops were generally covered with water, and several negroes were drowned. The like happened on St. Catherines, and on the other islands on the coast. At Sunbury the bluff was reduced to a plane, and almost every chimney leveled to the ground.

The rice swamps and low lands within the reach of the tides were generally overflowed. The crops of rice and provisions were greatly injured, and in some places totally destroyed or washed away. The fields of cotton along the seashore which previously promised an abundant crop, were blasted and nearly destroyed by the violence of the wind and the spray of the sea.

Destructive scenes similar to those which have been just described seldom occur; but something of an opposite nature takes place almost every year. There is an uncommon and frequent multiplication of fish under particular circumstances

which deserves to be noticed in the natural history of South Carolina. In every plantation great care is taken in making dams to preserve water for overflowing the rice fields in summer; without which they will yield no crops. Soon after these ponds are made, the planters find them stocked with a variety of fishes. In what manner they breed or whence they come has been a subject of inquiry. Some think that their spawn is exhaled from the large lakes of fresh water in the continent, and being brought in thunder clouds, falls with the drops of rain into these reservoirs of water. Others imagine that it must have remained every where among the sand since the sea left these maritime parts of the continent. Others are of opinion that young fish are brought by water fowls from one pond to another and dropt therein, by which means the new made pools receive a plentiful supply. Of these different solutions the first is most satisfactory. But whatever is the cause the effect is visible and notorious all over the country. When the ponds are stocked with fishes, it becomes an agreeable and common amusement to catch them by angling or hawling a seine through the pool.

Of the original animale in South Carolina, the following remain:

Bear, panther, wild cat, wolf, beaver, grey fox, red deer, otter, wild rat, mouse, black squirrel, gray squirrel, flying squirrel, ground squirrel, rabbit, pole cat, mole, mink, opossum, raccoon, lizard, scorpion, toad, bull frog, frog, green frog.

The following have been imported and domesticated:

The cow, horse, ass, hog, sheep, goat, dog, cat.

Of the birds of Carolina the following are the principal:

Bald eagle, fishing hawk, pigeon hawk, gray hawk, swallow tailed hawk, night hawk, turkey buzzard, carrion crow, large owl, screech owl, carolina cuckoo, perroquet, blue jay, purple jack daw, red winged starling or black bird, rice bird, large white bellied woodpecker, gold winged woodpecker, red bellied woodpecker, hairy woodpecker, yellow bellied woodpecker, small spotted woodpecker, nut-hatch great and small, sanguillah, wild pigeon, turtle dove, ground dove, may bird, robin, thrush, carolina bullfinch, large swamp sparrow, little sparrow, snow bird, mocking bird, blue grosbeak, purple finch, painted finch or nonpareil, blue linnet, chatterer, blue bird, crested fly catcher, black cap fly catcher, swamp red bird, highland red bird, summer red bird, crested tit mouse, yellow tit mouse, pine creeper, yellow throated creeper, humming bird, kingfisher, chattering plover or killdeer, whistling plover, hooping crane, blue heron, little white heron, crested bittern, cormorant, white curlew, brown curlew, oyster catcher, canada goose, small white brant goose, great gray brant goose, duck and

mallard, canvas back duck found here every spring, gannet, large black duck, bull neck duck, round crested duck, summer duck, little brown duck, blue winged teal, green winged teal, white faced teal, black cormorant, flamingo, water pelican, wild turkey, pheasant or mountain partridge, small partridge or quail, wren, swallow, martin whip-poor-will or goat sucker, snipe, woodcock, marsh hen, indian pullet.

Of these the geese, many species of ducks, the wild pigeon, the snow bird and some others are birds of passage, some of them coming from northern and others from southern latitudes. Swallows appear commonly in the second week of March, and disappear the beginning of August. Martins come about the middle of April, and depart about the end of October or beginning of November. Small birds called king birds, show themselves about the first week in April, and retire the first week in September.

Many species of serpents, some of which are of deadiy nature, are natural to this State, among which are: The rattle snake, water rattle snake, small rattle snake, water viper, black viper, copper belly snake, bluish green snake, hog nose snake, wampum snake, horn snake, thunder snake, black snake, little brown head snake, ribbon snake, chain snake, mogason water snake, coach whip snake, corn snake, green snake, glass snake, bull snake.

Among our insects are: The earth worm, grub worm, snail, house bug, flea, wood worm, forty legs, wood louse, cicada, mantis or camel cricket, cockroach, cricket, beetle, fire fly, glow worm, butterfly, moth, ant, fig eater, humble bee, ground bee or yellow jacket, wasp, hornet, fly, musqueto, sand fly, spider, tick, potatoe louse.

Alligators are in abundance in our brackish and fresh tide waters. They grow to the length of twelve or fourteen feet, and are extremely destructive to fish and other animals; they are said sometimes to attack men. If so it is very rare and under very particular circumstances. In general they are more sluggish and cunning, than active and courageous. But they conceal themselves in or near the water and seize calves, hogs and colts in the act of drinking or eating, drag them under the stream and devour them piece meal.

The fresh water fish are: Sturgeon, pike, trout, bream, roach, or silver fish, mud fish, pearch, sucking fish or carp, herring,* cat fish, gar fish, rock fish, eel; and of the shell fish kind, the soft shelled turtle, terrebin, cray fish.

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*These fish, in their passage from Europe to the southwestern parts of the Atlantic, and in their return back to the great fisheries in the Northern and German seas, seldom fail to show themselves almost every March in considerable numbers in this State, particularly in Goose creek, Pedee, and Edisto rivers.

The salt water fish are:—Shark, porpus, drum, bass, sailors choice, cavalli, snapper, shad,* sheep head, crocus, whiting, porgy, black fish, soles, angel fish, mullet, herring, skip jack, yellow tail, alewife.

And the shell fish are some kinds of large and small sea turtle, oysters, crab, shrimps, clams and muscles.

So various is the climate of South Carolina that the plants of Canada may be found on its mountains, and the more hardy tropical fruits on its south-eastern extremity. Since the revolution, its botanic riches have been examined and many specimens transported to the old world by six European botanists: Michaux and son, Beauvois, I. Fraser and son, and John Lyon. Among its numerous vegetable productions, the following, in addition to what have been introduced in preceding chapters, deserve particular notice:

Trees.—Ash, fraxinus. Its wood is used in making ploughs, wagons and carts, spokes of wheels, tool handles, and dairy utensils; and the bark in making baskets.

Birch, betula alba, is used for baskets and hoop-poles.

Beech, fagus sylvatica, is made into sundry articles of furniture, and is split into thin scales for band-boxes. It also makes stocks for planes.

Black cherry, cerasus virginiana—furniture is made of its wood. A decoction of the bark is useful in dyspepsia, consumptions, intermittent fevers. Its gum is nearly equal to gum arabic; its fruit, by infusion in brandy, is a rich cordial.

Black mulberry, morus nigra—its wood makes furniture, and the fruit is pleasant and wholesome.

Cypress tree, cupressus disticha, is the largest tree growing in the State, being sometimes thirty feet in circumference. Its wood is very durable, and yet easy to work. Large canoes, requiring six or eight oarsmen, are sometimes made from a single tree. They are sufficiently numerous in some single swamps to afford materials for building every house in a large town. They afford plank and timber for ships, houses and various other purposes; also boards for pannel work, shingles for covering houses, tubs, churns and other dairy utensils.

Red cedar, juniperus virginiana, makes durable furniture, posts and coffins. On the plantation of Thomas Drayton, in St. Andrews, an inscription on wood of this species in 1706, indicates the grave of Stephen Fox. There is no tombstone in Charlestown equally old on which time has made so little impression.

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*These fish in the month of February run up the fresh water rivers, particularly the Savannah, the Santee and its various heads, and in such numbers, that in addition to a plentiful supply for domestic use, many hundreds of barrels of them might be every year caught and salted for exportation.

Chestnut, castanea vesca, a very durable wood. Many of the oldest houses in London are built of it. It is good for tubs or vats for liquor, and never shrinks after being once seasoned. It makes fence-rails, and answers for several purposes of husbandry. The fruit is used as food.

Chinquepin, castanea pumela. Its fruit makes an agreeable article of light food. Posts made of the tree are very durable.

Candleberry-myrtle, myrica cerifera, affords wax for candles. A decoction of the bark is good for dropsies—of the leaves for diarrhœas—of the root for restraining uterine hæmorrhages.

Dogwood, cornus florida. The bark is a good substitute for Peruvian bark in the cure of fevers and mortifications.

Elder, sambucus canadensis. A decoction of the leaves has been found useful in dropsies—of the flowers in erysipelas, and other cutaneous diseases.

Elm, ulmus americana and alata, keeps well in water—is useful for mill-wheels, water-pipes, and for the carved works of architecture. It also yields materials for chair bottoms. The bark of one species of it can be made into ropes. The inner bark of another, the slippery-bark elm, ulmus pubescens, is commonly and with advantage applied to fresh wounds. An infusion of it is an useful mucilaginous drink in bowel complaints. Water in which it has been macerated, applied cold, acquires increased efficacy in cases of burns.

Several kinds of holly: the ilex cassena, is a most powerful diuretic.

Hickory nut, juglans alba. The nuts of this tree are pleasant food. Its wood makes excellent fuel. When small, it answers very well for hoop-poles. The inner bark imparts either an olive or yellow color.

Linden tree, tilia americana. The inner bark macerated in water is a good application to burns.

Locust tree, robinia, pseudo acacia, is a beautiful tree, and makes excellent fuel, timber, posts for fences, and is much used for trundles by ship-wrights. It is of quick growth, and cherishes the grass beneath its shade.

Spring plum, prunus chicasa—reputed unwholesome, but only accidentally so from swallowing the skin and stones—the juice is cooling and wholesome.

Winter plum, prunus hiemalis, affords an excellent preserve, and a rich cordial.

Chamærops palmetto. Palmetto tree grows only on lands adjacent to the sea. It is much used for facing wharves and other works under water, as it is not at all injured by worms. It affords excellent materials for the construction of forts; for cannon balls soon loose all their force in its spongy substance.

They penetrate but a little, make no extended fractures, nor do they detach any dangerous splinters. The top of the tree yields a substance resembling cabbage, which may be used as such. The leaves of the chamærops pumila make durable hats.

There are more than twenty kinds of oak. Their acorns are useful as mast for hogs, and their galls as strong astringents. The wood of all is used for fuel, and of some for posts, shingles, staves, and heading for barrels. Pot-ash is obtained from their ashes, which when united with the wax of the candleberry-myrtle makes soap.

Live oak, quercus virens, is a very heavy wood which cannot be split. It yields the best of timber for ships, and for various kinds of machinery.

Quercus alba, white oak. The wood of this tree is split into thin laminæ for the purpose of making baskets, hoops, whip handles, &c.

Red oak, quercus rubra. A decoction of the bark is useful in diarrhœas and gangrene—the bark itself in tanning leather.

Great black mountain oak, quercus tinctoria. Its bark is used for dying black.

Persimon, diospyrus virginiana, is one of the strongest vegetable astringents, and much used in various cases where medicines of that class are indicated. By fermentation an agreeable beverage may be made from it. It also yields by distillation something like brandy. The younger trees may be used as stocks for engrafting.

Plane, platanus occidentalis. Sycamore tree.

Flowering poplar or tulip tree, liriodendron tulipifera, are both very beautiful. The bark of the latter is used for the cure of intermittent fevers, and in cases of bad digestion and debility—by many it is deemed nearly equal to Peruvian bark, and is much used by farriers.

Acer rubrum, red maple—the bark contains much galic acid, and is used with copperas for giving a permanent black color. Furniture and gun stocks are made from its wood.

Sugar maple, acer saccharinum—each tree yields in the proper season about five pounds of good sugar.

Sugar tree, a nondescript species of acer—yields sugar of a superior quality, and more in quantity than the sugar maple.

Papaw, annona trilaba—ropes are made from the fibres of its inner bark. Its fruit affords a delightful repast.

Magnolia glauca—the bark is an agreeable bitter, used frequently and successfully in intermittents, and other diseases requiring tonic aromatic bitters.

Pine tree, pitch pine, pinus tæda, produces pitch, tar, turpentine—and the heart of it when dry becomes lightwood,

which makes lasting posts. There is a species of pine in Carolina, as yet undescribed, growing on the summits of high mountains, which yields a balsam much famed both as a dressing to wounds and for relieving internal diseases.

Yellow pine, pinus palustris—of it are made planks, house-frames, spars, oars, boats, masts of vessels, ship-timber and lumber in all its various forms. Other pine trees yield fence rails, posts, shingles, staves, and heading for barrels.* All of them make excellent fuel.

MEDICINAL VEGETABLES.

Acorus calamus, sweet calamus, is a useful bitter and an excellent carminative and stomachic.

Amorpha fruticosa, wild indigo, is a strong styptic, and restrains excessive discharges of blood. Several vegetables pass under the name of snake-root. The following are the most useful, and are stimulant, bitter, sudorific and antispasmodic: 1. Virginia aristolochia serpentaria. 2. Seneka, polygala, senega. 3. Heart asarum, arifolium; and 4, button snake-root, agave virginica. The three first are used in febrile diseases, and with the aid of the lancet, blisters, and salts, are equal to the cure of most of the common inflammatory fevers. The last has been found a powerful auxiliary in cases of tetanas and other spasmodic complaints; and a tincture of the root is also found most useful in cases of flatulent cholic.

Asclepias decumbens, pleurisy root, is much used by the planters in the disease from which it is named—it is a very

* Pines are the most valuable trees which grow in Carolina. Judging of their ages by their rings, some of them have been cotemporary with the French, Spanish, and English settlements on the coast, and have flourished equally under the democracy of Indians, and the proprietary, royal, and representative governments of white men. The resources of Carolina in lumber may be estimated from the following statements: There are within its limits two hundred thousand acres; each of which, on an average, has growing on it fifty pine trees, and every one of these, on an average, when brought in a marketable form to the sea ports, would sell for ten dollars. If to these are added the cypress and cedar trees, the oaks, ashes, poplars, maples, beeches, magnolias, palmettoes, and other common trees in Carolina, which are used in furniture, building, as ship timber, and in various forms by different artists, the sylvan riches of the State will be found to exceed all calculation. So great is the eagerness to plant cotton, that forests containing immense quantities of useful wood are yearly cut down and burnt without any other advantage than what is derived from the fertilizing quality of their ashes. This small residue of what might have been made ten times more valuable, is not improved by being converted into pot-ash. Such are the temptations resulting from the high value of the new staple, cotton, that to extend its culture, other sources of wealth to an immense amount are annually sacrificed. In almost every case land which, by being cleared of wood, is fitted for immediate planting, sells for more than the same when fully timbered. There are about 30,000 cords of wood consumed annually in Charlestown; and much more cut down, burnt, and destroyed in the country. Notwithstanding all this waste, the day is far distant when Carolina, stript of its trees, will resemble the south of Europe, and some of the most populous settlements in the northern States, so far as to present an unshaded surface to the direct action of the sun. Great havoc for some time past has been made among the pine trees by insects which, by boring into their substance, destroy them.

useful sudorific after proper evacuations; and, combined with them, seldom fails of effecting a cure.

Cassia marylandica, wild senna, not inferior to the senna of the shops.

Convallaria polygonatum, Solomon's seal—an excellent remedy for the scald head, and cutaneous eruptions.

Chironia angularis, lesser centaurs, is an excellent tonic and bitter in the low state of fevers when the body is prepared for medicines of that class.

Eupatorium perfoliatum, hemp agrimony. Thoroughwort is an emetic sudorific and tonic medicine, and frequently removes diseases of the skin.

Eupatorium pilosum, wild hoarhound, is good against fevers and old coughs arising from debility. The tame possesses the same virtues, but in an inferior degree.

Oxalis acetosella, woodsorrel, with which the woods abound, makes with milk a grateful whey, cooling in fevers—and from it may be prepared an essential salt like that of lemons, for any purpose requiring a vegetable acid.

Puccoon root, sanguinaria canadensis, is a deobstruent, and excellent in jaundice, old coughs, and bilious habits.

Pyrola umbellata, winter green—useful in nephritic cases.

Spierœa trifoliata, drop wort, commonly called Bowmen's root, or Indian physic. The bark of the root is tonic and emetic.

Zanthoryza, apiifolia, parsley leaved yellow root. A pleasing bitter, not inferior to columbo.

Spigelia marylandica, pink-root. The experience of many years has established the efficacy of a decoction of the roots of this elegant plant as a safe and powerful vermifuge. Dr. Barton is of opinion that it is also an excellent remedy in some febrile diseases of children, particularly in that species of remittent which often paves the way to dropsy of the brain.

Ceanothus Americanus, red root—the bark of the root is a very strong astringent, and is much used in diarrhœas.

May apple, wild lemon, podophyllum peltatum. The root of this plant affords a certain and salutary cathartic. Dr. Barton prefers it to jalap, because it is not so irritating and may be procured fresh and genuine in almost every part of the United States.

Prickly ash, aralia, spinosa—a watery infusion of the bark of the root is a certain emetic, and proves frequently cathartic. Its use is common in checking the progress of intermittents.

Gentiana or gentian—several species are to be found in Carolina. Their roots are highly but agreeably bitter, and are employed in making bitters and in cases of dyspepsia.

Laurus, sassafras—an infusion of the dried flowers is pre-

ferred by many to tea, and the bark of the root is used as an external application in gangrene.

Poke root weed, phytolacca decandra. The tender plant is an excellent substitute for spinach. A tincture of the berries is employed in chronic rheumatisms, and a decoction of the root by farriers in cleaning fistulous ulcers.

Sumach, rhus glabrum. An infusion of the berries makes a drink cooling and acidulous, and proves gently cathartic.

Michella repens, partridge berry. A decoction of this plant is esteemed a good emetic, and has gained a very general use.

Diuretic flagg, iris virginica. This plant possesses considerable diuretic powers, a decoction of the root in the hands of several planters has performed cures in dropsical cases.

Bucks eye, poor man's soap—esculus pavia. The root of this plant is employed in washing woolens, and from the fruit good starch may be plentifully obtained. The fruit powdered and thrown into stagnant water, has the effect of intoxicating the fish. They rise to the suface and are readily taken by the hand.

VEGETABLES REMARKABLE FOR THEIR BEAUTY, FRAGRANCE, OR CURIOUS STRUCTURE.

The mantling vines of the trumpet flower, yellow jasmines, convolvolus, ipomea, glycine or Carolina kidney bean tree. The fragrant bay trees, the delicate mellifluous smelling azalea, the beautiful and sweet honeysuckle, the cheerful clematis or traveler's joy, the shewy hibiscus, the elegant fringe and snowdrop trees, the air-perfuming sweet scented shrubs, the rich and gay variety of wild asters and dwarf sunflowers, with the wood-enlivening phlox, the iris, the curious water lily, the philadelphus inodorus, the andromeda, the kalmia, the storax tree, the rhododendron, the spiræa, the viburnum with the humble but beautiful and sweet mitchella repens, the wild strawberries, the blackberry bush, and the huckleberry, the wild rose, the bartsia coccinea, wild lilies, vanilla or Indian tobacco, asclepias of many sorts, wood anemones, the utricularia ceratophylla or bladder snout. Sarracenia, dionea muscipula, and many others which either display their beauties to every traveler, or in more retired situations are waiting to reward the curiosity and industry of the student of nature.

The woods furnish four native kinds of grape: the fox grape, summer, winter and muscadine grape; their luxuriant vines and sweet smelling blossoms contribute greatly to the pleasantness of the country at an early season: their fruit is moderately grateful, and they furnish excellent natural stocks for engrafting imported grapes on. The cactus opuntia, or Indian fig, is also a native of Carolina. Its growth is curious;

its fruit when thoroughly ripe agreeable: it furnishes also a good but not durable scarlet dye; but it is likely to become an object of importance as furnishing food for the cochineal insect which may be found in vast numbers on its leaves in the months of April and May.

FOREIGN TREES AND OTHER VEGETABLES NATURALIZED.

The melia azedarach, or pride of India, introduced by Thomas Lamboll. It is of very quick growth: the wood makes furniture; the berries are eaten by horses and birds; and the roots are a powerful vermifuge.

The stillingia sebifera, or tallow tree, was introduced from the East Indies by Henry Laurens. Is a very beautiful tree, and perfectly free from insects. Its berries are said to yield in China an oil from which candles are made. They have not hitherto answered for that purpose in Carolina. Their leaves are green in mild winters ten or eleven months in the year.

The weeping willow, salix babylonica. The pliable bark and branches of this may be woven into baskets. Its whole appearance connected with its situation near water, disposes the mind to pensive contemplation.

Lombardy poplar. Pupulus dilitata.

Sterculia platanifolia. Introduced by Andrew Michaux, and propagated by General Pinckney.

Palma Christi, or castor oil tree, is easily propagated, grows in abundance, and yields from 100 to 150 gallons of oil to the acre. Mr. Rudulph of Camden has planted fifty or sixty acres of it; from its berries he has obtained by expression large quantities of cold drawn oil, which in equal doses opens the bowels as effectually as castor oil imported from the West Indies.

Sesamun indicum, bennè oil nut. The seeds of this plant furnish an excellent oil for salads, and every purpose for which olive oil is used; the grain parched makes a pleasant, light food, and may be prepared as a substitute for chocolate, and an infusion of the leaves in water produces a gelatinous drink highly recommended in bowel complaints.

The popy, papaver somniferum, has been successfully cultivated near Charlestown; and good opium, equal to any imported, has been prepared from it, by Catharine Henry Laurens Ramsay. If the present enormous price of that drug, which exceeds its weight in silver, continues, the preparation of opium will be an object worthy of attention. Carolina is indebted to the East Indies for its rice, indigo and cotton. To these may be added, and originally from the same country, opium, which may be cultivated to any extent that is requisite.

Hops, humulus lupulus, grow plentifully and require little

care. A growing fondness for beer may render a crop of this nearly as profitable as cotton, especially if the price and European demand for this article should, as many expect, be considerably diminished. As a further recommendation of hops, it has been found by late experiments to be in several cases and some constitutions, a more unexceptionable anodyne than laudanum; while at the same time infusions of it give tone to a debilitated stomach.

The common and despised datura stramonium, or Jamestown weed, is a most powerful medicine in epilepsy and some of the most obstinate complaints to which human nature is liable; prepared in the form of an ointment, it has an anodyne effect when it is applied to pains on or near the surface of the body; an application of the leaves frequently produces the same result.

ORNAMENTAL SHRUBS.

The gardenia florida or cane jasmine, the virburnumtinus, the rosa ferox, sometimes called rosa multiflora, more commonly known by the name of the noudescript, the rosa sinensis, perpetual rose—rosa moschata, musk rose—the rosa muscosa, moss rose, and many other beautiful and formerly rare kinds of roses. The olea fragrans, the hydrangea hortensis, double and single oleanders, altheas, cultivated myrtles of various descriptions, english jasmines and honeysuckles, several kinds of elegant mimosas, an abundance of hyacinths, narcissuses, daffodils, tonquils, ixias, ranunculuses, anemones, with a profusion of annuals of the most beautiful kind. Of fruit, sweet and sour oranges are raised, and, with some additional care, citrons, lemons and limes, almonds and chesnuts, figs and pomegranates, red and yellow raspberries and grapes, but not in profusion.

VEGETABLES USED AS FOOD.

Okra, melons, pompions, and squashes in many varieties, cucumbers, tanniers, irish and sweet potatoes, groundnuts used as food as a substitute for cocoa, and as a source of oil for domestic purposes.

Indian potatoe, suckahoe truffles, lycoperdon tuber is found in great abundance in old fields one or two feet beneath the surface of the earth, attached to the decayed roots of the hickory. This subterranean production afforded the indians wholesome bread.

The country abounds also in natural grasses of which the crab grass is undoubtedly the most valuable. Canes make angling rods, and reeds for weavers, and are excellent food for cattle. The common salt marsh yields manure and also provender for horses, for whose use hundreds of bundles of it are

almost daily sold in Charlestown market, at an early period of the spring and through the summer. It is a wholesome auxiliary to green oats and crab grass.

Long moss, tillandsia usneoides—this curious production marks the boundary between the upper and lower country. In the first, though most wanted, as the winters are more severe, it does not grow naturally, and all endeavors to propagate it have been unsuccessful. In the latter it grows profusely as an appendage to trees, and gives to them the venerable appearance of long pendulous gray beards. In hard winters it is greedily eaten by cattle, and serves for food till the grass springs; when properly prepared it is used as a substitute for hair in stuffing mattrasses, it is not lasting, but in other respects answers very well. With the exception of Doctor Garden, no Carolinian is recollected as having studied botany scientifically or otherwise than for horticultural purposes prior to the revolution, but since that event, this delightful science has excited attention, which though daily increasing, is far short of what it deserves.* At the head of its present votaries are Stephen Elliott of Beaufort, Henry Middleton, General Pinckney, and Dr. MacBride of St. Stephens; the latter of whom prosecutes this study with ardor and success in every relation, but most particularly as connected with the practice of physic. It has also been successfully cultivated by Mrs. (General) Pinckney, who has formed an extensive hortus siccus, or collection, of dried specimens of the botanic riches of Carolina. Miss Maria Drayton of Drayton Hall, and Miss Martha Henry Laurens Ramsay of Charlestown, are entitled to a distinguished place among its admirers and students.

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* There are many medical plants, the virtues of which have not been ascertained, nor can they properly be till they are made the subject of repeated experiments. To the candidates for medical degrees it is submitted whether any subjects for inaugural dissertations can have equal charms, or excite an equal interest, as experimental investigations of some of the medicinal vegetables of the country. The virtues of several of these are now in a great measure lost to the community, because unknown, or imperfectly ascertained. To persons residing in the country, the study of botany would beguile the time which, from want of some useful pursuit, frequently hangs heavy on their hands. To the pious it affords a constant source of love and gratitude to the Author of nature, for having done so much to benefit and please his creatures. To persons of taste and refinement, it affords a continual feast. To the studious, by encouraging and rewarding rural excursions, it gives agreeable relaxation and wholesome exercise, without wasting any of their time; for by exchanging their retirement and books for the woods and the volume of nature, the improvement of the mind goes on, while the body acquires new vigor: and to all it affords a never-failing source of enjoyment and employment which smooths the brow of care, and gives a zest to life.

Much has Carolina done for the encouragement of literature. One step more will justify her sons in claiming pre-eminent rank for generously patronizing science. A botanical garden at Columbia, of about twenty acres, would cost but little, and under proper management could not fail to diffuse knowledge among the youth of the country, of immense practical use, leading to discoveries that, even in a pecuniary point of view, would probably repay with handsome interest the pittance necessary for its support.

LITERARY HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1808.

CHAPTER IX.

The colonists of modern times have many advantages over those of antiquity, for they carry with them the civilization, arts, and refinements of the times in which they lived and the countries from which they migrated. The settlement of Carolina commenced some considerable time after the discovery of printing—the reformation of religion—and the restoration of learning. It was nearly coeval with the institution of the Royal Society of London, and began at a time when Addison, Boyle, Boerhaave, Barrow, Fenelon, Hale, Locke, Milton, Newton, Rollin, Sydney, Sydenham, Sloan, Tillotson, Watts, and many other suns of intellect were living and enlightening the world with the beams of knowledge. Though few if any of the early settlers of the province were learned men, yet they brought with them general ideas of European literature. The subsequent improvements in the old world were soon transmitted to the new, and by the noble art of printing extensively diffused. The opportunities enjoyed by the emigrants to South Carolina for rapidly rising to consequence, surpassed those which had been at any period within the grasp of the colonies of Asia; or even of Greece or Rome. To prepare the soil for cultivation—to provide shelter and the necessaries of life, must have engrossed the first care of the early settlers; but this was no sooner accomplished than they adopted measures for promoting the moral and literary improvement of themselves, and particularly of the rising generation. In the year 1700 a law was passed "for securing the provincial library of Charlestown." This had been previously formed by the liberality of Dr. Bray, the lords proprietors, and the inhabitants of the province; and was, by special act of the Legislature, deposited in the hands of the minister of the Church of England in Charlestown, for the time being, to be loaned out to the inhabitants in succession, under the direction and care of James Moore, Joseph Morton, Nicholas Trott, Ralph Izard, Job Howe, Thomas Smith, Robert Stevens, Joseph Croskeys, and Robert Fenwicke; who were appointed commissioners for that purpose. Libraries were soon after formed in the different parishes, but chiefly for the use of the rectors and ministers. Most of the books in these parochial libraries were the gift either of Dr. Bray or of the society for

propagating the gospel in foreign parts; but the assembly took them all under their care, and subjected them to the visitations of the commissioners appointed to secure the provincial library. From this time forward the circulation of books—the establishment of churches—and the settlement of Episcopal ministers in the different parishes, were encouraged by legislative acts, private donations, and by the liberality of the English society for propagating the gospel. About a hundred years ago that society considered the Carolinas as proper objects of their attention, and contributed in different ways to their literary and religious instruction. Their efforts were seconded by the people and the Legislature. The settlers were so few, and so indigent, that they could not have accomplished the object wished for to any proper extent from their own resources, but the bounty of the society encouraged legislative and private exertions, and their combined efforts were rewarded with success. In a few years the Episcopal churches near Charlestown were supplied with preachers, and several of them with parochial libraries. Such was the zeal of the assembly for promoting the religious instruction of the infant colony, that they advanced £25 to Episcopal clergymen on their arrival in the province; and in case of their election to a benefice their salary was paid by the treasury retrospectively from the day of their landing.

In the years 1710 and 1712 the assembly passed laws "for founding and erecting a free-school in Charlestown for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina. The preamble of the latter, after setting forth "the necessity that a free-school be erected for the instruction of youth in grammar and other arts and sciences, and also in the principles of the christian religion; and that several well disposed christians, by their last wills had given several sums of money for the founding a free-school," proceeds to enact, "that Charles Craven, Charles Hart, Thomas Broughton, Nicholas Trott, Arthur Middleton, Richard Beresford, William Rhett, Gideon Johnson, Francis Lejau, Robert Maul, Ralph Izard, Joseph Morton, George Logan, Alexander Parris, Hugh Grange, and William Gibbon, and their successors, be a body corporate, by the name of the commissioners for founding, erecting, governing and visiting a free-school for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina, with all the powers of a corporation, and with particular authority to take possession of all gifts and legacies formerly given for the use of the free-school, and to take up or purchase as much land as might be deemed necessary for the use of the school, and to erect thereon suitable buildings." It also enacted "that John Douglass should be preceptor or teacher of said school; and that on his ceasing to be so, the commis-

sioners should appoint his successor, who should be of the religion of the Church of England, and capable of teaching the Latin and Greek languages—that the teacher should have a salary of £100 per annum, to be paid out of the public treasury, and the use of the lands and buildings belonging to the school, for which he was to teach twelve scholars, to be nominated by the commisssioners, free of expense; and for all others he was to receive at the rate of £4 per annum." Provision was also made "for the support of an usher and a master to teach writing, arithmetic, merchant's accompts, surveying, navigation, and practical mathematics." It was also enacted, "that any school-master settled in a country parish, and approved by the vestry, should receive ten pounds per annum from the public treasury;" and that "the vestries should be authorized to draw from the same source twelve pounds towards building a school-house in each of the country parishes."

Sir Francis Nicholson, the first royal Governor of the province, was a great friend to learning. He liberally contributed to its support, and pressed on the inhabitants the usefulness and necessity of provincial establishments for its advancement. Animated by his example and urged by his persuasions, they engaged in providing seminaries for the instruction of youth. Besides general contributions, several particular legacies were also left for this purpose. Mr. Whitmarsh left five hundred pounds to St. Paul's parish for founding a free-school in it. Mr. Ludlam, the society's missionary at Goose creek, bequeathed all his estate, which was computed to amount to two thousand pounds, for the same purpose. Richard Beresford, by his will, bequeathed the annual profits of his estate, to be paid to the vestry of St. Thomas' parish, in trust, until his son, then eight years of age, should arrive at the age of twenty-one; directing them to apply one-third of the yearly profits of this estate for the support of one or more schoolmasters, who should teach writing, accounts, mathematics, and other liberal learning, and the other two-thirds for the support, maintenance, and education of the poor of that parish. The vestry accordingly received from this estate six thousand five hundred pounds for promoting these pious and charitable purposes. This fund is still in existence, and has long been known by the name of "Beresford's bounty."

In 1733 a free-school was erected at Childsbury, in St. John's parish, on the foundation of £600 bequeathed for that purpose by James Childs, and £2,200 subscribed by the parishioners. The interest of £200 bequeathed by Francis Williams was also appropriated as a fund for teaching poor scholars. Thomas Broughton, Thomas Hasel, Anthony Bon-

neau, John Harleston, Nathaniel Broughton, Thomas Cordes, and Francis Lejau, were appointed trustees, with the necessary powers for promoting the interests of the institution.

In the year 1734 a free school was erected in Dorchester. Alexander Skeene, Thomas Waring, Joseph Blake, Arthur Middleton, Ralph Izard, Robert Wright, Paul Jenys, Walter Izard, Benjamin Waring, Francis Vernod, William Cattel and John Williams, were appointed trustees for taking care of its interests.

The corporations of these several free-schools were cherished by government. They were favored in taking up lands which have ever since been increasing in value. They formed a centre to which were drawn the donations and bequests of the charitable. From the triple source of tuition money, public bounty and private donations, a fund was created which diffused the means of education far beyond what could have been accomplished by uncombined exertions conducted without union or system.

With the growing wealth of the province the schools became more numerous and co-extended with the spreading population. The number of individuals who could afford to maintain private tutors and of natives who were sent abroad for education, increased in like manner. None of the British provinces in proportion to their numbers sent so many of their sons to Europe for education as South Carolina.* This was the consequence of the superior value of her exports, particularly rice and indigo. These furnished ample means of defraying the expenses of being educated in and of traveling over Europe. The knowledge of grammar and of the Latin and Green languages, and of mathematics, could be obtained in Carolina at any time after 1712, or the forty-second year subsequent to the settlement of the province. The views of the assembly with respect to domestic education did not for a considerable time extend any further. The project of a provincial college was never seriously brought forward till the year 1769, when a bill for that purpose was introduced and discussed before the assembly but finally miscarried. Men of moderate circumstances had not influence enough to carry it through, and the rich did not need it; for they disregarded the

*South Carolina has furnished to the United States two Presidents of the revolutionary Congress; a Chief-Justice and an Associate-Judge of the supreme court; six diplomatic characters; a comptroller and treasurer; three General officers for the revolutionary army; a Major-General for the army of 1798, and a Brigadier-General for the army of 1808. In addition to this, the vote of the State in 1800 might have elevated one of its citizens either to the presidency or vice-presidency. With the exception of Virginia, no State in the Union has obtained a greater, or even an equal proportion of national honors. This was in some degree the consequence of the attention paid by the early settlers of Carolina to the liberal education of their children.

expense of sending their sons to the seminaries of Europe. The natives of Carolina, though educated in Great Britain, were not biased in favor of that country. Most of them joined heartily in the revolution, and from their superior knowledge were eminently useful as civil and military officers in directing the efforts of their countrymen in defense of their rights.* The ideas which prevailed under the royal government hostile to a provincial college as likely to level many existing distinctions between the children of the rich and poor, were done away in the glorious struggle for the rights of man which commenced about the year 1776. During the revolution popular opinion took a contrary course and ran in an opposite direction. In 1785, only two years after the establishment of peace and independence, no less than three colleges were constituted on the same day. One was located on the sea-coast in Charlestown, another in Winnsborough near the centre of the State, and a third in Cambridge near its western extremity. Several legacies at different periods had been left to the first college that should be founded. These were equally divided between the three colleges then established, according to the wishes of the respective friends of each, who claimed an equal share on the double ground of their having made extraordinary and meritorious exertions in fostering a school in each place, and of the more extensive accommodation to the dispersed inhabitants. The number defeated the intentions of the assembly, for neither could be properly supported on the third of the common stock. They are colleges in name, but in reality only grammar schools.

In the year 1795 the citizens of Beaufort preferred a claim to have a charter granted for a college to be erected in their vicinity. The advocates of the measure urged the uncommon healthiness of the place, the great number of their youth, and the danger of sending them from the wholesome air and pure morals of their native spot either to the capital or distant parts of the country. They prevailed so far as to obtain a charter and such funds as they could collect from the sale of escheated and confiscated property in the district, and also from the sales of the vacant lots in the town of Beaufort. The latter in a few years rose two or three hundred per cent. in value, and aided the funds of the institution beyond the expectation of its most sanguine friends. Suitable buildings for the accommodation of the students were begun, and schools set on foot

* This is the more remarkable as the reverse took place in other provinces. The circumstance is particularly mentioned "as a source of serious regret" by the illustrious Washington in his last will, and was assigned as a reason for his ardent wish "to see an university established in the central parts of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents should be sent from all parts for the completion of their education."

preparatory to the college. The seminary blossomed well, but little fruit has yet been gathered, though there is reason to believe that when its funds are productive, and the world is composed to peace, it will realize the hopes of its friends. It has many natural advantages favorable to the proper education of youth.

The multiplication of colleges did not answer the end. Instead of yielding any more to the partial wishes of sections of the State the Assembly, in the year 1801, took up the business on its proper ground and passed a law for building and endowing a college at the seat of government, by the name of the South Carolina College, under the care of its high responsible officers, together with thirteen others, to be chosen every fourth year by the Assembly. This measure was strongly recommended by Governor Drayton in his message to the Legislature; and a report from Comptroller Hamilton on the finances of the State proved its ability to meet the expense. The establishment of a State college was carried through with unexampled unanimity, all parties concurring therein, and ample funds appropriated from the public treasury for erecting all requisite buildings, for the purchase of a suitable library, of a complete apparatus for philosophical purposes, and for the annual support of a president, professors and other teachers. The narrow policy which prevailed under the royal government, of confining the choice even of teachers for the free-schools to one sect of christians, had been done away by the constitution. In the true spirit of free representative government persons of every country and State, of every sect and party, were equally eligible to be teachers in this cherished seminary. The Reverend Dr. Maxcey, who had, with great reputation presided over Brown university, in Rhode Island, and Union college, in the State of New York, was elected the first President. Under his auspices the college has flourished to as great an extent as could reasonably be expected in the short period of its existence. Its present number of students is 87: two classes amounting to about forty have already graduated. If its pupils are not wanting to themselves they may be amply instructed in every language, art and science, necessary to prepare them for the service of their country. This college, yet in its infancy, possesses a very select and extensive library, and a philosophical apparatus not inferior to any on the continent.

Education has also been fostered in South Carolina by several societies as a part of a general plan of charity. The oldest of this class is the South Carolina society, which was formed about the year 1737.

It pays the salary of a school-master and school-mistress for

the education of children of both sexes. Since the commencement of their school several hundreds of pupils have received the benefit of a plain education from its bounty. There is a succession of scholars. None are received under eight years of age and none are retained beyond fourteen, and the girls not beyond twelve. The present number is seventy-two, and that is steadily kept up; for as fast as any of the pupils are dismissed, their place is supplied by the admission of others. The present funds of this society amount to 137,000 dollars. Since its foundation twenty-seven decayed members, and the widows of sixty-four deceased members, have been annually supported; four hundred and forty children educated, and three hundred and seven of them clothed from its bounty. At present seventy-two children are educated by the society. These are either destitute orphans, or the offspring of needy parents. One indigent member and sixteen widows of decayed members, are also at present maintained by the society.

The Fellowship society, incorporated in 1769, was originally intended to cover under its sheltering wing the deplorable maniac; and for that purpose appropriated one-half of its funds. With the other moiety it has followed the humane example of the last mentioned society, and bestows a gratuitous education on the children of misfortune. Twenty-five children are now under a course of plain education on its bounty.

The St. Andrew's society have in like manner lately appropriated a portion of their funds for similar purposes, and twenty children are now educated at their expense.

The Wynyaw Indigo society was incorporated in 1756. The original design of the founders of this institution was of a patriotic and charitable nature. It had in view the improvement of the culture and manufacture of indigo, and the endowment of a free-school. The object of the society is now wholly confined to the education of orphan children. Since its commencement there have been educated and supported upon its bounty between one and two hundred orphans. From the continual accession of new members the funds are in a flourishing condition, and enable the society to educate twenty children annually.

The German Friendly Society, incorporated in 1791, gives a gratuitous education to about twenty children in succession.

With these five last mentioned societies, education is only a collateral part of their general plan; but since the revolution, societies and academies have been formed and incorporated at different periods in almost every part of the State; primarily for the encouragement and support of schools. To these generally have been given by the Assembly the escheated and unsold confiscated property in their respective districts.

The names of these, as far as can be recollected, are the Mount Zion society, incorporated in 1777; St. David's, in 1778; the Minerva academy, fourteen miles below Columbia, in which about fifty-six scholars are educated; the Camden Orphan society, in which a few children are educated on charity, and about sixty who pay for their education. The trustees of this institution have purchased the large elegant mansion house of the late Colonel Joseph Kershaw for the use of the school and its teachers. The Clarendon Orphan society, incorporated in 1798; the Trustees, for establishing public schools in the district of Orangeburg, incorporated also in 1798; the Mount Bethel academy; the Clermont society, for the purpose of endowing a seminary of learning at Statesburgh; the Friendly Cambridge society.

Among the different sects of Christians in South Carolina, none have made earlier or greater exertions for promoting religious knowledge than the Baptists. Their Charlestown association was formed in the year 1752, and then consisted only of four or five churches. Under their patronage, collections soon began to be made to assist pious young men in obtaining an education for the gospel ministry. They assisted several. Of these, four or five arrived to considerable eminence. One in particular, Doctor Stillman, shone as a distinguished luminary of the church in Boston. In the year 1775, several of the leading members of the association formed themselves into a society by the name of "The Society for Improvement in Christian Knowledge," which pursued the plan of educating pious young men for the ministry, but connected with it the formation of a select library and the discussion of useful theological subjects at a weekly meeting. Under the same patronage a more extensive society was formed in 1792, and soon after incorporated by the name of "The General Committee for the Charlestown Baptist Association Fund." Besides donations and bequests, there are yearly collections made in the Baptist churches for improving the funds of this society. Nine young men under its care have finished their studies preparatory for the ministry, and two more are far advanced in a similar course. The committee have provided a respectable library for the use of the students, which as kept by the Reverend Mr. Roberts, near Statesburgh, and some useful books have been distributed among indigent clergymen. In the year 1802, a missionary scheme was formed by the Charlestown association which was placed under the direction of a special committee, and the Reverend John Rooker was appointed missionary to the Catawba Indians. A school was also opened among them, and a considerable number of the Indian children have been taught to

read and write, and a few the use of figures. The Indians have treated the preacher and school-master with respect, and attended their instructions with apparent seriousness. Some of them have become more enlightened and civilized; but none have hitherto made any regular profession of Christianity.*

The Independents or Congregationalists of Charlestown, in 1802, formed a society for promoting the interests of religion. They have amassed funds to the amount of 2,000 dollars. From the interest of this capital—annual subscriptions and collections, they support a missionary to preach to and instruct the inhabitants in such parts of the State as are destitute of the ordinary means of acquiring religious knowledge; and among such they distribute Bibles, and other books of practical religion. In 1804, a number of ladies in Charlestown formed themselves into "a Society for distributing pious books and erecting country schools for the children of the poor." They appointed a committee consisting of Mrs. Hollinshead, president; Mrs. Waring, treasurer; and Miss Edwards, secretary; Mrs. Gregorie, Mrs. M'Calla and Mrs. Beach, to transact the business of the society. Each of these and some others circulated among their acquaintances papers soliciting charitable contributions. From the proceeds, amounting to more than 4,000 dollars in the first four years after the institution of the society, they have been enabled to distribute a number of religious books and to establish and support a school near the head branches of Goose creek, in which twenty-seven scholars are educated and partly maintained at their expense. Within twenty-five miles of Charlestown they found in one neighborhood seventeen families containing sixty-one children, who were destitute of the means of instruction. This is now freely imparted to them by the society. The funds of the institution have been managed with such address that, over and above paying all current expenses, they have purchased fifty-one shares in the South Carolina Bank; the dividends of which are appropriated as a perennial spring to water this and similar institutions which they have resolved to ex-

* It is truly honorable to the Baptists that they have done so much for the interests of learning and religion, and particularly for the instruction of the Indians; and it is lamentable that the State has done so little for the latter purpose. The Catawba Indians have for a long time been friendly, and have lived among, or rather have been surrounded by white people, and yet no one effort has been made by the State for the civilization and religious instruction of this tribe, nor of any of the Indians. A century and a half has not passed away since these people were the sole possessors of the whole of this extensive and beautiful country; but these former lords of the soil have been driven from river to river—from forest to forest—rolled back nation upon nation, till they are fugitives, vagrants and strangers in their own land. Carolinians! cherish the few that remain, and prevent their cursing the day on which white men landed in the country of their forefathers.

tend and establish as far and as soon as their means will enable them. The late happy revolution in South Carolina was essentially aided by the patriotism of its ladies. Exertions like the present, tend to make that revolution a real blessing; for knowledge and morality are the main pillars of our free and happy government.

In Union district there is a grammar school situated on Fair Forest, and has about twenty grammar scholars. It is supported by a society under the name of the Philomathean Society. This society have it under their patronage and direction, and promise a certain annual sum to the teacher, which they pay up by contribution if the tuition money fails; independent of this they tax themselves with a certain sum per annum, for the purpose of raising a fund for the erection of an academy.

In Newberry district there are two very respectable academies; they were originated and have been carried on with much spirit. Bethel Academy is under the patronage of the Methodist Society, and is much indebted to the zeal and influence of the Reverend Mr. Dorothy, deceased. It is situated in the centre of a pleasant and wealthy neighborhood, and as the gentlemen of the vicinage feel a zeal for the welfare of the academy, they keep plentiful boarding at a reasonable price. This academy sometimes has seventy or eighty students. It is generally filled by a respectable teacher.

The Newberry Academy was established by contributions, and is about one mile from Newberry court house. For the better support of it they procured leave of the Legislature to raise a sum of money by lottery. It is very well supplied with a respectable teacher and a competent number of students. This institution is much indebted to the zeal and liberality of Colonel Rutherford.

In Spartanburg district there is one grammar school called the Minerva school, with about twenty grammar scholars. It is supported and patronized by a society under the name of the Philanthropic society. It is situated in a high, healthy part of the country, and the neighborhood affords plentiful and good boarding at a reasonable price. It is supplied with a respectable teacher.

Besides what has been done by the State, and by religious sects and private societies for the advancement of learning and the diffusion of religious knowledge among the inhabitants, there are several private schools, both in Charlestown and the country, for teaching classical and mathematical learning. Among these one under the care of the Reverend Dr. Waddell, of Abbeville district, deserves particular notice. In it from seventy to eighty students are instructed in the

Latin, Greek and French languages, and such of the arts and sciences as are necessary to prepare a candidate for admission into the higher classes at the northern colleges.* The school-house is a plain log building in the midst of the woods, in a hilly and healthy country, and too small to accommodate all the scholars in the hours of study. To obviate this inconvenience they are permitted and encouraged to build huts in the vicinity. These are the rough carpentry of the pupils, or constructed by workmen for about four dollars. In these, when the weather is cold, and under the trees when it is warm, the different classes study. To the common school or recitation room they instantly repair when called for by the name of the Homer, the Xenophen, the Cicero, the Horace, or Virgil class, or by the name of the author whose writings they are reading. In a moment they appear before their preceptor, and with order and decorum recite their lessons—are critically examined in grammar and syntax—the construction of sentences—the formation of verbs—the antiquities of Greece and Rome—the history and geography of the ancients, illustrative of the author whose works they recite; and are taught to relish his beauties, and enter into his spirit. Thus class succeeds to class without the formality of definite hours for study or recreation, till all have recited. In the presence of the students assembled, a solemn and appropriate prayer, imploring the Eternal in their behalf, begins and ends the exercises of each day. In this manner the classics are taught 190 miles from the sea-coast. The glowing periods of Cicero are read and admired. The melody and majesty of Homer delight the ear and charm the understanding, in the very spot, and under the identical trees, which sixty years ago resounded with the war-whoop and horrid yellings of savage Indians. Of the large number that attend this school, nine in ten are as studious as their health will permit, and as orderly in their conduct as their friends could wish. Far removed from the dissipation of cities, and among sober, industrious, and religious people, they must be studious, or lose all character and be pointed at by the finger of scorn. If disposed to be idle or vicious, they cannot be so otherwise than by themselves; for the place will not furnish them with associates. Monitors are appointed to superintend each sub-division of the students; and such as transgress the rules of the school are reported once in every week. Over them a court is held. They are allowed to justify or extenuate. A summary decision is made. Though corporeal punishment is not wholly excluded, it is

*Dr. Smith, the learned President of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, has repeatedly said, that he receives no scholars from any section of the United States who stand a better examination than the pupils of Dr. Waddel.

rarely inflicted. The discipline of the institution respects the pride of youth, and is chiefly calculated to repress irregular conduct by attaching to it shame and dishonor. The sagacious preceptor quickly finds out the temper and disposition of each student, and is the first to discover aberrations from the straight line of propriety. By nipping mischief in the bud, he prevents its coming to any serious height. By patience in teaching, and minutely explaining what is difficult, he secures the affections of his pupils and smooths their labors; while at the same time judicious praise rouses ambition, and kindles in their breasts an ardent love for improvement, and an eagerness to deserve and gain applause.*

Though the State and individuals have done much to encourage education among the youth of Carolina, the proportion of the rising generation which is pressing forward with such ardent zeal for knowledge, as bids fair to secure for them high seats in the temple of fame, is lamentably small. In genius they are not deficient, but perseverance in a long continued, close application to study is too often wanting. Many of them will not learn Greek at all. Others learn it so super-

*A clergyman with the same name with this illustrious instructor of youth in Abbeville, and his relative, died near Richmond about the year 1806. It is remarkable that both these distinguished namesakes lived in similar situations, remote from the public eye, in country retirement. The merits of the Virginia Waddel were first brought before the public in a letter published in a Virginia newspaper in 1803, purporting to be written by an English gentleman traveling in the United States, to a member of the British Parliament; but generally ascribed to the celebrated William Wirt, of Richmond. From this letter the following extract is taken: "It was one Sunday, as I traveled through the county of Orange, that my eye was caught by a cluster of horses tied near a ruinous old wooden house in the forest, not far from the roadside. I had no difficulty in understanding that this was a place of religious worship. Curiosity to hear the preacher of such a wilderness was not the least of my motives for joining the congregation. On entering, I was struck with his preternatural appearance. He was a tall and very spare old man; his head, which was covered with a white linen cap, his shriveled hands and his voice—were all shaking under the influence of a palsy, and a few moments ascertained to me that he was perfectly blind. The first emotions that touched my breast were those of mingled pity and veneration. But ah! how soon were all my feelings changed. The lips of Plato were never more worthy of a prognostic swarm of bees than were the lips of this holy man. It was a day of the administration of the sacrament, and his subject of course was the passion of our Savior. I had heard the subject handled a thousand times: I had thought it exhausted long ago. Little did I suppose that in the wild woods of America, I was to meet with a man whose eloquence would give to this topic a new and more sublime pathos than I had ever before witnessed. As he descended from the pulpit to distribute the mystic symbols, there was a peculiar, a more than human solemnity in his air and manner, which made my blood run cold and my whole frame to shiver. He then drew a picture of the sufferings of our Savior, his trial before Pilate, his ascent up Calvary, his crucifixion, and his death. I knew the whole history, but never until then had I heard the circumstances so selected, so arranged, so colored. It was all new, and I seemed to have heard it for the first time in my life. His enunciation was so deliberate that his voice trembled on every syllable, and every heart in the assembly trembled in unison. His peculiar phrases had that force of description, that the original scene appeared to be at that moment acting before our eyes. But when he came to touch the patience, the forgiving meekness of our Savior; when he drew to the life his blessed eyes streaming in tears to heaven; his voice breathing to God a soft and gentle prayer of pardon on his enemies—"Father forgive them, for they know

ficially that it is soon forgotten. Very few can bring their knowledge of either the Latin or Greek classics to bear on any subject of conversation, or writing, seven years after they have done with school. What is thoroughly learned cannot be so easily forgotten. A few, with little or no classical education, by the help of superior natural powers and an industrious course of English reading, have made a distinguished figure in public life. Their success, like the large prizes in a lottery, inspires false hopes in the breasts of others, who have neither the talents nor industry of those whom they affect to resemble. So much of the precious period of youth is frequently spent in doing nothing of any value, or in frivolous amusements, that too little is left for completing a solid education in its proper season. Whether this is attained or not, the pursuit of it oftener terminates under twenty, than continues beyond that period. Several affect to be men, and some are really fathers when they ought to be at school. How far the youth of the upper country will merit exemption from these remarks, remains to be ascertained by time. There are already some promising appearances in their favor. Youths of great hopes

not what they do"—the voice of the preacher, which had all along faltered, grew fainter and fainter, until his utterance became entirely obstructed by the force of his feelings; he raised his handkerchief to his eyes, and burst into a loud and irrepressible flood of grief. The effect is inconceivable: the whole house resounded with the mingled groans and sobs of the congregation. It was some time before the tumult had subsided, so far as to permit him to proceed. I began to be very uneasy for the situation of the preacher; for I could not conceive how he would be able to let his audience down from the height to which he had wound them, without impairing the solemnity and dignity of his subject, or perhaps shocking them by the abruptness of the fall. But, no: the descent was as beautiful and sublime as the elevation had been rapid and enthusiastic. The first sentence with which he broke the awful silence, was a quotation from Rousseau: "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God." I despair of giving you any idea of the effect produced by this short sentence, unless you could perfectly conceive the whole manner of the man, as well as the peculiar crisis in the discourse. Never before did I completely understand what Demosthenes meant by laying such stress on delivery. You are to bring before you the venerable figure of the preacher; his blindness constantly recalling to your recollection old Homer, Ossian, and Milton, and associating with his performance the melancholy grandeur of their geniuses; you are to imagine that you hear his slow, solemn, well-accented enunciation, and his voice of affecting, trembling melody; you are to remember the pitch of passion and enthusiasm to which the congregation were raised; and then the few minutes of portentous death-like silence which reigned thoughout the house; the preacher removing his white handkerchief from his aged face, even yet wet from the recent torrent of his tears, and slowly stretching forth the palsied hand which holds it, begins the sentence: "Socrates died like a philosopher;" then pausing, raising his other hand, pressing them both clasped together with warmth and energy to his breast, lifting his "sightless balls" to heaven, and pouring his whole soul into his tremulous voice; "but Jesus Christ like a God." If he had been indeed and in truth an angel of light, the effect could scarcely have been more divine. Whatever I had been able to conceive of the sublimity of Massillon or the force of Bourdaloue, had fallen far short of the power which I felt from the delivery of this simple sentence. The blood which just before had rushed in a hurricane upon my brain, and in the violence and agony of my feelings, had held my whole system in suspense, now ran back into my heart with a sensation which I cannot describe, a kind of shuddering, delicious horror.

"If this description gives you the impression that this incomparable minister had anything of shallow theatrical trick in his manner, it does him great injustice.

are coming forward into public life from the western woods.

A general system of education has often been before the Assembly, but nothing has yet been determined on the subject. In several extensive but thinly populated settlements there are no schools; and children are advancing in years without being able to read. In a Christian State, professing to believe that the bible is the word of God, it is no small reproach that there should be any so ignorant as to be incapable of reading it.*

The assembly did not confine their patronage of literature merely to the erection of schools and colleges, but encouraged the practical arts. The first law passed for that purpose was as early as 1691, in the 22d year after the settlement of the province. This was entitled "an Act for the better encouragement of the making of engines for the propagating the staples of the colony." A law was passed in 1707 "for en-

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I have never seen in any other orator such an union of simplicity and majesty. He has not a gesture, an attitude, or an accent, to which he does not seem forced by the sentiment which he is expressing. His mind is too serious, too earnest, too solicitous, and, at the same time, too dignified to stoop to artifice. Although as far removed from ostentation as a man can be, yet it is clear, from the train, the style, and substance of his thoughts, that he is not only a very polite scholar, but a man of extensive and profound erudition. I was forcibly struck with a short yet beautiful character which he drew of our learned and amiable countryman, Sir Robert Boyle; he spoke of him as if "his noble mind had even before death divested herself of all influence from his frail tabernacle of flesh," and called him, in his peculiarly emphatic and impressive manner, "a pure intelligence, the link between men and angels."

"This man has been before my imagination almost ever since; a thousand times as I rode along I dropped the reins of my bridle, stretched forth my hand, and tried to imitate his quotation from Rousseau; a thousand times I abandoned the attempt in despair, and felt persuaded that his peculiar manner and power, arose from an energy of soul, which nature could give, but which no human being could justly copy. In short, he seems to be altogether a being of a former age, or of a totally different nature from the rest of men. Guess my surprise when on my arrival at Richmond, and mentioning the name of this man, I found not one person who had ever before heard of James Waddel. Is it not strange that such a genius as this, so accomplished a scholar, so divine an orator, should be permitted to languish and die in obscurity within eighty miles of the metropolis of Virginia! To me it is a conclusive argument either that the Virginians have no taste for the highest strains of the most sublime oratory, or that they are destitute of a much more important quality, the love of genuine and exalted religion. Indeed it is too clear my friend that this soil abounds more in weeds of foreign birth, than in good and salubrious fruits. Among others the noxious weed of infidelity has struck a deep a fatal root, and spread its pestilential branches far around. I fear that our eccentric and fanciful countryman Godwin, has contributed not a little to water and cherish this pernicious exotic. There is a novelty, a splendor, a boldness in his scheme of morals peculiarly fitted to captivate a youthful and an ardent mind."

*This reproach can now be more easily wiped off than heretofore; for the ingenuity of Mr. Lancaster has lately contrived and introduced into practice, with success, a new and easy method, by which one man can at the same time teach a thousand persons to read. A school in New York, and another in Philadelphia, have been lately set up on this plan, and have been found to answer. A salary for the teacher, and a large house for the pupils, are all the items which involve any material expense in executing Mr. Lancaster's system. When the Assembly in this or some other mode shall have put it in the power of the poorest person to be taught the art of reading and writing, they will then have done a full orbed duty to all classes of the people, as far as their literary interests are concerned.

couraging the making potash and salt petre;" one in 1712 "for encouraging the building saw mills and other mechanic engines;" and two in 1725 "for the encouragement of making salt in the province." Peter Villepontaux, Francis Gracia, Charles Lowndes, and Adam Pedington, between the years 1732 and 1756, severally received legislative encouragement in favor of machines made or projected by them respectively for pounding, beating, and cleaning rice. These and some other laws of a similar tendency passed while South Carolina was a British province. On the establishment of independence, and peace, the business was taken up in the proper style of a sovereign State. In 1784, a law was passed "for the encouragement of arts and sciences," by which it was enacted, "that the authors or proprietors of books, and the inventors of useful machines, should have the exclusive benefit of their labors or inventions on certain restrictions for the term of fourteen years; and renewable for a second term of fourteen years if the authors or inventors were then living." This power was exercised by the State liberally for the encouragement of genius till it was voluntarily transferred to the United States in 1788 for more general benefit.

Except the provincial library, coeval with the eighteenth century, which has disappeared, the eldest establishment of that kind is the Charlestown Library Society, founded in 1748, and incorporated in 1754. It consisted originally of the following seventeen members: John Sinclair, John Cooper, Peter Timothy, James Grindlay, William Burrows, Morton Brailsford, Charles Stevenson, John Neufville, Thomas Sacheverell, Robert Brisbane, Samuel Brailsford, Paul Douxsaint, Thomas Middleton, Alexander Baron, Alexander M'Caulay, Patrick M'Kie, and William Logan; and has been ever since increasing in members, funds, and books. It at present possesses 4,500 volumes, and consists of 230 members: its capital in bank shares and stock, 11,600 dollars; yearly income, 3,400 dollars; annual expenses, 1,500 dollars. It is deficient in ancient literature,* but contains a very ample collection of elegant and costly works in botany, natural history, voyages, travels, civil history, biography, and miscellaneous literature. It also receives a regular annual supply from London of new

* On the 17th of January, 1778, a very extensive fire took place in Charlestown, when this library, containing between six and seven thousand volumes, comprising a very valuable collection of ancient authors, with paintings, prints, a pair of elegant globes, mathematical and other instruments, and many specimens of natural history, was almost totally destroyed. Since the establishment of peace the attention of the society has been principally directed to the most valuable modern authors.

A beginning has also been made towards the formation of a museum. Among the natural curiosities of Carolina there collected, are the heads of two deer with their branching horns so interlocked that they cannot be detached from each

and valuable publications. Similar respectable establishments have been made in Union, Newberry, Laurens, and Abbeville districts; also in Camden, Georgetown, and Columbia; but of recent date.* There are libraries forming at many of the court houses, as central places of deposit for the districts, which are enlarging gradually, and extending a taste for reading. They are in the nature of circulating libraries among the proprietors.

Many of the wealthy planters have respectable libraries for their private use, and they are not backward in adding to them from time to time, especially new and popular publications. The booksellers declare that the sale of books progressively increases except in times of general distress from some common calamity. They add further, that school-books, and such as treat of religion, are in the greatest demand. Mr. Davidson, the worthy and respectable Librarian of the Charlestown Library, adds, as a further evidence of an increasing taste for literature in Carolina, that the number of books loaned out for reading has increased astonishingly in the period of eleven years, during which he has been charged with the care of the society's books.

So many are the readers in Carolina, compared with the books within their reach, that much of their knowledge in theology, moral philosophy, ancient history, manners, and customs, is derived from their bibles; and a great proportion of what they know respecting politics and government, the modern improvements in arts and sciences, and the present state of the world, is derived from newspapers. The amount of knowledge collected from these two sources by some retired citizens, exceeds what strangers could expect. Having

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other. These were parts of two skeletons found in the woods of Beaufort district, lying in opposite directions. It is conjectured on probable grounds that in butting each other their respective long diverging antlers became so entangled as to be incapable of separation. In this state of unnatural union they must either have starved, or have been devoured by birds of prey. A spectator cannot avoid reflecting that duels between individuals, and wars between nations are often as causeless in their origin, and as ruinous in their consequence, as the fatal contest of these cervine combatants.

* A library society might be instituted on the following plan in every neighborhood, which at a small expense would afford to its members an opportunity of reading a considerable number of books; let any given number associate and each pay a certain sum to be agreed upon, and with that purchase books. When the books are procured let every subscriber choose and take home as many of them as he pleases, not exceeding in price the amount of his subscription. The priority of choice to be in the alphabetical order of their names. In every fortnight, month, or other regular period to be agreed on, let all the books be returned, and a new distribution be made on the same principle; but he who has had the first choice shall immediately thereupon be put at the foot of the list and have his next choice last; and so on successively, till the last in the alphabetical arrangement has the first choice. The books may then be sold, and the proceeds or a second sum advanced by the subscribers, may be applied to the purchase of a new collection to be distributed in rotation as before.

but little to read, they read that little well. Their bibles, when carefully studied and one part made to expound another by the help of marginal references, open an extensive view of the origin of the world, and the great revolutions it has undergone—of ancient nations, and particularly of the real state of human nature, in every clime and age. No history was ever better written than that of the Jews, by their own Moses. And there is more knowledge respecting the first half of the whole period that has elapsed since the creation of man to be obtained from the bible, than from any other source. In our popular government, where contending parties exert their utmost powers by eloquent appeals to the people to draw them to their respective sides; and where rival editors, by the variety and importance of the contents of their papers, endeavor to extend their circulation, a flood of miscellaneous knowledge is transmitted through these daily vehicles of communication.

Newspapers began to be printed in South Carolina in or about 1730, by Lewis Timothy. From that period to the present, with some short interruptions, a paper has been constantly printed by some of that family. His great grandson, Peter Timothy Marchant, is one of the present proprietors of the Courier. Robert Wells commenced a gazette in 1758, and continued it with great spirit for about sixteen years, and was followed by his son, John Wells, in the same line till 1782. Charles Crouch also began a public newspaper in 1765 in defiance of the stamp act, and continued it till the Revolution. None but weekly papers were printed in Charlestown, and none at all in the country prior to the establishment of independence. In 1783, Mr. John Miller, formerly editor of a paper in London, began a daily one in Carolina. Three daily and two weekly papers now issue from the presses of Charlestown. A newspaper is also printed in Camden, Columbia, in Pendleton district, and at Georgetown. The public gazettes, before the principles of the Revolution began to agitate the American mind, were comparatively unimportant. Government being administered for the colonists, and not by them, they felt but little interest in its transactions. Very different is the case at present. From the concern that every man takes in public matters—from the arts of politicians, to lead or even to mislead the people connected with the spirit of free inquiry, and the enlivening energy of representative government, knowledge has become a thriving plant among the Carolinians; and many of their minds have grown far beyond the standard of their fathers who died while they were subjects.

In the course of the one hundred and six years while South

Carolina was a colony, the whole number of persons born therein who obtained the honors of literary degrees in colleges or universities, as far as can be recollected, is short of twenty; but in the thirty-two years of her independence, one hundred of her native sons have acquired that distinction. There was no grammar-school in South Carolina prior to 1730, except the free-school in Charlestown: from 1730 till 1776 there were not more than four or five, and all in or near Charlestown. Since the Revolution there are, from information, about thirty, and they are daily increasing and extending into the remotest extremities of the State.

The only well furnished book-store in provincial South Carolina, was one kept for about twenty-five years by Robert Wells, who contributed considerably to a taste for reading in Charlestown by the regular and early importation of all new and admired publications in Great Britain. Since the revolution, there have been constantly from three to six book-stores in Charlestown.

MISCELLANEOUS HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

Virtues, Vices, Customs, and Diversions, &c. of the Inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

The love of liberty had taken deep root in the minds of Carolinians long before it was called into action by the revolution. The first settlers fled from tyranny and persecution. In such a situation truth occurred to them every moment and effectually taught them the rights of man. Their situation and employment in a new country operated so as to enlarge and confirm the sentiments which their sufferings had first produced. The wilderness was to be cleared—habitations were to be built—the means of living were to be procured. The similarity of situation and employment produced a similarity of state and condition, and inculcated the equality of rights. They soon found that to be wise, strong, industrious and healthy, was of much more importance than to be called dukes, earls, or marquisses. They grew up with a love of liberty, and everything around them confirmed their predilections for its blessings. Two of their early Governors, Sir James Colleton and Seth Sothel, were taught by the Assembly of the province to respect the rights of freemen. In the exer-

cise of that great American right to resist tyranny and to abolish constitutions when hostile to their happiness, they threw off the proprietary yoke. Animated by the same spirit, in little more than half a century after one revolution they engaged in another. They rescinded all connection with Great Britain, and risked their lives and properties in defense of independence. Great were the sacrifices to which they submitted in the revolutionary war; but on all occasions the love of liberty was their predominant passion. Nice calculations of the probable consequences of their resisting Great Britain while they were few in numbers—exposed to dangers from their own domestics and the numerous savages on their frontiers, would have deterred them from engaging in the doubtful contest if immediate self interest had been the pole-star of their conduct. South Carolina had few or no local grievances to complain of, and might at any time have obtained good terms on submission to the mother country; but the love of liberty carried her sons honorably and triumphantly through the war, and has ever since taught them to resist all real and supposed attempts to invade their rights.

Though this disposition nourishes freedom, and is highly deserving of praise, yet it has sometimes been carried too far; especially since the revolution, and by the younger part of the community. The elder citizens have successfully contended for the rights of men. Their sons, too little accustomed to the discipline of a strict education, seem equally zealous for the rights of boys, and urge their claims so practically that many of the merchants import from Europe clerks trained to habits of obedience, rather than make vain attempts to subjugate the high minded youths of Carolina. Their repugnance to subjection is sometimes accompanied by many virtues, and affords a guarantee to the republican institutions of the country, but too often transcends the temperate medium which as cheerfully submits to proper authority as it manfully opposes what is improper and degrading.

Hospitality is another common virtue in Carolina. Innkeepers complain that this is carried to such an extent that their business is scarcely worth following. The doors of the citizens are opened to all decent travelers, and shut against none. The abundance of provisions on plantations renders the exercise of this virtue not inconvenient, and the avidity of country people for hearing news makes them rather seek than shun the calls of strangers. The State may be traveled over with very little expense by persons furnished with letters of introduction, or even without them by calling at the plantations of private gentlemen on or near the roads.

Charity is carried rather to excess in Charlestown; for the

bounty of the public is so freely bestowed and so easily obtained as to weaken the incitements to industry and sometimes to furnish facilities for indulging habits of vice. On this subject a reform is needed, and will probably soon take place. The public charitable institutions of Charlestown cost its inhabitants annually more than 30,000 dollars; the payment of which is enforced by law in the form of a city tax. The calls on them for their private contributions to relieve indigence, to promote literary, religious, charitable, and benevolent institutions, both in and out of the State, are frequently repeated and seldom or never without success. Two or three thousand dollars are often collected in a few weeks by courtly solicitors and carried off by them for purposes in the advancement of which the people of Charlestown have no direct nor immediate interest.

A sense of honor is general; but, like charity, is sometimes carried too far, and urges individuals to seek satisfaction or explanation for trifles which might with propriety pass unnoticed. The general result is however favorable to a respectful behavior of the citizens reciprocally to each other. The licentiousness of the tongue and press is seldom indulged in Carolina by the lowest classes of people, and scarcely at all by any of decent standing in society. The correct conduct of the gentlemen in the State is imitated by all ranks. There is such a general respect for propriety of behavior, that rude attacks on the characters of individuals meet with no countenance. They are for the most part more injurious to their authors than their subjects. A keen sensibility on subjects of personal honor, carried to extremes, degenerates into a vice odious in its motive, mischievous in its consequences, and particularly disgraceful to the State. Mistaken views of honor give rise to duels. These take place oftener in Carolina than in all the nine States north of Maryland. Warm weather and its attendant increase of bile in the stomach has a physical tendency to produce an irritable temper. Hence it frequently happens, especially in summer, that many things are said or done thoughtlessly and without any deliberate intention of hurting the characters or wounding the feelings of the persons to whom they relate. Genuine chivalry would either disregard such trifles, or seek for an explanation and readily accept of a slight one or such as might be made without degradation. But it is too common for sudden gusts of passion under the imposing garb of honor to urge the offended party to demand too much, and the offender to concede too little. The Christian doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries being disregarded, pride and self-love become the motives of action, and make honorable reconciliation impossible; for they urge one party

to refuse, what they urge the other to insist upon. To avoid the imputation of cowardice, the one demands reparation for an offense according to his own ideas of justice, and the other from the same motive and under the same influence refuses it. Each constitutes himself judge in his own case at a time when pride or passion hide both truth and justice from their minds. The laws of God and man being set aside, the important question of right or wrong—of character and reputation, is left to the decision of the best marksman. That duellists, who nine times in ten can strike a dollar, should at the same distance either miss their antagonists altogether, or that part of them at which they leveled, must be referred to want of self-possession. Conscious that they are doing wrong, their hands tremble and carry the bullets aside from their aim; otherwise the death of both parties would be much more common than it is.

A few duels are recollected as having taken place before the revolutionary war, and were often fought with swords. During and since that period they have been much more frequent; and always with pistols. Their folly is equal to their guilt. They decide nothing. They neither prove the courage, the justice, nor the innocence of the parties. The greatest cowards may be urged on to fight duels, and the bravest men may, from a sense of duty to God and man, and from a conviction of their absurdity, refuse that gothic mode of settling disputes. They occasionally rid the world of a fool, a madman, a gambler, a bully, or a blackguard: but sometimes deprive society of a worthy man, who, though possessed of many virtues, has not courage enough to follow his own convictions of duty; and who is so afraid of the imputation of cowardice, that he acts the part of a coward; for, induced by fear of the censure or ridicule of a misjudging world, he deliberately does what his conscience condemns.

It is to be regretted that among the many laws which crowd the statute book of Carolina, there are none that are calculated to suppress the practice of duelling. According to the letter of the law, duellists may be prosecuted for murder; but the uniform verdict of juries for more than thirty years has adjudged the offense to be manslaughter. The burning in the hand, which is the penalty of that offense, has in every instance been remitted. The trial of a person who has killed his antagonist in a duel, is now little more than an investigation of the fairness of the procedure. If the rules of duelling have been observed, and no advantage taken, an acquittal as above stated is a matter of course. This defect in the policy of the State laws induced the Revolution society, and the South Carolina society of Cincinnati, in the year 1803, to ap-

point a committee from both societies to petition the Legislature to provide some adequate law to restrain this practice of duelling. The committee draughted a petition which, after being signed by more than 4,000 persons, was presented to the Legislature. They also by circular letters requested the clergy to preach on the subject. This was generally complied with. The public mind was enlightened on the guilt and folly of the practice; but no other benefit resulted. The Legislature did not act on the petition though the petitioners were numerous, and many of the Grand Juries had presented the want of a proper law against duelling as a grievance. The committee of the two societies at the request of some members of the Assembly, draughted a bill for the purpose intended. This was put in the hands of members of the Legislature to be brought forward as the work of a committee of their body. It contemplated the subject on new grounds and proposed a legal tribunal for deciding those points of honor which are the ordinary causes of duels, and imposed penalties affecting the honor, character, and civil privileges of the duellists, their seconds, aiders, and abettors. It did not touch the life of the survivor, but subjected his estate to the obligation of providing for the family of his deceased antagonist. In this business Major-General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney took the lead. His standing in society as an officer of high rank—his established reputation for courage and for exquisite sensibility on every subject connected with honor, gave great weight to his opinions: but all was unavailing. No law has yet been passed relative to duels; and the practice of killing men in single combat, and of acquitting the survivors, continues. South Carolina loses four or five of its citizens almost every year and sometimes embryo citizens; for lads have fought duels, who were too young to give their votes at elections or to make their wills. They dispose of their lives when they are not legally competent to dispose of their property.

Drunkenness may be called an endemic vice of Carolina. The climate disposes to it, and the combined influence of religion and education, too often fail to restrain it. The free perspiration which takes place, especially in summer, calls for a great proportion of liquid to replace the discharged fluid. Several persons are contented with the beverage of nature, and maintain good health and spirits without any artificial liquor whatever; but a much greater number drink water only when they can get nothing else. The most harmless substitute that has ever yet been found for that pure element is beer. This communicates strength while it quenches thirst, and in its most common forms does not readily intoxicate. Unfortunately for Carolinians, cheap fermented liquors do not suit

with their climate, especially in the summer when they are most wanted. Recourse is generally had to spirituous liquors; medical theories are made to bend to appetite. Accommodating professional men by their example and advice, recommend it as a corrector of the water. Such opinions are readily received and acted upon. The general position being once admitted that the addition of rum, gin, brandy, or whiskey, is an improvement of water, it is no easy matter to stop at the precise point of temperance. The reasoning powers are so far the dupes of sense, that a little more and a little stronger is taken without hesitation. Thirst makes the first drink a plentiful one; a few supplementary draughts complete the business of intoxication, and induce an oblivion of all cares. A repetition of the pleasing delusion takes place; an habit of inebriety is insensibly formed. To resist a growing fondness for liquor in its first stage is possible, but it requires much fortitude and perseverance. When the habit is completely formed, reason is dethroned; the reins are surrendered to appetite, and the unhappy man is hurried on from bad to worse, till he becomes a nuisance in society.

All these temptations to intoxication are increased by idleness. Men are so constituted as to be incapable of total stagnation. Something to stimulate the senses, employ the body or occupy the mind, is a matter of absolute necessity. He whose vacant mind cannot amuse itself with reading, reasoning, reflecting, or the reveries of imagination; whose inclination disrelishes and whose circumstances elevate him above bodily labor, has only one avenue left to save himself from the painful sensations of being without any employment for mind or body; that is, to rouse his senses by the poignancy of something that acts directly and strongly upon them. This may be done by tobacco, opium, and some other irritating substances, but by nothing so readily or so conveniently as by ardent spirits. The draught which at first excited the senses, soon becomes inadequate. The quantity must therefore be increased. A pernicious habit is thus insensibly formed from having nothing to do.

The hard laboring man is assailed by temptations of a different nature. Labor in warm weather excites great thirst. The attending depression of spirits is supposed to require something cordial. The quantity of water which nature requires, dashed with only a common portion of ardent spirits, makes in the whole too much of the latter for health or comfort. Habits of intoxication in this manner grow on persons of this description, while they are without any apprehensions of their transgressing the rules of temperance. Thus a considerable proportion of the laborers who take up their abode in Caro-

lina, either lose their healths or their lives in the course of a few years. Dropsies, complaints of the liver, dyspepsia, or bad digestion close the scene with people of this description.

To these may be added the gentlemen who spend their afternoons and evenings over their wine. By the help of semi-annual fits of the gout they sometimes make out to live for several years, though they seldom go to bed sober. Their habits are expensive, destructive of time, and inconsistent with close application to business; but their lives are not so directly and immediately threatened as in the case of those who in shorter spaces drink equal quantities of spirituous liquors.

Perplexity, from debt and other embarrassments or troubles, is in Carolina a common cause of inebriation. This state of mind produces a physical effect which resembles the pressure of a bar across the breast. To remove that sensation, and to drown care, recourse is had to the oblivious draught. Being often repeated, it disqualifies the sufferer from manly exertions to extricate himself. Instead of more industry and economy, it too often happens that more ardent spirits are taken till the case becomes hopeless.

The too early introduction of young lads into company has an unhappy effect on their habits. They need not the stimulus of strong drink, and are often indifferent and sometimes averse to it; but when fashion leads the way, they have not fortitude enough to made a stand. They are apt to prefer social folly to singular wisdom. To be occasionally drunk in good company, is considered by their young companions as a proof of spirit. As duels are sometimes fought against the grain in compliance with custom, so habits of intoxication are contracted by young men, not from any self-indulgence in the beginniug, but merely to please other people. When once contracted they are rarely laid aside. The good-natured, pleasant, accommodating youth, dies a sot before he attains to middle age.

When all the preceding classes are taken into view, the number of strictly temperate people is far short of what is generally supposed. On this subject medical men have much better opportunities of information than others. Let him that stands, take heed lest he fall; for the temptations to drunkenness are so great and so common, as partly resulting from the climate, that great self-command, prudence and fortitude, and a strict discipline of the passions and appetites, are absolutely necessary to maintain the empire of reason over sense.

A disposition to contract debts is one of the vices of Carolinians. To this several local causes contribute. Agriculture is the employment of most, and is the original source of their wealth. As crops are annual, out-goings must precede in-

comings. To limit the former to means in hands would greatly curtail the latter. Agriculture must be carried on by most planters partly on credit or carried on to little purpose. From the state of the country many annual debts are unavoidably contracted, and from the uncertainty of crops in a hazardous climate, subject to storms, freshets and hurricanes, must often remain unpaid at least for the ensuing season. When everything is prosperous the profits are great. One crop will often purchase the fee simple of the land on which it is made. Two, three, or four, will in like manner pay for the negroes who make it. These are strong inducements to give and to take credit. In successful seasons neither the merchant nor the planter are disappointed. But a melancholy reverse often takes place: unseasonable frosts, insects, freshets, defects or excess of rain, and several other incidents, prevent the growth or maturation of the commodities of the country. When the crop is made and ready to be gathered, storms often, and hurricanes sometimes, in a few hours blast the labors of a year. When all is housed, circumstances both at home and abroad, beyond the control of the planters, frequently arise to reduce the price of country produce, and sometimes entirely to obstruct its sale. Planting in Carolina is like an annual lottery, in which, on an average of several years, there are many blanks and many prizes. A few of the latter are very large, but the greatest number do not much exceed the price of the ticket. In the great chain of credit the planter forms the first link. When his crop fails, the failure involves multitudes in unavoidable breaches of contract, though they have no immediate connection with agriculture.

If rational prospects of crops were the only foundation of credit the debts of individuals would be far short of what they generally are. To these must be added an immense sum founded on speculation. In Carolina, where the price of marketable articles is as variable as the weather, a boundless field is opened to exercise the ingenuity of men, who, from an exact knowledge of the present state of things and an attentive retrospect of the past, can form shrewd conjectures of the future rise and fall of the market. Such men are called speculators. By lucky guesses a few of them make estates; but many others, less fortunate, not only lose what they possessed but involve innocent creditors in their speculations. The transition from riches to poverty, from good credit to insolvency, is sometimes rapid. In other cases it is slow, but the more slow the more extensive is the ultimate crash. Where there are banks and money lenders an artificial credit may be supported for some time. The affairs of the declining debtor are known to none but himself, and even he, from self-love

and sanguine hopes is often deceived. In the meantime others, misled by appearances, continue to trust him; while his substance is wasting away between usurers and brokers, lawyers and sheriffs.

The contiguity of the West India islands to Charlestown affords temptations to many mercantile adventurers; which, as they may be commenced without solid capital, frequently prove ruinous to those concerned. The voyage is often begun and ended within sixty days, and the cargo furnished on the credit of a note for that period. When the speculation succeeds all is well. It pays expenses and yields a handsome profit; but orders or decrees from European sovereigns, storms, tempests and sudden changes, in the market price of commodities, not unfrequently blast the fairest prospects; and suddenly substitute a heavy load of debt and sometimes complete ruin, where immense profits were in a train of being realized.

Securityship is another source of debt. Bondsmen are required by the State from most of its public officers, and frequently from private purchasers of property. A few years often make a material alteration both in the circumstances and character of the principal, which is neither known nor suspected by his security. A safe act is at first contemplated, but time or unforeseen circumstances make it the reverse, and involve an innocent man in the misfortunes of his friend. The great advance in the price of articles sold on long credit induces sellers to prefer that mode of selling; and the profits made by purchasers occasionally exceeding the usual rate of interest induce purchasers to take the bait. This sometimes proves harmless, but often injurious both to them and their securities.

Speculators are the readiest to be extensively involved in the toils of debt; but the most cautious are sometimes unavoidably entangled. There are few countries in the world where the expenses of living, especially in a tolerably decent style, are higher than in Charlestown. In such a place even a temporary failure of business produces serious consequences. With many the profits and the labors of the day supply its wants. Though the first, from sickness or other causes, should fail the latter go on and can only be supplied by credit. In this manner cautious honest men are sometimes involved. Debt, like a millstone, weighs them down so that their future extrication is always difficult and often impracticable. The plain furniture of a decent house, for the accommodation of a new married pair bought on credit, sometimes involves embarrassments which last for years. So many debts are contracted from these various sources that few individuals are clear of

them. Unembarrassed estates are rare, and their real value is seldom known till their owners die; especially where mutual credits are given and accounts remain for years, as is too often the case, without a final settlement. The banks have introduced a germ of punctuality among that class of people who do business with them; but these are not one in fifty of the whole inhabitants. He that commences business of any kind, with the means and the inclination to give general credit, must be both cautious and fortunate or he will lose, not only profits, but capital. His customers will be numerous; but their payments will be so tardy, irregular, and so often withheld, that no dependence can be placed on them. On these subjects a reform is beginning to take place. The necessity and advantages of punctuality are more generally known, and its votaries increase. Credit is oftener withheld, or more cautiously given, than formerly. The necessity for it in agriculture has given it a currency in other cases, and has carried it so far as to make debt very common, and punctual payments very rare.

Insolvent debtors enjoy some peculiar privileges in Carolina. When taken into custody, if they give security for their keeping within prescribed bounds, they are indulged with ample limits, comprehending in Charlestown a space equal to two or three squares. On petition and a surrender of all their property to their creditors they may, after ten days notice, regain their liberty. To prevent this catastrophe some make equivalent private surrenders to trustees for the benefit of their creditors. In the first case they are discharged from the claims of all creditors who have sued. In the latter from all who accept of the terms of assignment. There is no bankrupt law in Carolina, nor any that bars a creditor who has neither sued nor compromised with the debtor from demandimg payment from his future earnings. When this catastrophe takes place new measures are generally adopted. The failing merchant commences broker. The planter, whose property is taken from him, becomes manager for some of his more fortunate agricultural acquaintances. In both cases they recommence business with a stock of experience that may be of immense service in their future operations. By the aid of industry and sobriety they may do well and retrieve what they have lost; but if they are so far broken down with their misfortunes as to give themselves up to habits of indolence and intoxication they are gone for ever; and the sooner they die the better it is likely to fare with their families. If the property should be kept together during the life of its embarrassed possessor, when he dies new scenes open. The whole amount of debts and credits is then brought to view. The

estate is found to be insolvent, to the surprise of many, and especially of the unsuspecting widow. All her energy becomes immediately necessary for her helpless family. In such extremities the female character in Carolina has shown with peculiar lustre. Two obvious and common resources are open to the surviving parent. She may keep a lodging-house, or open a school. In these or some other modes of making a livelihood widows engage, and often with surprising success. Steady to their purpose they pursue the present object without being drawn aside by splendid probabilities of remote advantages. By their judicious management estates have been retrieved, families raised; sons and daughters, knowing that their prospects of paternal fortune are cut off, are educated strictly, and early taught to depend on their own exertions for their future maintenance and advancement. From a mother's care they rise, by the fall of their father's, and are presented to their country fortified with virtuous habits and honorable principles. Such have been the consequences, both good and bad, of the disposition to contract debt which abounds in the State.

A warm, moist unelastic air fosters habits of indolence. The mountaineer delights in action; but repose has peculiar charms for the inhabitant of the plain. In Carolina there are inhabitants and portions of the State embracing both descriptions. The common custom of making almost daily long sittings at meals, and smoking segars, co-operate with the climate in diminishing incitements to activity and energy of character. There is a painful vacuum in the life of an unemployed man, doubtless designed by Providence to stimulate him to industry. These kind intentions are frustrated by substituting useless, frivolous amusements in place of serious business. The long protracted pleasures of the table, fascinate, beguile time, and make immense deductions from that portion of it which the calls of families and society require for interesting purposes. The dryness of the mouth, caused by smoking, excites an articial thirst and that demands repeated supplies of liquid. Water is insipid and cannot be relished after the stimulating poignancy of tobacco. Something spirituous must be added. That disinclination to labor which flows from the state of the atmosphere is increased. When all the powers of human nature should be put in requisition to counteract the influence of climate, auxiliaries are called in to augment its baneful tendency. A chain of causes, all tending to mischief, is formed. A waste of time, idleness and intemperance result from late sittings and long smokings, and all concur to expend the energies of man; born for nobler purposes. Of the many customs which are deemed harmless in Carolina, none are

eventually more injurious and at the same time less suspected than these which have occasioned the preceding remarks.

To encourage the raising and improving the breed of good horses, a race course was in the year 1754 established by private subscription about a mile from Charlestown. Very few blooded horses had been previously imported; but after course-racing was introduced, great numbers of well bred running horses and mares were brought from England. Every planter raised yearly one or more colts. In a short time no part of America, except Virginia, could produce so many fine horses, either for the course, saddle or draught, as South Carolina. This state of things continued till the revolutionary war, and furnished excellent horses both for the British and American cavalry. It has been renewed since the peace of 1783, but not urged with the same zeal as before. The culture of cotton engrosses the Carolinians, and they now purchase many of their horses from the inhabitants of Kentucky, Tennessee and other States who raise them at little expense. Before the year 1754 the best horses for the draught or saddle in Carolina were called the Chickesaw breed. These were originally introduced by the Spaniards into Florida, and in the course of time had astonishingly increased. Great numbers ranged wild in and near the Apalache old field. Many of them were caught and tamed by the Indians, and sold to the traders. They made use of them for pack horses to bring their peltry to market, and afterwards sold them in the low country. These horses in general were handsome, active and hardy, but small; seldom exceeding thirteen hands and a half in height. The mares in particular, when crossed with English blooded horses, produced colts of great beauty, strength and swiftness. Before the year 1754 these Chickesaw horses were the favorite breed. Since that period a much better one has been introduced. After course-racing was established, it was one of the most fashionable diversions, and drew from all parts of the province and State to Charlestown, a greater number of spectators than any other amusement or business whatever. Far from being confined to the capital, it extended over the province. It excited and continues to excite among the people a great and lively interest. The jockey club is numerous and comprehends a great proportion of the gentlemen near Charlestown. The periodical races in the month of February form an annual epoch inferior only to the 4th of July. For two or three hours before their commencement the road leading to the course is so crowded that access to the city is very difficult. While the race is pending, and for sometime before and after, a solemn stillness reigns through-

out the streets. These are for the most part deserted, and Charlestown is transferred to the race ground. When the contest commences, almost every spectator takes part with one or the other of the horses contending for the foremost place. The moment that point is settled the rattling of cash is heard in all directions. Thousands are lost or won in a moment. The same scene is repeated and the same tumult of the passions is roused for four successive days. On the evening of the last but one, a ball is given by the jockey club in the style of republicans. The bustle is gradually composed. The planters and factors make a convenience of their meeting to effect a settlement of accounts, and both by degrees resume the accustomed habits of tranquil life.

Hunting, both as a business and a diversion, has always been useful and fashionable in Carolina. It contributed essentially to the support of the first settlers, and considerably to that of their successors in every period. It has also furnished the most valuable materials for the early commerce of the country, and has ever since added to the list of its exports. The same arts which were daily employed by the inhabitants in hunting, taught them to be expert, and always ready to defend themselves against enemies. The country, at its first settlement, was one continued forest abounding with wild beasts. To destroy them was both pleasant and profitable. This disposition has descended from father to son through the five or six generations which have intervened between the first and present settlers. To the inhabitants of cities it is matter of astonishment with what ease they who reside in the country can force their way at full speed through the thickest recesses of the forest. Impediments apparently insurmountable are readily got over. Dangers that seem to threaten life and limb—to tear riders from their horses, or horses from them, are escaped without injury. Hunting in some respects is war in miniature. The votaries of the one are in a good school of preparation for the other. This was amply experienced in the course of the American revolution. When Charlestown yielded to the conquerors in 1780, the contest was re-commenced by the huntsmen of the country under the auspices of their gallant leaders Sumpter and Marion. The same arts, arms and equipments which had been used against wild beasts, were successfully employed against the invaders, and made all their movements in a woody country extremely dangerous. At present game affords the only trophies of hunters. In pursuing it they take great delight. Children are taught by their example, and early equipped for the chase with a dog, a gun, and a horse. Boys not more than ten years old can show with pride the deer they have killed.

Exulting in their prowess they give an earnest of what they can do if their country should call for their services.

Hunting is a social diversion and is carried on by clubs. One of these exists in almost every district, especially in the low country. They meet once a month or fortnight, and the members by turns provide a dinner in a plain building erected for the purpose in some convenient central part, and called the club-house. They meet early in the day with their hounds, horses and guns. Such as choose to take an active part in the sport, sally out in the rear of their dogs. As soon as a deer is discovered, the hounds in full cry commence the chase. The woods re-echo with sounds more exhilarating to the party than any musical instrument. The hunters pursue. From their knowledge of the country and the habits of the deer, they know the precise course that will be taken. They gallop through the woods with a swiftness sometimes exceeding that of the dogs and the deer. They take different stands, but all ahead of the game, and in the course which they know he will take. As soon as the deer appears within gun shot, he is leveled at by the hunters in succession; but most of them are such dexterous marksmen that he hardly ever escapes, and is often laid low by the first or second fire. Instances not unfrequently occur where the shot takes effect, though discharged when the shooter and the stricken deer are both in motion; and the latter at full speed. The hunt seldom fails of success. When it is over, the parties return to the club-house with keen appetites and partake of the dinner provided for them in the woods. The remainder of the day is spent sociably. In the evening they divide the spoil and return home. The members die, but the clubs are immortal; so far that a constant succession is kept up, and has been so for near half a century and bids fair to continue. The sons take the place of their fathers, and two or three generations in succession have hunted over the same ground. Any decent stranger coming to reside in the district, if he chooses, is proposed as a member and rarely rejected. Any such person being accidentally in the neighborhood or even traveling by is invited to visit the club. If agreeable to him, he is furnished with equipments and partakes of the sport as well as of the feast. Politeness and hospitality are incorporated with these social clubs. Good humor and good neighborhood are promoted by them, and they furnish excellent marksmen when wanted for the service of their country. The violence of the exercise is sometimes injurious. Disasters of a serious nature from accident or mistake occasionally take place. The cravings for food and drink, highly excited by the chase, are not always satisfied without subsequent irregularities; but such occurrences are rare.

Dancing was always a favorite diversion among the Carolinians; in it the young people excel. To acquire that ease and elegance which results from it, much time is spent and considerable expense incurred. It is regarded more as a means than an end, and is prized as a social salutary exercise contributing to self-possession and the perfect command of one's limbs. These ends being obtained, the means by which they were acquired are dropped. The sprightly girl becomes a sober wife, and after some years, with a few exceptions, seldom exercises beyond her domestic circle the art to which she is greatly indebted for her graceful movements

To music also great attention is paid, but not with equal success. To excel in this accomplishment requires not only a natural talent, but sedulous attention and long practice. There are many in Carolina, who, possessing all these advantages, arrive at distinguished eminence, but more, who after spending considerable sums of money, scarcely exceed mediocrity, and soon forget the smattering they had previously acquired.

In addition to the amusements already described, ball-playing and rifle-shooting are added in the country. Through the interior parts of the State, ball-alleys are common and much frequented by young men. Of rifle-shooting they are also very fond. Instead of articles being sold at public auction they are often shot for at a small price each shot; the most expert marksman has the first choice; they generally shoot at a mark about the size of a dollar. He who does not strike the center of it or its vicinity comes in for no part of the prize. It is common to give notice that on a certain day a beef is to be shot for, and that the best shot shall have the first choice of any piece of the carcass. It sometimes happens that two or three win the whole; for though there have been twenty or thirty competitors, and all have hit the mark, yet as they did not strike its center they have no share in the prize. By such practices the inhabitants are trained to feats in shooting which will with difficulty be believed by the inhabitants of cities. A good rifleman with a fair shot seldom misses a deer or a wild turkey at the distance of 150 yards, and is often equally successful in hitting either of them though in full speed.

DRESS.

There is no standard for dress in Carolina. The models of it are not originally American, but are copied from the fashions of London and Paris. Milliners and tailors have more influence in regulating it than the court at Washington. These keep up a regular correspondence with Europe, and import new dresses to Charlestown as soon as they are intro-

duced in the capital of France or England. The ladies of Carolina dress with taste, but approximate nearer to the French than English style. They often improve on imported fashions, but few of them have resolution enough to follow their own correct ideas in originating dresses entirely new without any reference to French or English models. The gentlemen are partial to blue, the product of their staple indigo, and most of them have at all times at least one coat of that color. About the year 1800, pantaloons, which had been fashionable in England some centuries past, were generally worn in Carolina, but in the lapse of the eight years which followed, they are generally laid aside and breeches are again in common use; the former are much more suitable to the climate than the latter, but considerations of this value will not have their proper weight till the country becomes original and independent in the modes of dress as it is in matters of more consequence. The climate requires that suspenders, deep crowned hats with double bottoms, as well as loose flowing pantaloons, should be continued, but it rests with the fashion-makers in Europe to determine how long they shall be used in Carolina.

COMPLEXION.

Of this nothing further can be said than that it inclines to a greater degree of sallowness than is common in more northern latitudes. The climate is too variable and too subject to piercing winds and the extremes of heat and cold, especially the former, for the general production of that exquisite mixture of white and red which constitutes the highest grade of beauty. Nevertheless many of the inhabitants who live on healthy situations, enjoy the comforts of life in moderation, and are in such circumstances that they can guard their persons from the rude assaults of the wind and weather, approximate to this most lovely and desirable complexion. On the other hand, the poor who live on mean fare, neglect personal cleanliness, are obliged to buffet with the winds and sun, and especially if they inhabit swamps, have their neglected yearly fevers, and their annually increasing spleens, and at the same time are intemperate, their complexions are disgusting. These two extremes diverge from each other like the complexions of people who inhabit different zones. Between them there are grades of approximation to both which increase or diminish with circumstances.

MANNERS AND CHARACTER.

A propensity to indolence is common in Carolina as in other warm countries and seasons. The exceptions to it are comparatively few. The Carolinians are not easily roused;

when roused they are active and ardent but not persevering. These particularities are in some degree connected with a variable climate, vibrating between the extremes of heat and cold, and suddenly passing from one to the other. They are irritable in their tempers, have a very high sense of honor, and are disposed to guard it at every hazard.

The female character appears to great advantage in Carolina. The women are generally well educated. Several of them have highly cultivated minds and refined manners. The name of the family always depends on the sons; but its respectability, comfort, and domestic happiness, often on the daughters. While young they enter into amusements with the vivacity natural to their age; but this vivacity is in general so well tempered by sweetness of disposition, and discretion, as leaves little room for anxiety to their parents with regard to their future conduct. No pursuit of pleasure interferes with duty to a father, or affectionate attention to a brother; so that the happiness as well as cheerfulness of a family is increased in proportion to the number of daughters. When they become wives and mothers they are devoted to their families—they regard their husband's friends and relations as their own. They follow no amusement incompatible with their new duty, but seek to "make well ordered home man's best delight:" nor are there wanting examples of those who, remaining single, perform admirably well the duties of daughters, sisters, and friends, and have been eminently useful in assisting to train up and educate their younger connections. They are capable of enjoying prosperity with zest, and of bearing adversity with dignity. Their virtues were put to a severe trial in the American revolution, and the result was highly in their favor. They bore not only with fortitude but cheerfulness every privation, and submitted to every hardship which the most self-denying patriotism could require from them. When the war was ended and their husbands and fathers were by its ravages reduced in their circumstances, they aided by their economy and retirement from the world to repair the losses. It is not only on such great events they display their magnanimity and energy of character. Occasions too often occur in common life requiring similar exertions. In Carolina, where sickness and health, poverty and riches, frequently alternate in rapid succession, wives and daughters bear incredible fatigues and privations with exemplary fortitude, and conform to existing circumstances with becoming dignity and accommodating propriety. When they are left widows, though with small means, large families, and great embarrassments, they, in many cases, extricate the estate with wonderful address and devote themselves to the educa-

tion of their children. Speculating, intemperate, mismanaging husbands advance their families by dying and leaving to their widows the sole management of their embarrassed fortunes. In the lower grades of life, where there are no fortunes to repair, the industry and economy of the wife produces similar results eminently conducive to the advancement of the common interest.

The state of society in Carolina is such that the subdivisions usual in other countries do not apply to its inhabitants. The relation of master and servant scarcely exists among the white people—that of landlord and tenant is also very rare, especially in the country. Domestic service is performed for the rich by slaves—for the poor by themselves. The valuable land is chiefly engrossed by the wealthy, and generally cultivated by the slaves of its owners. The poor land has been of so little account that it seldom commanded any rent that was worth acceptance. The fee-simple of it might be purchased so low that industrious tenants soon became freeholders. The subdivision of the inhabitants which applies best to Carolina is the fourfold one of planters, farmers, cottagers, and squatters: each of these has an appropriate character. The planters have large incomes—live at their ease—enjoy much—suffer little—are high minded, and possess much of that dignity of character which constitutes an independent country gentleman—but seldom engage in arduous pursuits to the accomplishment of which much time, patience, and long continued exertions of mind or body are necessary—or if they engage in them, rarely persevere till the object is fully attained. The virtues of the farmers are less brilliant, but their vices are fewer than those of the planters. They are more active—depend more on their own exertions—are content with less—are more able to bear the frowns of fortune, and have greater internal resources to meet extraordinary emergencies. They own few or no slaves. In the former case, labor is performed jointly by whites and blacks; and the laborers of both colors are separated by very few lines of distinction. Cottagers hitherto have been in a state of depression. Having no slaves of their own—unwilling to work with those of other people, and unable to procure the place of overseers, many of them had no resource left but to engage in some slight business which did not afford suitable constant employment. Without the incitement of profitable industry to stimulate their exertions, they seldom extended their labors beyond the point which would supply their daily wants in the plainest style of living. Much idleness and consequently vice was attached to their character. The necessaries of life are so easily obtained in Carolina that the man who aims at

nothing more than a bare subsistence, must be often so far unemployed as to have ample leisure for the perpetration of wickedness. Such was the former character of many belonging to this class. A considerable change for the better has lately taken place. To these people the culture of cotton holds out strong inducements to personal industry. It rewards their labors with a large share of the comforts of life without the degradation which must have often attached to them while laboring, not for themselves but as appendages to planters or large farmers and as fellow-laborers with their slaves. They now work their own lands—raise provisions and cotton with the help of their children, and daily acquire consequence in society. The lowest grade of people, called squatters, have been at all times nuisances. Settling on any man's land—paying no rent—cultivating very little or no ground; they lived by their guns ostensibly in hunting, but often in shooting down the domestic animals of their industrious neighbors. In the vast tracts of poor land with which Carolina abounds, these people could easily make temporary settlements. These served as centres, from which they made excursions and to which they brought both their game and their booty. In sundry places into which the Methodists have penetrated, they have had influence on many of this class so far as to induce them to engage in regular active industry. In these circumstances the number of squatters has diminished—of industrious cottagers or farmers increased. To such the long neglected pine woods of Carolina offer settlements which many of them have embraced, and on which they are likely to receive the rewards of their reformation.

FECUNDITY, POPULATION AND LONGEVITY.

Mrs. Easely, of Greenville district, now living, has been the mother of thirty-four live born children, though she never had twins but once. From sixteen to twenty-two have been brought alive into the world by individual mothers in the low country; but these instances are rare. A case or two is known where the same parents have raised and married thirteen children. From six to nine children are often raised in the western districts. Twelve is the largest number of children now living from one pair in Charlestown, and only two such can be recollected; but there are several who have from eight to eleven alive, and many from four to seven. Some women have been mothers at fifteen, and a few grand-mothers at thirty. The number of children born is great; but the deaths in infancy are also great, though considerably less than was usual forty years ago.

The first regular census of the inhabitants was taken in

1790, when the whole number of every description amounted to 249,073. A second census was taken in 1800, amounting to 345,591, an increase of nearly 4 per cent. per annum, or 96,518 in a period of ten years. In the last census the sexes approached nearer to an equality of number than is usual: for the difference in the sum total of their respective numbers was only 5,577 or nearly twenty males to nineteen females, though the usual proportion is thirteen or fourteen of the former to twelve or thirteen of the latter. It is further remarkable, that there is an excess of 384 females between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six over males of corresponding ages; though in all the other periods of human life noticed in the census the excess is on the side of the males. It appears that the relative excess of males is constantly lessening till the age of sixteen, when the difference in point of numbers is only 299 in favor of the males. Between the age of sixteen and twenty-six this small excess of males is lost, and the balance is on the other side; for in that class there is an excess of 384 females.*

Carolina has not been settled long enough to furnish data for making calculations on the longevity of its inhabitants. Some are still living who were born within thirty years after the first settlement, and when the whole population did not exceed seven thousand. The middle country was settled about 1736, and the upper country about 1751. In both some of the first natives are still alive, and several of the emigrants are much older than these settlements. The extent of the longevity to which the natives of these more healthy parts may attain, cannot be ascertained for forty, fifty, or sixty years to come. Many natives of the low country live to sixty with their faculties entire; several live to seventy, a few survive from eighty to eighty-nine, beyond which no native but one, as far as can be recollected, has been known to live who made the low country his or her ordinary residence. Some emigrants from Germany, France, Ireland, Scotland, England and the northern States have survived their 100th year, and a few their 110th.† Their ages at the time of their arrival cannot always be ascertained; but in general it has been found to be

*It is probable that about the age of twenty-one the number of both sexes is equal, or nearly so; for five years after that period there is an excess of 384 females; and five years before it, of 299 males. If the enumerations in the census are correct, and the conclusion drawn from analogy and average is just, it follows, that in case marriages universally took place between the citizens of the State at the age of twenty-one, or between twenty-one and twenty-two on both sides, there would not be an unmarried person, either male or female, of that age in South Carolina.

†Satisfactory evidence can be produced that at least one negro born in Carolina has approached to the age of 120. Several of them live to great ages, but the precise number of years is seldom known.

oftener under forty than above it. In some cases their residence in Carolina is known to have exceeded seventy years. The natives of lower Carolina who arrive at old age are few, and that portion of the State cannot in general be called healthy; but the climate is not the greatest enemy to the longevity of its inhabitants. Intemperance, particularly the immoderate use of ardent spirits, is a much greater one. It makes young men old before they reach their thirtieth year, and brings them with all the infirmities and decrepitude of age to premature graves, when, under other circumstances, they would have been in the prime of life and usefulness. Few are sots before they are twenty, and very few of that description reach fifty. Death from intemperance between these two periods diminishes the candidates for the honors of old age, and increases the number of widows and orphans much faster, and to a greater extent, than the climate alone would have done. The latter in the most sickly spots is not inimical to health for more than four months out of twelve, but the former continues its destructive ravages all the year round.

There are now living in South Carolina.

	AGED.
Mrs. Jackson, a widow lady at the high hills of Santee, near Captain Singleton's, a native of Virginia	110
Mary Miller, a native of Germany, has resided near Orangeburg 80 years	110
Peter Carson, near Greenville Court House	107
Benjamin Busby, in Edgefield	104
Swore to his age 103, some time ago, to be excused from duty as a juryman	
Frederic Hooevr, near Orangeburgh	102
Rose Maples, 17 miles from Statesburgh	102
Mary James, from Maryland, 70 years resident near Statesburgh	102
William Atwood, in Abbeville, married for the first time at 65, and has since had nine children	100
Mrs. Elizabeth Lennox, in St. Bartholomew's	100
John Windall Hallman, Lexington	98
Thomas Lee, a resident in Abbeville for forty years	97
Mrs. Ellis, in Newberry	95
Mrs. Lane, near Statesburgh, who on Sunday walks ten miles to Church attended by her descendants to the fifth generation	95
Mrs. Walter, near Dorchester	93
Mr. and Mrs. Nettles, ten miles from Statesburgh, were born in Virginia in the same month of the same year, have been married 72 years, have 134 descendants, are healthy, cheerful, and good humored, have resided in Carolina 30 years, each of them is	92
Mrs. Mary Ernst, born in Germany, a resident in Charlestown, 66 years	92
Mrs. Dorothy Boomer has resided in Charlestown 71 years	91
Amos Tims, 83, and his wife	91
This couple have been married 66 years, and are exemplary for their piety, their warm and uninterrupted affection.	
Nelly Snyder, in Lexington; this woman has had ten husbands	90
Mary Keller, a resident for 57 years, near Orangeburgh	90
Mrs. Linguard, of Charlestown	90
Mr. Hughes, in Newberry, rides 14 miles to Church	90
Mr. James Kelly, born in Ireland, resident for 30 years in Prince Williams	89
Elizabeth Henry, of Charlestown, born in Ireland	86
Mrs. Lance, of Charlestown	83

Mrs. Boldric, a native of Ireland, 50 years resident in or near St. Mathew's Parish, in perfect health until the year 1807, when her constitution received a shock from the influenza; or, as stated by herself, from the timidity of a young practitioner, who counted her years instead of her pulse, refused to bleed her, or lend his lancet that she might bleed herself. She still carefully attends to her domestic concerns, and performs journeys to Charlestown.....

Mr. James Hemmingen, of Abbeville, born in Scotland .....

Mr. John Lewis Wingtxen, of Charlestown, born in Germany.....

Mrs. Mary Smyser, born in Germany, resident in Charlestown 67 years.....

*Mrs. Roupell, of Charlestown.....

Sebastian Spinler, born in Switzerland, has lived 57 years in Charlestown...

Mr. John Horlbeck, born in Saxony, has lived in Charlestown 44 years, and never took a dose of medicine.....

Mr. De Tollinere, a native of Nantz, has lived in Carolina, 35 years, and for several years, at all seasons, in St. John's. He rides on horseback, leaps over fences, and dances with the agility of youth.....

*Mrs. Sarah Smith, a descendant of Governor Moore, has had 110 descendants, of whom 62 are alive, and all of whom were born and lived in or near Charlestown. She has the perfect use of all her senses, reads and works without spectacles, is cheerful, conversable, and superintends with care and diligence the concerns of a large household.....

DIED IN SOUTH CAROLINA SINCE 1797.

Mr. Neighbours, of Laurens, died in 1798.....

His Wife.....

Both Pennsylvanians, and had been married 80 years. Mrs. Neighbours, when 105, broke her thigh in three places, which healed very kindly.

Mrs. Newby, in Laurens.....

Mrs. Minnich, near Edisto river.....

James Jaquet, a native of Switzerland, a resident in St. James, Santee, for 60 years.....

Margaret Dickson, in Abbeville.....

Andrew Rumny, of Sandy Run, Lexington.....

Patrick Smith, born in Ireland, a resident in Carolina for 50 years, died in Fairfield, 1808.....

Rev. Jeremiah Ream, a preacher after he was 90 years old, in Sumpter district

Mrs. Sheely.....

*Elizabeth Jenkins.....

Abraham Jones.....

Peter Dickert, born in Germany.....

Mrs. Morgan.....

Mrs. Paxton.....

Mrs. Hopton, a native of England, 70 years resident in Charlestown, except the loss of sight, from a particular circumstance, retained the use of her senses, and the exercise of her intellectual powers, which were uncommonly vigorous till within two or three years of her death.....

Thomas Sykes, a native of Ireland.....

Mrs. Sarah White, born in Ireland, had upwards of 100 descendants. After a residence of 40 years in the wax-haws, died in 1806.....

*Mrs. Ann Anderson, of Charlestown.....

*Miss Mary Bacot, of Charlestown.....

Peter Buyck.....

*Zachariah Villepontoux.....

Mrs. Haynesworth, high hills of Santee.....

Mrs. M'Kewn, Dorchester.....

William Ancrem, after a residence of 60 years in Charlestown.....

*Stephen Mazyck, of Goose Creek, South Carolina.....

Anna Barbara Dreher, of Charlestown, born in Germany.....

Ursula Grabenstein, born in Germany.....

Mrs. Austin, born in Virginia, was the mother of 21 children, nearly all of whom lived to maturity, was healthy and strong through life, after a residence of 45 years in Fairfield, died in 1802.....

	AGED.
Mrs. Williams, of Charlestown, was a grand-mother at 30	84
*General Gadsden, Ralph Atmore, *Theodore Trezevant, *Eliz. Rivers, Margaret Buckle, *Mary Barnwell, Christiana Dawson, Emanuel Abrahams, *Ann Gray, Mary Tucker, *Catharine Cordes, Sarah Jones, *Sarah Butler, Ann Morgan, *Margaret Young, Margaret Woolf, *Rachael Caw, Mrs. Ballantine, several of whom were above, but all had reached	80

THE FOLLOWING PERSONS DIED BEFORE 1797.

Thomas Farling, was at the battle of the Boyne, and died in 1756, at Beaufort	96
Peter Dickert, born in Germany	93
Solomon Legare, born in France	87
His daughter *Mary Ellis	81
His son *Daniel Legare	81
Colonel Othniel Beale	85
Richard Dale Beaufort	84
Rev. William Screven, ancestor of the numerous and respectable families of that name in Carolina and Georgia, founder of Georgetown, and of the Baptist Churches in South Carolina, after a residence of about 40 years, died in 1713	84
*Damaris Elizabeth Ravenel	83
Elizabeth Ralsteisen, born in Germany	82
Elias Ball, born in Devonshire, England, lived in the country and had never been sick	82
George Brownell, mentioned with respect by Doctor Franklin, as his teacher, many years a respectable teacher in Carolina	82

☞ The persons to whose name * is prefixed, were natives of, and generally residents in or near Charlestown. Several more might be added who are known to have attained the age of 80; and many pages might have been filled with the names of persons who had approached to or exceeded 70.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

From the Termination of the Revolutionary War in 1783 *to the year* 1808.

CHAPTER XI.

The unexpected but successful struggle for independence unsettled everything. To bring order out of confusion was no easy matter. In the course of the revolution many things were done on the principle of sacrificing minor objects to the public safety, which admit of no justification and can only be palliated by the plea of necessity. The prohibition of all exportation from the country was a measure early enjoined by authority, and enforced by sound policy. This brought after it an obstruction of the regular course of justice; for hard would have been the fate of planters to be compelled to pay their debts when their country forbade the sale of their crops. The commencement of hostilities required that troops should

be raised, and that imposed a necessity of emitting bills of credit for their maintenance. To support the credit of these bills, they were made a tender in payment of debts. As they were emitted without solid funds for their redemption, they progressively depreciated. Many contracts made at different periods, payable in these bills, were yet to be fulfilled. Many debts contracted prior to the war, were wholly and others partially cancelled by these bills. When the war was ended, and real money introduced, to do justice in every case between debtor and creditor was impossible. It was necessary for the Legislature to fix some rule. This occupied their attention at their first meeting after the evacuation of Charlestown. As the least of all possible evils, they agreed on a scale of depreciation which fixed the value of the paper bills at different periods in a relative proportion to the commodities of the country, compared with their prices anterior to the revolution. This scale began in April, 1777, at £108 10s. for £100, and ended May 10th, 1780, at £5,248 for £100, and credits were accordingly to be given for payments on all subsisting contracts. Where the contract no longer subsisted, and the evidence of the debt has been destroyed on the receipt of nominal payment in depreciated bills, no redress could be obtained. This produced great inequality and injustice. No remedy in the power of the Legislature could be applied on a general scale without producing greater injustice than it was intended to obviate.* The evils resulting from depreciation, and the best though partial, rule of the Legislature for lessening them, were soon followed by others of greater magnitude. The

*An interesting debate on this subject for some time occupied the public mind. It was discussed with great animation, both in the newspapers and in the Legislature. By one party it was contended that the scale of depreciation should be applied to all debts, as well as those which were cancelled by full payment, as those which being wholly unpaid or only partially paid off still subsisted. The monied and the landed interest took opposite sides, and some were doubtless influenced by private interest. Abstract justice favored the one, and political expedience the other. The moderate and impartial were swayed by the consideration of the impossibility of doing complete justice to all; and that therefore the rule which departed least from it was to be preferred. Legal compulsion to make a second payment of a debt which had been once legally discharged, would be in their opinions often as much *ex post facto* injustice to the debtor, as the first depreciated payment had been to the creditor. The general retrospect was considered as likely to involve an infinity of contention and litigation; and that, instead of promoting universal and equal justice, would operate partially, and occasion general distress to the bulk of the inhabitants, who were not accurate in the practical art of book-keeping, and be of service only to a few who kept recorded memorandums of all their pecuniary transactions. The Legislature therefore decided in favor of those who wished to confine the retrospective operation of the law respecting payments made in depreciated money, to contarcts still subsisting. Thus far, and no farther, they had a clear and certain rule by which the decision of courts might be regulated. There were doubtless many cases in which this rule operated hardly on individuals; but it was conceived that the extension of the retrospect to cancelled as well as to subsisting contracts, would have operated equally hard on a greater number.

revolution took place at a time when immense sums were due from the inhabitants of Carolina to the inhabitants of Great Britain. The non-exportation agreement of the Americans, and the restraining acts of the British Parliament, both of which took place in the first period of the revolution, made remittances impossible. To this load of old debt was added an immense mass of what was new. When the war ended, the planters found desolate plantations and very few laborers. To repair the one and purchase the other, they were in some degree compelled to contract debts. Urged by speculation, they did not always content themselves with moderate supplies for necessary purposes; but in too many cases embarrassed themselves with pecuniary engagements for the discharge of which the most favorable seasons, largest crops, and highest prices for the same would have been scarcely sufficient. The merchants, knowing the value of the staple commodities of Carolina, were very liberal of credit to the planters; but on terms of enhanced price, as a security against losses and protracted payments. Misfortunes love a train. When plentiful crops were necessary to support the credit of the country, a series of unfavorable seasons, and of desolating freshets, impaired its resources. The little of gold and silver that was in circulation soon found its way to Great Britain.

The people of Carolina had been but a short time in the possession of peace and independence when they were brought under a new species of dependence. So universally were they in debt beyond their ability to pay, that a rigid enforcement of the laws would have deprived them of their possessions and their personal liberty and still left them under incumbrances; for property, when brought to sale under execution, sold at so low a price as frequently ruined the debtor without paying the creditor. A disposition to resist the laws becomecommon. Assemblies were called of ten and earlier than the constitution or laws required. The good and evil of representative government became apparent. The assemblies were a correct representation of the people. They had common feelings, and their situations were in most cases similar. These led to measures which procured temporary relief but at the expense of the permanent and extended interests of the community. Laws were passed in which property of every kind was made a legal tender in the payment of debts though payable according to contract in gold or silver. Other laws installed the debt, so that of sums already due only a third, and afterwards only a fifth, was annually recoverable in the courts of law. Numbers were clamerous for large emissions of paper money armed with the sanction of a legal tender. This old resource in cases of extremity, had been so overdone in

the revolutionary war, that many doubted the possibility of attaching credit to anything in the form of bills of credit. After some time an emission of £100,000 sterling secured by a mortgage of land, or a deposit of plate, was risked. The smallness of the sum, and the ample security of the fund on which it was emitted, together with the great want of some circulating medium, and an agreement of the merchants to receive it in payment at its nominal value, gave it credit and circulation.

The effects of these laws, interfering between debtors and creditors, were extensive. They destroyed public credit and confidence between man and man; injured the morals of the people, and in many instances ensured and aggravated the final ruin of the unfortunate debtors for whose temporary relief they were brought forward. The procrastination of payment abated exertions to meet it with promptitude. In the meantime interest was accumulating, and the expenses of suit multiplied by the number of instalments. At no time before nor since, were the fortunes of attornies so rapidly or so easily made. At no period has an equal number of planters been involved in embarrassments from which they were never extricated, or only extricated by more than ordinary sacrifices.

The eight years of war in Carolina were followed by eight years of disorganization, which produced such an amount of civil distress as diminished with some their respect for liberty and independence. Several apprehended that the same scenes which had taken place in England in the seventeenth century after a long and bloody civil war, would be acted over again in America by a fickle people who had neither the fortitude nor the wisdom to govern themselves. Peace, and the most perfect liberty to make such laws and constitutions as the people pleased, had not hitherto brought in their train the blessings expected from them, but the power of making such alterations in both as promised to procure them were among the privileges of freemen. Peace and liberty were found inadequate to promote public happiness without the aid of energetic government. The axe of reform was laid at the root of the political evils under which the country groaned. A constitution to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, was wanting. To obtain such an one, Carolina concurred with the other States to meet in a general convention, and appointed Henry Laurens, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler, and Charles Pinckney to attend and act in her behalf. They agreed upon and submitted

to the people a plan of general government; by which every legislative power necessary for national purposes was vested in a Congress, consisting of two branches, a Senate and House of Representatives. The former to be chosen by the Legislatures and the latter by the people of the several States. And a supreme executive officer with the name of President, was charged with the execution of the national laws and the care of the national interests. A supreme judiciary was also organized to decide all questions to the decision of which State judiciaries were improper. Thirteen independent States were formed into one nation as far as their common interests were concerned; and one uniform legislative, executive and judicial power pervaded the whole. The individual States were left in full possession of every power for their interior government, but restrained from coining money, emitting bills of credit, making anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts, passing any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts. This constitution was submitted to a convention of the people of South Carolina consisting of two hundred and twenty-four members, by which it was accepted and ratified* on behalf of the State on the 23d day of May, 1788. Their acceptance of a constitution, which, among other clauses, contained the restraining one which has been just recited was an act of great self-denial. To resign power in possession is rarely done by individuals, but more rarely by collective bodies of men. The power thus given up by South Carolina, was one she thought essential to her welfare, and had freely exercised for several preceding years. Such a relinquishment she would not have made at any period of the last five years; for in them she had passed no less than six acts interferring between debtor and creditor, with the view of obtaining a respite for the former under particular circumstances of public distress. To tie up the hands of future Legislatures so as to deprive them of a power of repeating similar acts on any emergency, was a display both of

* This acceptance and ratification was not without opposition. In addition to the common objections which had been urged against the constitution, South Carolina had some local reasons for refusing or at least delaying a final vote on the question. Doubts were entertained of the acceptance of the constitution by Virginia. To gain time till the determination of that leading State was known, a motion for postponement was brought forward. This, after an animated debate, was overruled by a majority of forty-six. The rejection of it was considered as decisive in favor of the constitution. When the result of the vote was announced an event unexampled in the annals of Carolina took place. Strong and involuntary expressions of applause and joy burst forth from the numerous transported spectators. The minority loudly complained of disrespect—unpleasant consequences were anticipated. The majority joined with the complaining members in clearing the house, and in the most delicate manner soothed their feelings. In the true style of republicanism, the minority not only acquiesced, but heartily joined in supporting the determination of the majority. The constitution went into operation with general consent, and has ever since been strictly observed.

wisdom and magnanimity. It would seem as if experience had convinced the State of its political errors, and induced a willingness to retrace its steps and relinquish a power which had been improperly used.

The new constitution being accepted by all the States except two, went into operation in 1789. Its beneficial effects were speedily and extensively felt. It was followed by a funding system, which, among other benefits, gave life and activity to a capital of four millions of comparatively useless paper in the form of indents, which had been issued as a payment to the people of South Carolina for their services and supplies in the revolutionary war. Public credit was re-animated. The owners of property and holders of money freely parted with both, well knowing that no future law could impair the obligation of contracts. Money, in a few years, became plentiful. Three banks were established in Charlestown with an aggregate capital approaching to two millions of dollars. Trade flourished—agriculture was extended. The exports of the State between 1791 and 1801 were more than trebled. Its shipping increased in a correspondent proportion. Landed estates rose in value—confidence between man and man, which for several years had been unknown, was restored. In a short time public affairs were so much altered for the better, that the fable of the golden age seemed to be realized.

For the two first elections of President, General Washington was unanimously elected. On his declining that arduous office, Major Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was brought forward in conjunction with John Adams, of Massachusetts. The Major was respectably supported by the votes of his native State, and fifty-eight in addition from other States, but failed of complete success. In the following election which took place in 1800, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was brought forward as a candidate in conjunction with John Adams. Both failed of success; but General Pinckney had so many votes that if his native State had voted for him he would have been either President or Vice-President; but contrary to general expectation, South Carolina preferred Aaron Burr. This vote resulted from the state of parties. The citizens were marshalled under two grand divisions, denominated federalists and republicans. The former charged the latter as being under the influence of such leveling principles as tended to disorganization—the latter retorted by representing the former as friends to such an high-toned system of government as approximated to monarchy, and both did injustice to the other. The republican electoral ticket prevailed. The electors knowing by whom and for what pur-

poses they were chosen, and declaring they were influenced by measures, and not by men, and at the same time preferring the measures of the republicans to those of the federalists, unanimously laid aside private attachments and feelings for a beloved fellow-citizen, and gave an unanimous vote for the two republican candidates. This noble pair of brothers, the two Pinckneys, who, by the unsolicited voice of their fellow-citizens in distant portions of the Union, were successively brought to the threshhold of the first offices in the United States, have since retired from public life, and devoted themselves to agriculture, the first and best employment of man.

In each of the American States the seat of Government was originally on or near the sea-coast; but in all of them whose territory reached to the western mountains, in proportion as their population increased in that direction, there has been an eagerness to remove the seat of government so as to approximate the geographical centre of their territories. The people of the back country of South Carolina, having felt their weight and influence in the revolutionary war, soon after its termination brought forward their claim to have a fixed seat of government more central than Charlestown. Every principle of republicanism supported their claim; but six years passed away before the previous arrangements were completed so as to give it effect. Commissioners were appointed to select a proper site for the projected new establishment. They fixed on Columbia, which for beauty, health, and convenience, claimed a preference. There the Legislature convened for the first time in 1790, exactly 120 years after the first English settlement in Carolina. It is remarkable that the reputed centre of population was just as many miles from the sea-coast as years had passed away from the first year of settlement in South Carolina. The interval of space was 120 miles—of time, 120 years.

The fears and apprehensions of many people on the sea-coast for the consequences of this removal, were excessive. Truth and justice never hurt any individual or State. Since the removal, party division between the upper and lower country has diminished. The inhabitants of both, by being better acquainted, are become more like one people; and entertain fewer jealousies or prejudices against each other. A disposition to compromise and accommodate took place in the breasts of both. Under the influence of these principles the convention of the people, which, for the purpose of revising the constitution, met in Columbia a few months after the removal of the seat of government, ordained that the business of the Treasury, of the Secretary of State, of the Surveyor General, should be conducted both in Charlestown and

Columbia; and that the constitutional court or meeting of all the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in the nature of a Court of Appeals, should in like manner be held equally in the old and new seat of government. The meetings of the Legislature at Columbia led to an establishment highly honorable and advantageous to South Carolina. A central seat of government brought in its train a well-endowed central college. The latter could not have been obtained without the former. The prospect of cementing the internal peace and harmony of the country by educating in one seminary that portion of its youth which bids fair to direct its public affairs, promised so much good as united all parties in passing bills for granting 68,000 dollars to erect buildings, and an annual income of 6,000 to support professors and teachers in a college to be erected in Columbia, under the patronage and care of the State. Thus a wise and great national measure was carried into effect on general principles, without the interference of party politics.

The convention at Columbia, which was coeval with the removal of the seat of government, in order to strengthen the principles of republicanism enjoined on the Legislature as soon as might be convenient, "to pass laws for the abolition of the rights of primogeniture, and for giving an equitable distribution of the real estate of intestates." This arduous work was entered upon and a law passed for these purposes at the very next meeting of the Assembly. The pride of man coveting to be long remembered, fondly anticipates a species of immortality by the transmission of his name to posterity. From the customs of the world, this is more certainly done in the male than female line. In old countries where the feudal system had long prevailed, the entailing of real estates on the eldest males in succession, was a common practice; this was transferred from Europe to America while the colonies were British provinces, and was by many thought an useful appendage to royal government, as favoring the distinction of ranks in society. To republicanize the rising generation, the convention of the people of South Carolina made it the duty of the constituted authorities to do away this accompaniment of royalty as far as was compatible with liberty. While every individual was left free to dispose of his property by will, the laws interfered where there was no testamentary disposition, so far as to divide the whole equally among all the descendants in equal degree, without any distinction of sex or age. This was an improvement on the existing system which gave the lands exclusively to the eldest male, and was adopted as a prop to the principles of the new government. It was well calculated to correct the monstrous inequalities of property,

between the children of the same parents, which had sometimes taken place, as contrary to natural justice as to the peace of families. It also promoted a circulation and diffusion of property, and aided the civil institutions of the country founded on the equality of rights. The aristocracy which had attached itself to some of the old families in Carolina, received a check; but encouragement was given to enterprise in one sex, and to decent well-ordered behavior in the other; for the males and females, the elder and younger branches of the same family, had no peculiar advantages but such as they respectively acquired by their good conduct and personal exertions.

The establishment of energetic government produced all the benefits expected from it. But while domestic events promised a long continuance of political happiness, the convulsions of the Old World interrupted the pleasing prospects of the New. Carolina, enjoying peace, liberty, independence, and an efficient government, hoped that by her severance from Europe she would be exempt from a participation in its contentions. These hopes were of short duration, the war which was kindled between England and France near the close of the eighteenth century, extended its baleful influence across the Atlantic. The duties of neutrality were novel to the Carolinians, and at first awkwardly performed. Gratitude to one of the European belligerents, for favors received in the American war, and a keen remembrance of injuries inflicted at the same time by the other, induced several of the inhabitants to transgress the line of impartial neutrality. The ports of the State were opened to French privateers, and its government permitted them to arm and equip within its limits. Genet, the first minister of Republican France to the United States, landed in Charlestown, and was received by Governor Moultrie and the inhabitants with an attachment approaching to enthusiasm. The enlightened mind of President Washington soon decided that an impartial neutral conduct, was the true line of conduct to be pursued by the United States. This was no sooner enjoined by the new national government, than South Carolina retraced her steps, and yielded obedience to the requisition; and her Legislature firmly resisted an attempt of the French Minister to arm her citizens, in his country's cause, against the Spanish American colonies. This decided conduct produced a temporary calm, and expectations were indulged that independent, neutral, Carolina would be undisturbed. Experience soon proved the futility of hopes founded on the expectation of justice from the belligerent nations. To distress each other they both adopted coercive measures, injurious to the rights of unoffend-

ing neutrals. The last years of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century witnessed scenes of rapine and plunder of defenseless commerce, which would have disgraced the Vandalism of remote antiquity. In the year 1807 these depredations were authorized by decrees of France and orders of council in England, to such an excess, that Congress found it necessary to impose an embargo as a measure of precaution to save American property, and of coersion to operate on the interests of the European belligerents. To this self-denying measure Carolina cheerfully submitted; no act of her government, no measures sanctioned by public meetings of her inhabitants, expressed the smallest tittle of dissatisfaction with the general government—her inhabitants had been frequently taught, in the school of adversity, the policy of submitting to a present evil to obtain a future good. Her sufferings on this occasion were immense, but patiently borne: the Legislature of the State instead of weakening the hands of the nation, declared their most thorough approbation of its measures, and recommended that the inhabitants should form associations to support the laws. This was effectually done. Individuals in a few instances violated the embargo, but the public voice, without distinction of party, was in favor of its faithful execution, and the energies of the State were directed to aid its complete execution. Though the prohibition of exporting the valuable commodities of the country reduced their price one-half, yet the Courts and the Legislature firmly resisted all attempts to obstruct the legal course of justice in favor of debtors.* The forbearance of the creditor part of the com-

* To induce a suspension of legal proceedings for the recovery of debts, two methods were adopted. The grand juries in some of the districts presented it as a grievance that the courts should carry on the usual legal proceedings for the sale of property under execution at a time when the laws forbade the exportation of their crops. At the beginning of the revolution the grand jury of Charlestown presented the late Acts of the British parliament, hostile to the united colonies, as a grievance. This practice has been ever since continued, and grand juries exercise the privilege of freemen in expressing their sense of grievances from whatever quarter they may arise. Thus sanctioned by custom, in the year 1808 they wished in some districts to influence the presiding judges of courts to suspend their functions as far as they aided compulsory processes against debtors. The judges reasoned on the loss of character which would result from the measure—the sacred obligation of their oaths—and of the existing constitutions both State and national; pointed out the impolicy of all interferences between debtor and creditor, and the many evils which had resulted from the late instalment laws. Having thus prepared the minds of the people for a refusal, they paid no attention to the opinions of the jury but proceeded to hold the courts for the whole period authorized by law.

When this failed, an attempt was made to obtain the passage of a law for suspending legal proceedings against debtors on the plea of the embargo. An animated debate took place which resulted in a vote carried by a large majority, "that legislative interference was not expedient." In consequence thereof the courts were kept open and justice administered throughout the whole period of the embargo, upwards of fourteen months, without any impediment either from the courts, the Legislature, or the people.

munity generally afforded a shield to property bound by judgments and executions, which without violating the constitution, protected it more effectually than the instalment laws which had been too easily passed in the period of disorganization preceding the establishment of energetic government in 1789.

In the year 1808, when it was difficult to decide which was greatest, the sufferings or the patience of the inhabitants, a general election took place for members of the State and general government and for the electors of a President. On this occasion General Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, without any agency either of himself, his friends, or native State, was brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency. His nomination and principal support came from the eastern section of the Union. It was presumed that his talents, virtues, and popularity, aided by that prepossession which every State has more or less for its own natives, would have induced the Carolinians to vote for their highly esteemed fellow-citizen in preference to every other candidate. Great pains were taken to operate upon the feelings of the people, distressed as they were by the privations of the embargo, to induce them to favor a change of men as leading to a change of measures, but without any decisive effect on the election. The citizens being generally in favor of the administration, broke through all personal attachments, and with their votes supported the candidates whose political sentiments were known to be in unison with the ruling powers. James Madison had the unanimous electoral vote of the State, to be the successor of Thomas Jefferson, who had declined a re-election.

While the minds of the citizens were sharpened by political contention, the great interests of the State were far from being overlooked. In the same year two measures were adopted of the greatest consequence to the interests of the community. In all the changes of constitution which had taken place in South Carolina, no obvious practical rule had been laid down and acted upon for apportioning the representation to the different electoral districts. For the first fifty years of the province, all elections for members of Assembly, with one or two exceptions, were held in Charlestown; for the next fifty they were all held in the low country. For the last thirty-three, the elective franchise was extended over the State; but no principle was adopted as a permanent rule of apportionment. Many of the wealthy descendants of the first settlers near the sea-coast, preferred wealth and taxes as the regulators of representation. The more numerous but less opulent yeomanry of the west were partial to numbers. Though the subject had been often discussed before provincial Congresses, Conven-

tions, and Legislative Assemblies, they always evaded a decision. As a temporary expedient a definite number of representatives had been assigned to definite portions of territory in an arbitrary manner, without the guidance of any fixed principle. At length a law was passed in 1808, for altering the constitution in the mode prescribed in the body of that instrument, by which a principle of representation was brought forward and agreed upon. This was substantially to apportion one-half of the existing representation among the several districts in proportion to the number of their citizens, and the other half in proportion to the amount of the taxes paid by them respectively. Provision was made for taking a census of the inhabitants. This, when completed, in connection with the amount of taxable property in each elective district which can always be obtained from the fiscal officers of the State, will furnish data that at all times will make the apportionment of the representation a matter of arithmetical calculation. Thus by slow and successive steps the upper country has obtained its full proportion of influence. For several years it had no representation whatever; and afterwards a very inadequate one. Having passed through a long minority, it has for some time past been of adult age, and by unanimous consent in 1808, entered upon its full share of the common inheritance. The result has been, as might be expected, favorable to peace and harmony. The most prominent cause of jealousy and political dissension among the members of the State family, is done away. The citizens in all parts standing on equal ground, and in possession of equal rights founded on permanent principles, easily applicable both to the present and all future situations which are likely to result from the fluctuations of wealth and numbers, can have no reasonable cause for any other contentions than who shall love and serve their common country best. In no preceding period has there been so much reciprocal cordiality, and so much of a friendly disposition to accommodate, to bear, and forbear, in the political collisions of different sections of the State.

The same year gave maturity to a project for improving the constitution of the Court of Equity. That previously consisted of three judges: from the decision of any two of them there was no appeal other than to themselves on a re-hearing of the cause. Theodore Gaillard and Henry William DeSaussure were added to the equity bench, and any one of the five was empowered to hold a court and transact business; but with a reserved right to the parties of appealing from the decision of a single judge, to a full bench or a majority of all its members. Though political considerations weighed with the electors in filling up the legislative and executive departments

of government, they were laid aside in the choice of judges. The successful candidates, though of different political sentiments, were preferred from a full conviction that they were above all influence from the contracted views of party. Talents and virtues were exclusively respected. Justice was considered as neither republican nor federal; and its administration committed to clean hands and pure hearts, from whom it was expected that leaning to neither they would follow its divine attractions wherever they might lead.

Between the evacuation of Charlestown by the British in 1783, and the year 1808, the difference in the condition of South Carolina is immense. When the revolutionary contest ended, the country was full of widows and orphans made so by the war, and a deadly hatred growing out of it continued to rage between the tories and whigs. The possessions of the planters were laid waste, their laborers were carried off or greatly reduced by deaths and desertion. The morality of the inhabitants had been prostrated by laws violating private rights on the plea of political necessity—by the suspension of the Courts of Justice—by that disregard for the institutions of religion which is a never-failing attendant on military operations—by the destruction or dilapidation of churches and the consequent omission of public worship addressed to the Deity. All this time the education of the rising generation was neglected, and the youth of the country had little other training than what they got in camps amidst the din of arms. In such a condition of public affairs, to re-produce a state of things favorable to social happiness, required all the energies of the well disposed inhabitants. They immediately set about the god-like work. Assemblies were called—the best practicable laws were passed—courts were re-established, and from them impartial justice was dispensed—churches were rebuilt—the public worship of the Deity was resumed—the people were taught their duty by public instructors—schools were instituted and encouraged—the education of youth recommenced. By degrees the wounds inflicted by war on the morality and religion of the inhabitants began to heal. Their losses of property were made up from the returns of a fruitful soil, amply rewarding the labors of its cultivators. These promising appearances were strengthened by improvements on their civil institutions. In 1783 the bond of federal union was feeble and inadequate to the purposes of government. The State authorities were incompetent to their objects. There were only four courts in all the middle and back country. The seat of the Legislature was at one extremity of the State, and more than 100 miles from its center. The representation in the Assem-

bly was apportioned without any fixed rule, and in an unequal manner. By degrees all these inequalities and disabilities were done away. The powerless advisory system of the confederation yielded to an efficient national government. The seat of legislation was made to approximate to the geographical centre of the State. The seven courts were increased to twenty-five, and to all was given original, complete and final jurisdiction. No man had to go more than twenty miles to attend court, and seldom so far to a place of public worship or an election. When he voted he had the satisfaction of knowing that his vote weighed as much in regulating the affairs of the State as that of any other man. The extension of equal rights and privileges annihilated the murmurings of the people and cemented the union of all parts of the State. Active, upright judges, by their laborious investigation of facts and circumstances to come at truth—by their impartial distribution of justice and luminous charges to multiplied juries, taught the people to reverence truth and justice, and instructed them in their legal and social duties; and at the same time, by a steady line of conduct enforced their observance. The clergy co-operated with great effect in reforming the people. They carried the gospel into the remotest settlements, and made an honest use of the rewards and punishments of a future state to promote peace and order in the present. To these sources of moral improvement a powerful auxiliary was added by the introduction of cotton. The cultivation of the former great staples, particularly rice and indigo, required large capitals. They could not be raised to any considerable purpose but by negroes. In this state of things poor white men were of little account otherwise than as overseers. There were comparatively few of that intermediate and generally most virtuous class which is neither poor nor rich. By the introduction of the new staple the poor became of value, for they generally were or at least might be elevated to this middle grade of society. Land suitable for cotton was easily attained, and in tracts of every size either to purchase or rent. The culture of it entailed no diseases; might be carried on profitably by individuals or white families without slaves, and afforded employment for children whose labor was of little or no account on rice or indigo plantations. The poor having the means of acquiring property without the degradation of working with slaves, had new and strong incitements to industry. From the acquisition of property the transition was easy to that decent pride of character which secures from low vice, and stimulates to seek distinction by deserving it. As they became more easy in their circumstances, they be-

came more orderly in their conduct. The vices which grew out of poverty and idleness were diminished. In estimating the value or cotton, its capacity to excite industry among the lower classes of people, and to fill the country with an independent, industrious yeomanry, is of high importance. It has had a large share in moralizing the poor white people of the country. From the combined influence of these causes, the moral improvement of Carolina, ever since the year 1783, has been in a constant state of progression; and particularly so since 1792, when cotton became a considerable article for exportation.

On a review of the history of Carolina to this last happy period, there is abundant reason for gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of all events. A handful of English subjects, 138 years ago took possession of Carolina when occupied by savages, covered with trees, swamps, and marshes, and claimed by the Spaniards in the vicinity as their property. That the settlement under these circumstances did not like several similar ones prove abortive, must be referred to the will of Heaven. That it was preserved through a long infancy without any aid from the mother country, against repeated incursions and attacks from combined and separate operations of the Spaniards, the French and Indians, is to be accounted for in the same manner. The union and vigor of the revolutioners of 1719 when they broke the proprietary yoke, was more than could have been expected on the ordinary principles which regulate the actions of men. The same observation holds more eminently true with respect to the revolution of 1776. The part which Carolina then acted, the vigor with which she engaged in the war, and the final result of the unequal contest, are beyond all human calculations. That the people in possession of complete sovereign power should, on the return of peace, at first act unwisely, cannot excite surprise; but that they should have the good sense to submit to establish by common consent self-denying constitutions, and voluntarily impose on themselves the restraints of good government, is more than what the preceding history of man gave ground to expect. That there should be a concurrence in so many causes for reproducing religion, learning, order, justice, industry, and other moral virtues from the prostrate state into which they were thrown by the revolution, is not solely the work of man. So great has been the melioration of Carolina in all these respects, and so far beyond what might be expected for men just entering on the threshhold of sovereignty, that it must be referred to a superintending Providence. Heretofore the history of revolutions has seldom been more than the exchange

of one dynasty or depotism for another, or a stronger riveting of the chains of the former. In America the result has been very different. Foreign domination has been renounced, not to aggrandize one or a few, but to substitute an efficient system of representative government in its place. This has been found to answer not only in theory, but in practice. Under it the people have been as happy as could be expected from any or even the wisest political institutions. Young Carolinians! cherish the blood-bought inheritance derived from your fathers, and transmit it unimpaired to posterity.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LITERARY MEN,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

LIONEL CHALMERS, M. D.,

Was born about the year 1715 at Cambleton, in the west of Scotland, and came very young to Carolina, and there practiced physic more than forty years. He first practiced in Christ church, but soon removed to Charlestown. He was the author of several medical works, which are particularized in the chapter of Medical History, page 112. He never affected any mystery in his practice, but employed the knowledge he had acquired for the good of mankind. He was the first writer who treated of the soil, climate, weather, and generally of the diseases of South Carolina. He died in 1777, leaving behind him the character of a skillful, humane physician, and worthy honest man.

REV. RICHARD CLARKE,

Minister of St. Philip's, in Charlestown, was more known as a theologian beyond the limits of America, than any other inhabitant of Carolina. He was admired as a preacher, both in Charlestown and London. His eloquence captivated persons of taste—his serious preaching and personal piety procured for him the love and esteem of all good men. When he preached the church was crowded, and the effects of it were visible in the reformed lives of many of his hearers, and the increased number of serious communicants. His sermons were often composed under the impressions of music, of which he was passionately fond. From its soothing effects, and from the overflowing benevolence of his heart, God's love to man, peace and good will among men, were the subjects on which he dwelt with peculiar delight. He gave on the week-day a regular course of lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were much admired. So great at that time was the harmony between ministers of different denominations in Charlestown, that Mr. Clarke agreed with Mr. Hutson, minister of the Congregational or Independent Church, who was also in the habit of delivering a week-day lecture, that the lecture of the one should be on Wednesday—of the other, on Friday, in order that each might hear the other, and that an opportunity of attending both might also be afforded to such of their respective congregations as desired it. About this period both these worthy men were members of a religious and literary society composed, in addition to themselves, of the Rev. Mr. Zubly, minister of the Independent church in Christ church—the minister of the Scotch Presbyterian church, Mr. Christopher Gadsden, Mr. Gabriel Manigault, Mr. Henry and Mr. James Laurens, Mr. Ben. Smith, members of the Episcopal church, Mr. Daniel Crawford, Mr. John Rattray, an eminent lawyer and learned man—the two last named were members of the Presbyterian church—and of several others whose names are not now distinctly remembered. The Society met once a month in the evening at the houses of the respective members. One of the clergymen opened the meeting with a short prayer, and they then discussed some literary or religious topic which had been previously agreed on, without, however, being so strictly confined to it, but that other matters not inconsistent with the intention of the meeting might be introduced.

After several years residence in Charlestown, Mr. Clarke, in the year 1759, left Carolina and was soon after appointed lecturer of Stoke Newington, at St. James' Aldgate in London. Though that city abounded with first-rate preachers, his eloquence and piety attracted a large share of public attention. He was so much esteemed and beloved in Charlestown, that several of its inhabitants sent their children after him, and put them under his care and instruction at an academy which he opened near London. Soon after his return to England he commenced

author, and at successive periods published six volumes and several pamphlets on theological subjects. In these, much biblical, classical, and historical knowledge was displayed. His letter to Dr. Adam Smith on his account of the death of David Hume, was extensively read and much admired. Of his writings in explanation of scripture prophecies, the present generation will have an opportunity of judging; for according to his commentaries, the general conversion of the Jews will take place between the present day and the year 1835. That these works were written in Carolina is probable, for the substance of a considerable part of them was preached in Charlestown. In the title page he calls himself "late minister of St. Philip's, Charlestown, South Carolina." He lived to an extreme old age, and was through life esteemed for his fervent piety, great learning, and commanding eloquence.

WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON,

Was born in Carolina in 1742. He spent his youth and acquired his education in England. Soon after he came to manhood he returned to Carolina and there with inferior opportunities, but superior industry, prosecuted his studies. In it he acquired the greater part of that knowledge for which he was afterwards distinguished. He first began to write for the public about the year 1769. Under the signature of Freeman, he stated several legal and constitutional objections to an association, or rather the mode of enforcing an association, for suspending the importation of British manufactures which was then generally signed by the inhabitants. This involved him in a political controversy in which he was opposed by Christopher Gadsden and John Mackenzie. In the year 1774 he wrote a pamphlet under the signature of Freeman, which was addressed to the American Congress. In this he stated the grievances of America, and drew up a bill of American rights. This was well received. It substantially chalked out the line of conduct adopted by Congress then in session. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress which sat in January 1775; and in the course of that year was advanced to the presidency thereof. In the latter character he issued on the 9th of November, 1775, the first order that was given in South Carolina for firing on the British. The order was addressed to Col. Wm. Moultrie, and directed him "by every military operation to endeavor to oppose the passage of any British naval armament that may attempt to pass fort Johnson." This was before Congress had decided on independence, and in the then situation of Carolina was a bold, decisive measure.

Before the revolution Mr. Drayton was one of the King's counsellors, and one of his assistant Judges for the province. The first of these offices he resigned, and from the last he was dismissed by the officers of his Britannic majesty. On the formation of a popular constitution he was reinstated by his countrymen in the corresponding offices of the State, and in the last, advanced to the rank of Chief Justice. In this latter capacity he gave a charge to the Grand Jury in April, 1776, in which he declared "that George the Third, King of Great Britain, had abdicated the government of South Carolina, that he had no authority over the people of that colony, and that they owed no obedience to him." This being anterior to the declaration of independence was bold language. Several publications appeared from his pen, explaining the injured rights of his country and encouraging his fellow-citizens to vindicate them. He has also left a manuscript history of the American revolution in three folio volumes, brought down to the end of the year 1778, which he intended to continue and publish. His country, pleased with his zeal and talents, heaped offices upon him. He was appointed a member of Congress in 1778 and 1779. Soon after he had taken his seat British commissioners came to America with the hope of detaching the States from their alliance with France. Congress could not, consistently with national honor, enter on a discussion of the terms offered to them as an inducement to violate their faith plighted to France; but some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting the British offers and adhering to independence and the alliance with France. William Henry Drayton entered largely into this discussion, and with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the measures adopted by his countrymen. This was the last offering made by his pen in favor of America; for in the next year, and in the 37th of his age, he died in Philadelphia while attending his duty in Congress. He was a statesman of great decision and energy, and one of the ablest political writers Carolina has produced.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,

Was born in Charlestown in the year 1724. He was the son of Thomas Gadsden, the King's Collector, and a Lieutenant in the British navy. Christopher Gadsden was sent by his father to England for his education, and there learned Latin, Greek, and French. He afterwards acquired a knowledge of Hebrew and the oriental languages. At the age of sixteen he returned to Carolina and was sent to Philadelphia and placed in the counting-house of Mr. Laurence. At the age of twenty-one he went to England. On his return to Carolina, as a passenger on board of a man-of-war, the purser died, and Mr. Gadsden was appointed in his place, and continued for two years in that office; then left the navy and followed merchandize, and afterwards planting and factorage. Whatever he undertook he pursued with all his might. The large wharf known by his name, which he began and completed, is a work of greater magnitude than ever has yet been accomplished in Charlestown by any one man. Henry Laurens and he were cotemporaries; and attached in their early youth to each other by the strongest ties of ardent friendship. They made a common cause to support and encourage each other in every virtuous pursuit, to shun every path of vice and folly, to leave company whenever it tended to licentiousness, and by acting in concert, to parry the charge of singularity so grating to young persons. By an honorable observance of a few concerted rules, they mutually strengthened virtuous habits, broke the force of many temptations, and acquired an energy of character which fitted them for acting a distinguished part in the trying scenes of a revolution through which it was the destiny of both to pass under similar circumstances.

Mr. Gadsden had naturally a strong love for independence. He was born a Republican. Under well ordered government he was a good subject; but could not brook the encroachments of any man or body of men intrenching on his rights.

Mr. Gadsden was for several years prior to the stamp act elected a representative of Charlestown; and during that period was always a very active and influential member in the Commons House of Assembly. There is no instance to be found in which private interest interfered with his public duty.

In the year 1759, when Governor Lyttelton made his expedition against the Cherokees, there was not a single field-piece mounted in all Carolina. Mr. Gadsden by his influence obtained the passage of a law for raising a company of artillery. Of this he was appointed Captain, and at the head of it accompanied the Governor into the Indian country. This was the origin of what, after many changes and enlargements, is now called the ancient battalion of artillery.

When the British began their projects for abridging the privileges of the colonies, Mr. Gadsden was among the first to take fire. If he had lived in the days of King Charles, he would have been another Hampden. He described independence when it was afar off, and early foresaw that such was the nature of man that America could never be governed with an exclusive or even a preferable view to her own interest, while the fountain of power was three thousand miles distant. He had correct ideas of the rights of man and of the representative system, long before Mr. Paine wrote on the subject. With such views he was among the foremost to resist the unconstitutional claims of Great Britain. When the project of a general Congress to give union and system to measures of defense was first before the Commons House of Assembly in 1765, he was indefatigable in making friends to the measure. His talents for speaking did not exceed mediocrity, yet there was in him so much honest zeal, ardor, and energy, that he had no small share of the merit of bringing the House into that important measure. Being appointed one of its members, he was the steady friend of his country's rights, put his foot on firm American ground, and from it no consideration could induce him to depart. When the scheme of revenue was renewed in 1767, he was one of the first and most zealous promoters of an association to suspend all importations of British manufactures, with a few exceptions, till a repeal of the new duties imposed on the colonies should be obtained—and was one of the last to recede from that self-denying mode of obtaining a redress of grievances. To the New Englanders he was a steady friend, the constant correspondent of Samuel Adams, and great admirer of the zeal and principles of the inhabitants of Boston. The news of the bill for shutting its port harrowed up his soul. He was willing to do and suffer whatever was most likely to procure for its inhabitants the most speedy and complete relief. He had about that time completed the largest wharf in Charlestown, which was just beginning to yield an interest on an immense capital expended in building it. His whole prospect of reimbursement was founded on the continuance of trade, and especially on the exportation of rice. He never-

theless urged the adoption of a non-importation and non-exportation agreement; and that the colonists should retire within themselves and live on their domestic resources till Great Britain redressed their grievances, most heartily concurred in these measures when adopted in the latter end of the year 1774 by Congress, of which he was a member, and was uncommonly active in afterwards enforcing their strict execution, though few men lost more by them than he did. In June 1775, when the Provincial Congress determined to raise troops, Mr. Gadsden, though absent on public duty at Philadelphia, was without his consent or knowledge elected Colonel of the first regiment. For personal courage he was inferior to no man. In knowledge of the military art he had several equals and some superiors; but from the great confidence reposed in his patriotism and the popularity of his name, he was put at the head of the new military establishment. He left Congress and repaired to the camp in Carolina, declaring that "wherever his country placed him, whether in the civil or military department; and if in the latter, whether as Corporal or Colonel, he would cheerfully serve to the utmost of his ability." In the next year he was promoted by Congress to the rank of Brigadier-General. He commanded at fort Johnson when the fort on Sullivan's island was attacked; and he was prepared to receive the enemy in their progress to Charlestown. The repulse of the British prevented his coming into action. Their retreat relieved South Carolina from the pressure of war for two years. In this period Mr. Gadsden resigned his military command, but continued to serve in the Assembly and the Privy Council, and was very active in preparing for and endeavoring to repel the successive invasions of the State by the British in 1779 and 1780. He was the friend of every vigorous measure, and always ready to undertake the most laborious duties, and to put himself in the front of danger. When Charlestown surrendered by capitulation, he was Lieutenant-Governor, and paroled as such, and honorably kept his engagement. For the three months which followed, he was undisturbed; but on the defeat of Gates in August, 1780, the British resolved that he and several others, who discovered no disposition to return to the condition of British subjects, should be sent out of the country. He was accordingly taken in his own house by a file of soldiers and put on board a vessel in the harbor. He knew not why he was taken up, nor what was intended to be done with him, but supposed it was introductory to a trial for treason or rebellion, as the British gave out that the country was completely conquered. He was soon joined by twenty-eight compatriots, who were also taken up onthe same day. He drew from his pocket half a dollar, and turning to his associates with a cheerful countenance assured them that was all the money he had at his command. The conquerors sent him and his companions to St. Augustine, then a British garrison. On their landing, limits of some extent were offered to them on condition of their renewing the parole they had given in Charlestown, "to do nothing injurious to the British interest." When this was tendered to General Gadsden, he replied "that he had already given one and honorably observed it; that in violation of his rights as a prisoner under a capitulation, he had been sent from Charlestown, and that therefore he saw no use in giving a second parole." The commanding officer replied, "he would enter into no arguments, but demanded an explicit answer whether he would or would not renew his parole." General Gadsden answered with that high minded republican spirit which misfortunes could not keep down, "I will not. In God I put my trust, and fear no consequences." He was instantly hurried off to the castle, and there confined for ten months in a small room, and in a state of complete separation from his fellow-prisoners, and in total ignorance of the advantages gained by his countrymen, but with most ample details of their defeats, and particularly of the sequestration of his estate with that of the other Carolina rebels. It is remarkable that Christopher Gadsden and Henry Laurens, whose virtuous juvenile friendship has been just related, were at the same time in close confinement; one in the castle of St. Augustine, and the other in the tower of London. Mr. Gadsden improved his solitude by close application to study and came out much more learned than he entered. In the course of 1781 the victories of General Greene procured an equivalent for the release of all the prisoners belonging to South Carolina. Mr. Gadsden was discharged from close confinement and rejoined his fellow-prisoners. The reciprocal congratulations on the change of circumstances and on seeing each other after a ten months separation, though in the same garrison, may be more easily conceived than expressed. They were all conveyed by water from St. Augustine to Philadelphia, and there delivered. On their arrival they were informed for the first time of the happy turn American affairs had taken subsequent to Gates's defeat. General Gadsden hastened back to Carolina to aid in recovering it from the British. He was elected a member of the Assembly which met at Jacksonborough in 1782. On their meeting it became necessary to

choose a new Governor. The suffrages of a majority were in the first instance in favor of Christopher Gadsden, who declined the office in a short speech to the following effect: "I have served you in a variety of stations for thirty years, and I would now cheerfully make one of a forlorn hope in an assault on the lines of Charlestown if it was probable that with the certain loss of my life you would be reinstated in the possession of your capital. What I can do for my country I am willing to do. My sentiments of the American cause, from the stamp act downwards have never changed. I am still of opinion that it is the cause of liberty and of human nature. If my acceptance of the office of Governor would serve my country, though my administration would be attended with the loss of personal credit and reputation, I would cheerfully undertake it. The present times require the vigor and activity of the prime of life; but I feel the increasing infirmities of age to such a degree that I am conscious I cannot serve you to advantage. I therefore beg for your sakes, and for the sake of the public, that you would indulge me with the liberty of declining the arduous trust." He was indulged in his request; but though he declined the laborious office of Governor, he continued to serve both in the Assembly and Council where, notwithstanding the long confinement he had suffered in the castle of St. Augustine and the immense loss of his property, he opposed the law which was brought in for confiscating the estates of the adherents to the British government, and zealously contended that sound policy required to forget and forgive.

General Gadsden continued in the country throughout the year 1782, serving as one of the Governor's Council. On the 14th of December, 1782, he, with the American army and citizens, made their triumphant entry into Charlestown in the rear of the evacuating British. In the first moment of his return after an absence of more than two years, he had the pleasure of seeing the British fleet, upward of 300 sail, in the act of departing from the port, and the capital as well as the country restored to its proper owners. Mr. Gadsden henceforward devoted himself to private pursuits, but occasionally served in the Assembly, and with unspeakable delight in the two State conventions; the one for the ratification of the national constitution in 1788, and the other for revising the State constitution in 1790. From the first dawn of independence he was particularly anxious for an efficient constitution, and considered nothing done while that remained undone. When difficulties arose or delays took place on this great subject, he was full of fears that the independent Americans would form different confederacies; or like their forefathers in England bow their necks to the royal government; an event which he dreaded as one of the greatest political evils which could befall his country. He survived his eighty-first year, generally enjoying good health, and at last died more from the consequences of an accidental fall than the weight of disease or decays of nature. At his death he was honored by the State Cincinnati and American Revolution Societies, who requested the Rev. Mr. Bowen to preach a funeral sermon on the occasion. Throughout life he was a strictly honest, virtuous, good man, a regular attendant on divine service in St. Phillip's church, and a steady communicant in the same. In the high day of Episcopal establishment he was friendly with and liberal to dissenters. When early in the revolution they petitioned the Assembly for equal religious liberty, he brought forward their petition and advocated their claims as founded in reason, justice, and policy. He was the friend of good clergymen of all denominations, and wished to promote peace among all sects and parties. His opinions of lawyers were not favorable. He considered their pleadings as generally tending to obscure what was plain and to make difficulties where there were none; and much more subservient to render their trade lucrative, than to advance justice. He adhered to that clause of Mr. Locke's fundamental constitution which makes it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward;" and wished that the lawyers, when necessary to justice, should be provided with salaries at a public expense, like the Judges, that they might be saved from the shame of hiring their tongues to the first who offered or gave the largest fee. Of physicians he thought very little. He considered temperance and exercise superior to all their prescriptions, and that in most cases they rendered them altogether unnecessary. In many things he was particular. His passions were strong and required all his religion and philosophy to curb them. His patriotism was both disinterested and ardent. He declined all offices of profit, and through life refused to take the compensations annexed by law to such offices of trust as were conferred on him. His character was impressed with the hardihood of antiquity; and he possessed an erect, firm, intrepid mind, which was well calculated for buffeting with revolutionary storms.

REV. COMMISSARY GARDEN,

Was born in Scotland about the year 1685. Of his education, and of the time of his arrival in Carolina, nothing precise or certain is known; but from circumstances it is probable that he must have arrived about the year 1720, for he died in 1756, at the age of seventy-one, after he had been thirty-four years rector of St. Phillip's, Charlestown. Some years after his arrival, he was appointed Commissary of the Bishop of London for the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Bahama Islands. In the discharge of the duties of this high office he was strict and impartial. Improper conduct on the part of clergymen was immediately noticed, the delinquents brought to trial, and the canons of the church were enforced against them. His appearance as one of the visitors of the free-school in Charlestown was the sure precursor of a strict examination. He did not permit the teachers, as they are very fond of doing, to point out the places for examination. This business was managed by him as it ought to be, and was a real trial of what the pupils had learned. It was not confined to selected portions on which they had been previously prepared, but extended generally and promiscuously to all they had gone over. His visits and strict examinations produced good effect, both on masters and scholars. In the discharge of family and clerical duties, Commissary Garden was exemplary. He was attentive to the religious education of his children and servants, and it is mentioned in the "Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel," in South Carolina, dated 1752, "that a flourishing school was taught in Charlestown by a negro of the society, under the inspection and direction of the worthy rector, Garden, by which means many poor negroes were taught to believe in God and in his Son Jesus Christ." He kept up strict discipline in his church; was careful whom he admitted as sponsors for children at the time of baptism; caused children who on account of sickness had been hastily baptized in private, in case of their recovery, to be presented for a public reception into the church; refused the communion to immoral persons, and admitted no young persons as communicants till he was privately satisfied that they understood the nature of the ordinance, and had those views of religion which are proper for communicants. In all cases he was a strict observer of rules and forms, and would not lightly depart from them. His particularities subjected him to remarks, but were the effect of a systematic line of conduct which he had prescribed for himself. He would not receive from persons he married one penny more or less than the law allowed, nor at any other time than that prescribed in the prayer-book. Nor would he marry any persons in Lent, nor on the other fast days prescribed by the church; nor in any other manner than was strictly conformable to the book of common prayer. His charity was in like manner measured by rule. The exact tenth of his whole income was regularly given to the poor. In every thing he was methodical. He carefully digested his plans, and steadily adhered to them. Strict himself, according to the forms of his religion, he required strictness from others. Under his pastoral care, a profession of religion was no slight matter. It imposed a necessity of circumspect conduct, regulated in all respects by the prescribed forms of the church. Though his literary talents were great, nothing more is known of him as an author, than that he preached and printed a sermon on these words: "They who have turned the world upside down, have come hither also:" in which he exposed the evil consequences of fanaticism and innovation.

ALEXANDER GARDEN, M. D.,

Was born in Scotland about the year 1728, and was the son of the Rev. Alexander Garden of the parish of Birse, in the shire of Aberdeen, a clergyman of high respectability, who, during the rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746 was distinguished by his exertions in favor of the family of Hanover; and still more so by his humane interposition in behalf of the followers of the house of Stuart, after their defeat at Culloden. Dr. Garden received his philosophical and classical education in the University of Aberdeen, at the Mareschal College there. He received his first medical education under the celebrated Dr. John Gregory, and studied also a twelvemonth in Edinburgh. He arrived in South Carolina about the middle of the 18th century, and commenced the practice of physic in Prince William's Parish, in connection with Dr. Rose. Here he began his botanic studies; but having lost his health, he was obliged to take a voyage to the northward for his recovery. In the year 1754 he went to New York, where a professorship in the college recently formed was offered to him, but he declined the acceptance thereof. On his return he settled in Charlestown, and continued to practice

physic there for about thirty years. In this period he amassed a handsome fortune, being deservedly in very high esteem, and extensively employed. He brought with him a hæmoptoic constitution, but the complaint was suspended during his residence in Carolina. He was well acquainted with the Latin and Greek classics, understood the French and Italian languages, and was a considerable proficient in the knowledge of the belles lettres; in mathematics, philosophy, history and miscellaneous literature; but his attention, when the duties of his profession permitted any relaxation, was chiefly directed to the study of natural history, and particularly to that branch of it which is called botany. A list of his communications on these subjects has been already given in the preceding chapter of medical history. Linnæus, with whom he corresponded in Latin, gave his name, Gardenia, to a most beautiful flowering shrub; and often mentioned him with applause. He was also highly esteemed by the literati throughout Europe, with several of whom he corresponded. About the year 1772 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London. Shortly after his return to Europe in 1783, he was appointed one of its council, and afterwards one of its vice-presidents. To extend his knowledge in natural history, Dr. Garden, accompanied James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, in the year 1755, when he penetrated into the Indian country, and formed a treaty with the Cherokees in their own mountains. In this expedition Dr. Garden discovered an earth which, upon a fair trial by the manufacturers at Worcester, in Great Britain, was deemed equal to the finest porcelain that ever was imported from India. Unfortunately no precise knowledge can now be had of the spot where this valuable earth was found. Hitherto no advantage has resulted from the discovery, though no doubt exists of its reality and importance. On Dr. Garden's return to Europe, his consumptive diathesis, which had been long suspended, began to show itself. He endeavored to parry its attacks by traveling. This answered a valuable purpose, but failed in its primary object. He found that wherever he went his literary fame had preceded him, and induced many to court his acquaintance. In France he was treated by men of science with the most pointed attention, and hailed as a brother. He met with a similar reception in Switzerland, and was particularly caressed by Lavater, the author of an elaborate work on Physiognomy. In the course of his travels he tried the effects of breathing his native air, and of revisiting the haunts of his youth, hoping that the pleasing recollection of juvenile scenes would have a salutary influence in arresting the progress of his disease. He was received as a man who had done honor to his native land, and extended its reputation as the soil of genius. He found that his venerable father, after reaching his 90th year, had lately died. Nought remained but to do honor to his memory. The son drew up a monumental inscription in elegant classical Latin, commemorative of the virtues of the father. This is shown to strangers as honorable to both, and is respectfully mentioned in the statistical account of the parish, edited by Sir John Sinclair.

Dr. Garden was highly pleased with the attentions he everywhere received in his travels, but all this time his disorder was advancing. Having made every exertion to preserve his life, he finally made up his mind to his situation, resolved to travel no more, and to meet his approaching fate in the bosom of his family. He accordingly settled at London, and soon after expired in that city, in the year 1792. The high reputation for literature to which he attained reflected honor both on his native and adopted country. In the first a good foundation was laid, especially in classical learning; in the latter the superstructure was raised. He came young to Carolina, and was then barely initiated in the favorite studies in which he particularly excelled. He acquired most of his botanical knowledge in the woods of Carolina. He was fond of good company, and particularly of refined female society, and to it he devoted a considerable portion of his time; but enough was reserved for mental improvement. He never complained of the climate as too hot for study. In it, though oppressed with professional business, he redeemed time enough to examine its natural riches, and to co-extend its fame with his own.

MAJOR JOHN JAMES,

Was born in Ireland in 1732, and was the son of an officer who had served King William in his wars in Ireland against King James. This circumstance was the origin of the name of Williamsburg, which is now attached to one of the districts of Carolina. The elder James, with his family and several of his neighbors, migrated to that district in 1733, made the first settlement there, and in honor of King William, gave his name to a village laid out on the east bank of Black river. The village is now called King's Tree, from a white or short-leaved pine which in old royal grants was reserved for the use of the King; and the name of

Williamsburg has been transferred to the district. To it Major James, when an infant, was brought by his parents. His first recollections were those of a stockade fort, and of war between the new settlers and the natives. The former were often reduced to great straits in procuring the necessaries of life, and in defending themselves against the Indians. In this then frontier settlement, Major James, Mr. James Bradley, and other compatriots in the revolution, were trained up to defend and love their country. Their opportunities for acquiring liberal educations were slender, but for obtaining religious instruction were very ample. They were brought up under the eye and pastoral care of the Rev. John Rae, a Presbyterian minister who accompanied his congregation in their migration from Ireland to Carolina. When the revolution commenced in 1775, Major James had acquired a considerable portion both of reputation and property. He was a Captain of militia under George the Third. Disapproving of the measures of the British government, he resigned his royal commission, but was soon after reinstated by a popular vote. In the year 1776 he marched with his company to the defence of Charlestown. In the year 1779 he was with General Moultrie on his retreat before General Prevost, and commanded 120 riflemen in the skirmish at Tulifinny. When Charlestown was besieged in 1780, Major James marched to its defence, but Governor John Rutledge ordered him back to embody the country militia. The town having fallen, he was employed by his countrymen to wait on the conquerors and to inquire of them what terms they would give. On finding that nothing short of unconditional submission and a resumption of the characters and duties of British subjects would be accepted, he abruptly broke off all negotiation, as has been already related; and rejoining his friends, formed the stamina of the distinguished corps known in the latter periods of the revolutionary war by the name of Marion's Brigade. His conduct as one of the confidential officers of General Marion in the hard struggle which followed, has been already narrated. In the course of this cruel and desultory warfare, Major James was reduced from easy circumstances to poverty. All his movable property was carried off, and every house on his plantation burnt; but he bore up under these misfortunes, and devoted not only all his possessions, but life itself, for the good of his country. After Greene, as Commander-in-Chief, had superseded Marion, Major James continued to serve under the former, and fought with him at the battle of Eutaw. The corps with which he served consisted mostly of riflemen, and were each furnished with twenty-four rounds of cartridges. Many of them expended the whole, and most of them twenty of these, in firing on the enemy. As they were in the habit of taking aim, their shot seldom failed of doing execution. Shortly after this action, Major James and General Marion were both elected members of the State Legislature. Before the General had rejoined his brigade it was unexpectedly attacked, and after retreating, was pursued by a party of British commanded by Colonel Thompson, now Count Rumford. In this retreat Major James, being mounted, was nearly overtaken by two British dragoons, but kept them from cutting him down by a judicious use of his pistols, and escaped by leaping a chasm in a bridge of twenty feet width. The dragoons did not follow. The Major, being out of their reach, rallied his men, brought them back to the charge, and stopped the progress of the enemy. When the war was nearly over he resigned his commission, and like another Cincinnatus, returned to his farm and devoted the remainder of his days to the improvement of his property and the education of his children. In the year 1791 he died with the composure and fortitude of a Christian hero.

SIR NATHANIEL JOHNSON,

Was Governor of South Carolina for seven or eight of the first years of the eighteenth century. He had been bred a soldier, and was also a member of the House of Commons. From the year 1686 to 1689 he had been Governor of Nevis, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, and Antigua, commonly called the Leeward Islands. Soon after the termination of his government in 1789, he became a private inhabitant of South Carolina. Being fond of projects, his attention was turned to that province, as being in a latitude favorable to his views. He was particularly allured by the hope of making silk, and commenced a settlement for that purpose. In this he succeeded so far as to make considerable quantities of that commodity. His example encouraged others to engage in the same business. His experiments were made on a plantation which to this day is called the Silk Hope. A project for making salt also engaged his attention. To the settlement on Seewee Bay, where his experiments were made with this view, he gave the name of Salt Ponds. The result is not known. He also attempted the culture of grapes, and is said to have succeeded in making wine, but in small quantities. Soon after his arrival in Carolina, rice was introduced. He made many trials of the severa

kinds of rice, and of the soil most suitable for it; and incurred considerable expense in building mills and other machinery necessary for preparing the grain for use or market. His experiments and example had a considerable influence in determining the planters of these days to engage in the culture of this new commodity. These enterprises, and his military education, gave him extensive popularity, and induced the proprietors to offer him the government of the province. But as he was suspected of not being well affected to the revolution of 1688 in England, Queen Anne would not give her approbation but on the conditions of his giving security for observing the laws of trade and navigation, and such instructions as should be sent out to him by her majesty. These conditions were complied with. As Governor he was active and intelligent. His influence over the Assembly was great. Of this he made a proper use by urging the completion of the fortifications of Charlestown and its harbor. The fort on the east end of James Island was called by his name. To defray the expenses of these works, heavy taxes were necessary, and of course his popularity was for some time diminished; but time and posterity have done him ample justice. Soon after these fortifications were completed, their utility was demonstrated. The province was invaded by 800 Frenchmen, and the recent fortifications were instrumental in discouraging the invading army, though within the bar, from making an attack on the town. The result, highly honorable to the Governor, and the notice taken of him by the proprietors for his good conduct on this occasion, have been related.

While Sir Nathaniel Johnson was successful in fortifying and defending the town and harbor, he was equally so in procuring a legal establishment of the Episcopal church. His influence was exerted in favor of this measure. It was carried by great address and management through the Legislature by a single vote, and at a time when a majority of the people were dissenters and opposed to it. The Governor concurring in the common creed of the times, that an established religion was necessary to the support of civil government, and believing that the best interests of the province would be promoted by endowing the Episcopal church, he exerted all his influence with the Assembly and people to procure its advancement to public support and legal pre-eminence. The result was in several respects answerable to his expectations. It was the means of introducing about 100 Episcopal clergymen into the country, who were men of regular education and useful in their profession, who generally became settlers and left families. It also contributed to the introduction of a number of bibles and other books on religious subjects, which either formed parochial libraries or were given away by missionaries of the English society for propagating the gospel. The establishment also procured an influx of several hundred pounds sterling annually into the country for the maintenance of Episcopal clergymen, in aid of their provincial legal salary. The annual allowance of from £30 to £50 to several of that description was continued down to the revolution. For these benefits resulting from the establishment, the country was in a great measure indebted to Governor Johnson. The Assembly was sensible that his continuance in office was so essential to the continuance of the establishment, that they made a most extraordinary provision against the contingency of his death or removal from office. This is expressed in the preamble of an act passed in his administration in the following words: "Whereas the Church of England has of late been so happily established among us, fearing that by the succession of a new Governor this church may be either undermined or wholly subverted; to prevent which calamity falling upon us, be it enacted, that this present Assembly shall continue to sit two years, and for the term of eighteen months after the change of government, or the succession of another in his time."

The salaries of Governors were at this early period low, and did not exceed two hundred pounds sterling; but they found out an indirect method of increasing them by a monopoly, or a profitable management of the trade with the Indians. Governor Johnson consented to a law for a different arrangement of this business, by commissioners appointed by the Assembly, on terms that were injurious to his private interest, but in their consequences highly beneficial to the province. His administration lasted for six or seven years, and was highly reputable to himself and eminently conducive to the improvement of Carolina. He was, nevertheless, in the year 1709, superseded by Colonel Tynte. It probably was the policy of the proprietors to make frequent changes of their Governors, for it does not appear that any fault was found with Johnson. Of his subsequent life nothing is known.*

* It is probable that he lived a retired private life in Carolina, for he died there in 1713, and was buried on his Silk Hope plantation. From respect to his memory, his grave was surrounded by a brick wall by Gabriel Manigault, who purchased the plantation many years after the death of Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

His son, Robert Johnson, succeeded to the same office about eight years after, in which period there had been four intermediate Governors.

It has been the lot of Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson, in common with several other of the distinguished personages in Carolina, to have their names extinct, though their blood still survives in the female line. His daughter married the great-great-grandfather of the present Philip P. Broughton. His two granddaughters married: one, Ralph Izard, the other Benjamin Stead; but no person of the name of Johnson is known now to exist, who can trace back his family to the illustrious Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

JOHN LINING, M. D.,

Was born in Scotland in 1708, and arrived in Carolina when he was about twenty-two years old. For nearly thirty years he successfully practiced physic in Charlestown, and was reckoned one of its most skillful physicians. His fame was much more extensive than his practice. The latter was necessarily confined to the vicinity of his residence; but his medical writings, which have been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter of medical history, page 62; his statical experiments and meteorological observations, which were published in the transactions of the Royal Society of London, procured for him a large portion of fame in Europe. His statical experiments are the only ones that have ever been made to any extent in America; and his meteorological observations, commencing as early as 1738, were the first made in Carolina, and as far as is known, the first made in the British Colonies, now United States, which have been published. He was also the first experimenter in Carolina on electricity, and ranked high among the early literati of the new world. He died in 1760, with a distinguished reputation as a physician and a philosopher, after he had extended the literary fame of his adopted country to distant regions.

HENRY LAURENS,

Was born in Charlestown in 1724. His ancestors were French Protestant refugees, who had left France soon after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They first settled in New York, but afterwards removed to Charlestown. His education was superintended at first by Mr. Howe, and afterwards by Mr. Corbett, the same who after instructing Peter Manigault, William Drayton, and some other excellent classical scholars in Carolina, returned to England and became high bailiff of Westminster. Being designed for a merchant, Henry Laurens was early in life put under the care of Thomas Smith, merchant of Charlestown, and afterwards of Mr. Crokatt, of London, who had returned to Europe after having acquired a considerable estate in Charlestown. Under these instructors, Henry Laurens was regularly bred to merchandize, and acquired those habits of order, system, and method in business, for which he was through life remarkable. On his return from London, he entered into partnership with Mr. Austin, an established merchant of Charlestown, and engaged in trade with spirit, but at the same time with caution and judgment. His scrupulous attention to punctuality not only in the discharge of pecuniary engagements, but in being where and in doing what he had promised was almost romantic. He suffered nothing to interfere with his own engagements, and highly disrelished all breaches of punctuality on the part of others. He was an excellent model for a young man to form himself upon, and was largely trusted in that way by parents who wished their sons to be brought up strictly and in habits of doing business with accuracy. To have served in his counting-house was no small recommendation. He worked hard himself, and made all around him do the same. He required less sleep than most men, and devoted a great part of the night to the ordinary mercantile pursuits of the day. For the dispatch of business he was never exceeded, perhaps never equalled, in Charlestown. He was a very early riser, and devoted the morning to his counting-house, and frequently had the business of the day not only arranged, but done, when others were beginning to deliberate on the expediency of leaving their beds. His letters were generally written in the retired hours of the night and morning. In them his ideas were always expressed in strong and precise language, which forcibly conveyed his meaning without a possibility of being misunderstood. Whether friendship, business, or amusement was the subject, his epistolary style was excellent and well worthy of imitation.

He had an exact knowledge of human nature, and, in his own mercantile language, soon found out the par of exchange of every man with whom he transacted business. His eye was uncommonly penetrating. and the correct opinions he frequently formed of the real characters of men, from their looks, would, if known to Lavater,

have confirmed that philosopher in his theory of physiognomy. Such diligence, and such knowledge of men and of business, could not fail of success. It is no small evidence of this, and at the same time, characteristic of the period in which Mr. Laurens was engaged in trade, between 1747 and 1770, that at the winding up of his partnership concerns, which had embraced transactions to the amount of many millions of pounds of the then currency, he offered his partner to take all outstanding debts as cash, at a discount of five per cent. on their gross amount.

His talents for conversation were great. He could adapt himself to the young and the old, the gay and the grave, to the man of business and the votaries of pleasure. He reproved without offending, and gave advice without appearing to dictate.

Mr. Laurens' love of justice was extreme. He would never draw a bill of exchange till he had a written acknowledgment from the person on whom he drew, that he was indebted to the amount drawn for. He cheerfully partook of diversions in their proper time and place; but had at all periods of his life so deep rooted an aversion to gaming, that he never played at cards or any other game, but for amusement, unless on some very rare occasions, when in company with those to whom play was without zest except something was risked, he so far conformed to their humor as to play for money on a very moderate scale, and in case of loss he promptly paid, but uniformly refused to receive what he won, esteeming it wrong to take any man's money without giving an equivalent.

In two or three instances he yielded to the fashionable folly of accepting a challenge to decide a controversy by single combat. In every such case he received the fire of his adversary, but would not return it. He once had a suit at law with the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, in which he resisted the claims of the royal government, which, by some recent regulations, were hostile to American rights. Mr. Laurens being cast, tendered to the Judge, Sir Egerton Leigh, his legal fees to a considerable sum. The Judge declined to receive them. Mr. Laurens, conceiving that he had no right to retain what was legally due from him, gave the same precise amount to the South Carolina Society, to be expended by them in charity. On another occasion, a sum of money came into his hands in some official character which had not been claimed. Under an impression that the money thus unclaimed was not his, he transferred it to the South Carolina Society, to be used by them as a fund of charity, till the owner called for it. No such call was then expected, or has yet been brought forward, though the deposit was made forty years ago.

Mr. Laurens once persuaded a favorite slave to give a reluctant consent to receive the small pox by inoculation, who, in consequence thereof, died. To comfort the deceased for the issue of an unfortunate experiment urged upon him, assurances were given to him in his dying moments that his children should be emancipated. This was accordingly done.

In the performance of his religious duties, Mr. Laurens was strict and exemplary. The emergency was great which kept him from church either forenoon or afternoon, and very great indeed which kept him from his regular monthly communion. With the bible he was intimately acquainted. Its doctrines he firmly believed; its precepts and history he admired, and was much in the habit of quoting and applying portions of it to present occurrences. He not only read the scriptures diligently to his family, but made all his children read them also. His family bible contained, in his own hand-writing, several of his remarks on passing providences. He used to observe that many passages of admired authors were borrowed either in matter or manner from sacred writ, and in support of this opinion, often quoted, among other examples, "God tempers the wind to the back of the shorn lamb," of Sterne, as an imitation of, "he stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind," of the prophet Isaiah; and the interesting "lovely young Lavinia," of Thompson, as a portrait of the bible Ruth by a modern hand, with a little alteration in the drapery. He frequently recommended the writings of Solomon as giving an excellent insight into human nature, and as aphorisms, the observance of which would make men both wise and happy.

Mr. Laurens having amassed a fortune far exceeding what was then common in America, and having lately lost his wife, gave up business, and in 1771, went to Europe to superintend the education of his sons. Soon after he had made arrangements for bringing them forward to the greatest advantage, the disputes began which finally severed the colonies from the parent State. He was one of the thirty-nine natives of America, who, in 1774, petitioned the British parliament not to pass the Boston port-bill. His utmost exertions were made to prevent the war; but finding that nothing short of the most degrading submission on the part of the colonies, would prevent it, he determined to return to Carolina and take part with his countrymen. Great interest was used to dissuade him from execut-

ing this resolution, and ample offers were made to indemnify him for all losses that might result from his remaining in England. To his mercantile friend, Mr. Oswald, one of the subsequent negotiators of peace, urging his stay, he replied from Falmouth, when on the point of embarking for Charlestown, as follows: "I shall never forget your friendly attention to my interest, but I dare not return. Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labor for peace; at the same time, determined in the last event to stand or fall with my country." On his leaving England, he assured the numerous friends he left behind, that America would not submit to the claims of the British parliament: on his landing in Charlestown, in December, 1774, he assured his American friends that Britain would not yield to their demands, and that war was inevitable. His information was much relied on, and vigorous preparations for defense were made very early in 1775 by the Carolinians. The circumstance of his leaving England at this crisis to take part with his countrymen in their approaching arduous conflict, rivetted him in their esteem. They conferred many offices upon him. In the interval between the suspension of royal and the establishment of representative government, the executive department of the latter system, while in embryo, was administered by him as president of the council of safety, with a full impression that both his fortune and his life were staked on the result. His countrymen soon found that the well known activity of the merchant was transferred to the statesman, and that the public business was promptly and accurately dispatched. Soon after the establishment of a regular constitution in South Carolina, in 1776, he was elected a member of Congress, and shortly after he had taken his seat, was appointed President of that body. Two volumes of his official public letters as President remain in the archives of the old Congress. These are monuments of his talent for writing letters—of his industry and attention to the duties of his station. In that period the British commissioners arrived with the vain hope of inducing the Americans to rescind their alliance with France, and to resume the character of free British subjects. One of them, Governor Johnson, had private letters of introduction to Mr. Laurens. These were forwarded and brought on a correspondence long since made public, which was honorable to the American character. In December, 1778, Mr. Laurens resigned the chair of Congress, and thereupon received their thanks "for his conduct in the chair and in the execution of public business." He returned his grateful acknowledgments for the honor done him, which he observed "would be of service to his children." In the year following he was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland. In his way thither he was captured and carried to England, and there committed a prisoner to the tower of London, on suspicion of treason; and was officially mentioned by Sir Joseph York as "styling himself President of the pretended Congress." The commitment was accompanied with orders "to confine him a close prisoner—to be locked up every night—to be in the custody of two warders—not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day or night—to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him—to deprive him of the use of pen and ink—to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-six years old, and severely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this situation he was conducted to apartments in the tower, and was shut up in two small rooms, which, together, made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect or even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils which proved an useful substitute. After a month's confinement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a sword in his hand followed close behind. This indulgence was occasionally taken for about three weeks, when Lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer, and instantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this transgression of orders, and locked him up for thirty-seven days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame.

About this time an old friend and mercantile correspondent, having solicited the Secretaries of State for Mr. Laurens' enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct, sent him the following message: "Their lordships say if you will point out anything for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the colonies, you will be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply.

The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him addressed him as follows: "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as

your friend but as the friend of Great Britain. I have certain propositions to make for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what they were, and added "that an honest man required no time to give an answer in a case where his honor was concerned." "If," said he, "the Secretaries of State will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "no sir, you must stay in London among your friends. The ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: you can write two or three lines to the ministers and barely say you are sorry for what is past. A pardon will be granted. Every man has been wrong at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy and to the dishonor of my children."

Though Mr. Laurens was not allowed to see his own friends, pains were taken to furnish him with such newspapers from America as announced the successes of the British in South Carolina after the surrender of its capital in 1780—that the inhabitants had given up the contest, and generally taken British protection; and that the estates of Henry Laurens, and of the other obstinate rebels who still adhered to the ruined cause of independence, were under sequestration by the British conquerors. To such communications Mr. Laurens steadily replied, "none of these things move me."

In the year 1781, Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived in France as the special minister of Congress. The father was requested to write to the son to withdraw himself from the court of France, and assurances were given that it would operate in his favor. To these requests he replied, "my son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request it would have no effect; he would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dear and would lay down his life to save mine, but I am sure he would not sacrafice his honor to save my life: and I applaud him."

Mr Laurens pencilled an address to the Secretaries of State for the use of pen and ink to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to answer his immediate exigencies. This was delivered to their lordships, but they returned no answer though no provision was made for the support of their prisoner. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in confinement under many infirmities and without the means of applying his own resources on the spot for his immediate support.

As soon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the tower, he was called upon to pay £97 10s. sterling to two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I will not pay the warders whom I never employed and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

Three weeks after, the Secretaries of State consented that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and ink for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange; but they were taken away the moment that business was done.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Lauren's sufferings in the tower became generally known, and excited compassion in his favor, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had also been found by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore resolved to release him, but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not consent to any act which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such on a charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the Court of King's Bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our sovereign lord the King" were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my Sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the Courts of King's Bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens was startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himself to be a prisoner-of-war. From a high sense of personal independence, and unwillingness to be brought under an apparent obligation, he replied, "That he durst not accept himself as a gift; and that as Congress had once offered Lieutenant-General Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

The contrast between this close confinement in the tower for more than fourteen months, and the active life to which Mr. Laurens had been accustomed, so far undermined his constitution that he never afterwards enjoyed good health. Soon after his release he received a commission from Congress to be one of their ministers to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. He repaired to Paris, and there, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, by which the independence of the United States was acknowledged. Mr. Laurens soon after returned to Carolina. His countrymen, well pleased with his conduct, stood ready to honor him with every mark of distinction in their power to confer; but he declined all solicitations to suffer himself to be elected either Governor, member of Congress, or of the State Legislature. When the project of a general convention was under consideration for revising the federal bond of union, he was, without his permission, elected one of its members, but declined serving. He retired from all public business, and amused himself with agricultural experiments, and promoting the happiness of his children, domestics,* friends and neighbors. His health, which had long been delicate, gradually declined, and on the 8th of December, 1792, near the close of his 69th year, he expired. His will concluded with these words: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son as an indispensable duty, that, as soon as he conveniently can after my decease, he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow cloth, and burnt until it be entirely consumed, and then collecting my bones, deposit them wherever he may think proper." This request was fulfilled.

JOHN LAURENS,

Son of Henry Laurens, was born in Charlestown in 1755. His early education was conducted by Benjamin Lord, Rev. Messrs. Himeli and Panton. In youth he discovered that energy of character that distinguished him through life. When a lad, though laboring under a fever, on the cry of fire he leaped from his bed, hastened to the scene of danger, and was in a few minutes on the top of the exposed houses, risking his life to arrest the progress of the flames. This is the more worthy of notice, for precisely in the same way, and under a similar, but higher impulse of ardent patriotism, he lost his life in the year 1781.

At the age of sixteen he was taken to Europe by his father, and there put under the best means of instruction in Geneva, and afterwards in London.

In the course of his youthful studies he united the plodding diligence of the mere scholar and the refinement of the gentleman. By a judicious distribution of his time, and doing with his might whatever he engaged in, he acquired as much solid useful learning as could be expected from one, who, immuring himself in the walls of a college, renounced society; and at the same time as many accomplishments as are usually attained by those who, neglecting all study, aim at nothing more than the exterior polish of an elegant education. In classical learning, the French and Italian languages, mathematics, philosophy, geography, history, and the ordinary circle of sciences, he was an adept; and also excelled in drawing, dancing, fencing, riding, and all the graces and refined manners of a man of fashion. He was entered a student of law at the temple in 1774, and was daily improving in legal knowledge till the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies arrested his attention. He soon found that the claims of the mother country struck at the root of liberty in the colonies, and that she perseveringly resolved to enforce these claims at every hazard. Fain would he have come out to join his countrymen in arms at the commencement of the contest; but the peremptory order of his father enjoined his continuance in England, to prosecute his studies and finish his education. As a dutiful son he obeyed these orders; but as a patriot burning with desire to defend his country, he dismissed Coke, Littleton, and all the tribe of jurists, and substituted in their place Vauban, Folard, and other writers on war. He also availed himself of the excellent opportunities which London affords of acquiring practical knowledge in the manual exercise, of tactics, and the mechanism of war. Thus instructed, as soon as he was a freeman of legal age, he quitted England for France, and by a circuitous voyage in neutral vessels, and at a considerable risk, made his way good in the year 1777 to Charlestown. Independence had been declared; the American army was raised, officered, and in the field. He who by his attainments in general science, and

*Mr. Laurens' treatment of his domestics was highly commendable. He was strict in making them do their proper business, and enforced among them the observance of decency, order and morality; but amply supplied their wants, and freely contributed to their comforts. Few laborers in any country had more of the enjoyments of life than the cultivators of his grounds. They accordingly lived long, and their natural increase was great. To their religious instructions he was also attentive.

particularly in the military art, deserved high rank, had no ordinary door left open to serve his country but by entering in the lowest grade of an army abounding with officers. General Washington, ever attentive to merit, instantly took him into his family as a supernumerary aid-de-camp. Shortly after this appointment, he had an opportunity of indulging his military ardor. He fought and was wounded in the battle of Germantown, October 4th, 1777. He continued in General Washington's family in the middle States till the British had retreated from Philadelphia to New York; and was engaged in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778. After this, the war being transferred more northwardly, he was indulged in attaching himself to the army on Rhode Island, where the most active operations were expected soon to take place. There he was intrusted with the command of some light troops. The bravery and good conduct which he displayed on this occasion was honored by Congress. On the 5th of November, 1778, they resolved "That John Laurens, Esq., aid-de-camp to General Washington, be presented with a continental commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, in testimony of the sense which Congress entertain of his patriotic and spirited services as a volunteer in the American army; and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island, on the 29th of August last; and that General Washington be directed, whenever an opportunity shall offer, to give Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens command agreeable to his rank." On the next day a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens was read in Congress, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honor which Congress were pleased to confer on him by the resolution passed the day before; and the high satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the Commander-in-Chief; that having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquility of it too dear to be instrumental in disturbing it and therefore entreated Congress to suppress the resolve of yesterday, ordering him a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honor." In this relinquishment there was a victory gained by patriotism over self-love. Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens loved military fame and rank; but he loved his country more, and sacrificed the former to preserve the peace and promote the interest of the latter.

In the next year the British directed their military operations chiefly against the most Southern States. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens was induced by double motives to repair to Carolina. The post of danger was always the object of his preference. His native State was become the theatre of war. To its aid he repaired, and in May, 1779, with a party of light troops, had a skirmish with the British at Tulifinny. In endeavoring to obstruct their progress towards Charlestown, he received a wound. This was no sooner cured than he rejoined the army, and was engaged in the unsuccessful attack on Savannah on the 9th of October of the same year. To prepare for the defense of Charlestown, the reduction of which was known to be contemplated by the British, was the next object of attention among the Americans. To this Colonel Laurens devoted all the energies of his active mind. In the progress of the siege which commenced in 1780, the success of defensive operations became doubtful. Councils of war were frequent; several of the citizens were known to wish for a surrender, as a termination of their toils and dangers. In these councils, and on proper occasions, Colonel Laurens advocated the abandonment of the front lines, and to retire to new ones to be erected within the old ones, and to risk an assault. When these spirited measures were opposed, on the suggestion that the inhabitants preferred a capitulation, he declared that he would direct his sword to the heart of the first citizen who would urge a capitulation against the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief. When his superior officers, convinced of the inefficacy of further resistance, were disposed to surrender on terms of capitulation, he yielded to the necessity of the case and became a prisoner-of-war. This reverse of fortune opened a new door for serving his country in a higher line than he ever yet had done. He was soon exchanged and reinstated in a capacity for acting. In expediting his exchange, Congress had the ulterior view of sending him as a special minister to Paris, that he might urge the necessity of a vigorous co-operation on the part of France with the United States, against Great Britain. When this was proposed to Colonel Laurens, he recommended and urged that Colonel Alexander Hamilton should be employed in preference to himself. Congress adhered to their first choice. Colonel Laurens sailed for France in the latter end of 1780, and there, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Count De Vergenness and Marquis De Castries, arranged the plan of the campaign for 1781; which eventuated in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and finally in a termination of the war. Within six months from the day Colonel Laurens left America, he returned to it and brought with

him the concerted plan of combined operations. Ardent to rejoin the army, he was indulged with making a verbal report of his negotiations to Congress, and in three days set out to resume his place as one of the aids of General Washington. The American and French army about this time commenced the siege of Yorktown. In the course of it, Colonel Laurens, as second in command with his fellow aid, Colonel Hamilton, assisted in storming and taking an advanced British redoubt, which expedited the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. The articles of capitulation were arranged by Colonel Laurens on behalf of the Americans. Charlestown and a part of South Carolina still remained in the power of the British. Colonel Laurens thought nothing done while anything remained undone. He therefore, on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, repaired to South Carolina to assist in recovering the State. Before he entered on active military duty, he obeyed the call of his country to serve as a representative to the State Legislature, which was convened in January, 1782, at Jacksonborough, within thirty-five miles of Charlestown, which was at that time a British garrison. His eloquence was then put in requisition for the public service. He was the advocate of every energetic measure of defense and offense, but declined all civil honors; preferring to serve his country in the field. His legislative duty being over, he joined the southern army, commanded by General Greene. In the course of the summer of 1782 he caught a common fever, and was sick in bed, when an expedition was undertaken against a party of the British which had gone to Combakee to carry off rice. Colonel Laurens rose from his sick bed and joined his countrymen. While leading an advanced party, he received a shot which on the 27th of August, 1782, at the close of the war, put an end to his valuable life in the twenty-seventh year of his age. His many virtues have been ever since the subject of eulogy, and his early fall of national lamentation. The fourth of July seldom passes without a tribute to his memory.

GABRIEL MANIGAULT,

Was born in the year 1704. Both his parents were French Protestant refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, determined to leave France. Their marriage took place in Charlestown about the year 1699. Their son Gabriel was born and resided there the whole of his life, which was seventy-seven years, with the exception of a voyage to the West Indies. The prominent traits in his character were integrity and benevolence. His regard to justice was almost romantic. His charity was always exercised whenever an opportunity offered. He generally had pensioners who received his bounty at stated periods. At his death he left to the South Carolina Society of Charlestown a legacy of £5,000 sterling, from the interest of which the society has been enabled to add very considerably to the number of children educated on its bounty. In his transactions as a merchant he was candid, fair and honorable. All his contracts were performed with such exactness and punctuality, that the same confidence was placed in his word as on his bond. He had many solicitations to engage in the slave trade, which was pre-eminently lucrative; but he declined all agency in transferring the subjects of that trade from the land of their nativity to a foreign country. He was nevertheless no advocate for emancipating those which were already in Carolina. He was a planter, as well as a merchant, and owned negroes. These were treated with great humanity. This was well known to his friends and neighbors, and by an accidental circumstance has become indirectly a matter of record. The great proof of the good treatment of negroes is their natural increase. In an examination, in the year 1790, before a committee of the House of Commons in England, appointed to ascertain the treatment of slaves in the British colonies, it was given in evidence by John Savage, that in thirty-eight years the slaves of Gabriel Manigault had increased in the low country of Carolina from 86 to 270, without any aid from purchases, other than replacing twelve or fourteen old slaves with the same number of young ones.

Mr. Manigault was treasurer of the province, and faithfully discharged the duties thereof in and after the year 1740, when all the intricate accounts of the unfortunate expedition against St. Augustine were the subject of fiscal examination.

He was also for some time a representative of Charlestown in the provincial House of Commons. Though he never courted popularity, he was so much a favorite that in a contested election the mechanics walked in procession to the place of voting, and by their unanimous ballot turned the election in his favor. No man could engage with more ardor in public undertakings than he did. His name was generally to be found on the lists of those who were charged with the executions of such projects. In the attempts to introduce the making of silk and

wine in Carolina he was very active. He was for many years vice-president of the Library Society, the Governor being president; and he felt so interested in the success of that institution, that he leased to them, free of expense for twenty-one years, the upper rooms of two adjoining tenements belonging to him, which were thrown into one, and formed a spacious apartment for their books and another for the librarian.

In the discharge of his religious duties, Mr. Manigault was most exemplary. Being descended from French parents, he was by birth a member of the French Calvinistic church in Charlestown, of which he was always a most zealous supporter. He was nevertheless a steady communicant, and a regular attendant, both forenoon and afternoon, on divine service in St. Phillip's church.

At the breaking out of the American war he was above the age of man; of course no personal assistance could be expected from him by his fellow citizens; but his pecuniary aid was not wanting, and he showed his attachment to and confidence in the new government by loaning to the State of South Carolina $220,000. When General Prevost made an incursion into South Carolina, and appeared before the lines of Charlestown in May, 1779, Mr. Manigault was past seventy-five; notwithstanding which, he determined that the place of his nativity should not fall without some exertion, however feeble, on his part. He equipped himself as a soldier, caused his grandson, Joseph Manigault, then only fifteen, to do the same; and taking him by the hand to the lines in the face of the enemy, from whom an attack was every moment expected, offered their services in defense of the city. In two years after this demonstration of attachment to the land of his nativity and the asylum of his persecuted parents, he departed this life. In the course of more than fifty years devoted to commercial pursuits, he honestly acquired a fortune very little, if anything, short of half a million of dollars, though he had given away considerable sums in charity and liberality. His house and table were always open to his friends, and the civilities of hospitality were by him liberally and extensively bestowed on strangers.

PETER MANIGAULT,

The only child of Gabriel Manigault, was born in Charlestown in 1731. At sixteen he was placed with Mr. Corbett, and in two years after accompanied him to England, where he lived with him some time, and afterwards took chambers in the Inner Temple, of which he was a member. He was admitted a barrister in England, after having pursued his studies with unusual application. He returned to Carolina in 1754, and commenced the practice of law; but after a few years declined it. Though he had retired from the bar, his professional advice was always at the service of the necessitous. Many were the instances of his assisting those who could not pay for it elsewhere. He became early in life a member of the Commons House of Assembly, and by his eloquence and attention to business, acquired in a short time a large share of influence. In opposing the Stamp Act, and the other assumptions of power by the British Parliament over the colonies, he took a decided part. His zeal and patriotism were so well received by his countrymen, that in 1766 he was advanced to the office of Speaker of the House, and as such signed every law that was passed subsequent to his election as Speaker, and previous to the revolution which took place nine years after. In this eventful period, when the seeds of the revolution were sown, he so ably advocated the claims of his country that no doubt can exist that he would have been a distinguished revolutionary patriot, if his life had been spared. He died in 1773, the very year when the Bostonians destroyed the dutied tea, which deed gave occasion to those acts of the British Parliament which caused the American Revolution. By his early death at the age of forty-two, he was exempted from all the buffetings of the revolutionary storm, to the raising of which he had largely contributed. He was an elegant classical scholar, an eloquent public speaker, and possessed an inexhaustible fund of wit. Many of his repartees and other effusions of a brilliant imagination, are still remembered and often quoted by the few companions of his social hours who still survive.

THOMAS REESE, D. D.,

Was born in Pennsylvania, in 1742. When young he came with his parents to North Carolina, and commenced his classical studies in Mecklenburg county with the Rev. Dr. Joseph Alexander and Mr. Benedict, who were at the head of a grammar school in that county, which was then the only one within the distance of 100 miles. He finished his education at Princeton college, and graduated there in 1768. After a proper course of theological studies, he commenced preacher,

and settled in the church of Salem, on Black river in South Carolina. During a twenty years residence there, he pursued his studies with an ardor and diligence that has never been exceeded in Carolina. He amassed a large fund of useful knowledge in divinity, moral philosophy, and other branches of science auxiliary to the formation of a complete theologian. He there began and completed his admired essay on the influence of religion in civil society. He pursued his argument through a variety of relations, and demonstrated from reason and history that all human institutions are in their own nature, and have ever been found in practice insufficient for preserving peace and order among mankind, without the sanctions of religion. The execution of the work would have been reputable to the pen of Warburton; but coming from the woods of Carolina, and an unknown writer, it fell still-born from the press in Charlestown. Its fate would probably have been different if it had come from the east side of the Atlantic, and made its appearance with the name of some European divine. It is preserved in Carey's American Museum, and will be an honorable testimony to posterity of the literature of Carolina in 1788. It procured for the author the well merited degree of D. D. from Princeton college; which, as far as can be recollected, is the first instance in which that degree had ever been conferred on a Carolinian. Dr. Reese continued to write; but not able to bear the expense of publishing for public benefit printed nothing further. Two of his sermons were nevertheless published, but neither by him nor for him, in the collection called American preacher. Circular letters about the year 1790 were written by the editor, Mr. Austin, to the clergy of all denominations in the United States, requesting them to furnish at least two sermons annually, that a selection might be made from time to time, and published as a specimen of pulpit eloquence in the United States. To the four volumes of this miscellany printed in New Jersey, Dr. Reese appears as the only contributor to the southward of Virginia.

Dr. Reese pursued his studies with an intenseness that injured his health. For his recovery he was induced to accept an invitation to the pastoral care of a congregation in Pendleton district. There he expired in 1796, leaving behind him the character of a distinguished scholar, and an eminently pious man.

COL. WILLIAM RHETT,

Was born in London, in the year 1666, and came to Carolina in 1694, with his wife and one child. They had six children born in Charlestown, and one of them when Mrs. Rhett was in her fiftieth year. About ten years after Colonel Rhett's arrival a pressing call was made on him for the defense of his adopted country. He was then Colonel of the militia; but it was determined, as has been already related, that he should attack the invading French and Spanish forces before they came up to town. Governor Johnson appointed him Vice-Admiral of a fleet consisting of six small merchant ships then in the harbor, on which some great guns were hastily mounted. With this force he proceeded towards the bar to engage the invaders which lay at anchor within it. On his approach they put out to sea. In a few days information was received that a ship of force was seen in Sewee bay, and that a number of men had landed from her. A party of the militia was ordered to attack those who had landed, and Admiral Rhett to go around by water and attack the ship from which they had landed. Both succeeded. The ship, without firing a gun, struck, and was brought into Charlestown with about ninety prisoners. This was to Rhett a bloodless victory; but in the year 1718 he was called to execute a much more difficult enterprise. The pirates were then so bold and troublesome that the port of Charlestown was in a great measure blockaded. They took possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, made a refuge of it, and from it came in succession, to take vessels on their approach to the bar of Charlestown. Governor Johnson fitted out a ship of force, gave the command of it to Col. Rhett, and sent him to sea for the protection of trade. On his approaching the bar, Steed Bonnett, who commanded a piratical sloop in the vicinity, fled to Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett followed, and after a severe engagement, in which he was wounded, took the sloop, its commander, and crew, and brought them to Charlestown. Such signal services increased the popularity of Rhett. He was a man of cool determined courage, and well qualified to command either by land or water. He was Collector of the port, and also Receiver General When the revolution from proprietary to regal government took place in 1719, Rhett had the address to keep so far in with both parties as to retain all his places. The revolutioners added two new offices to those he formerly held. They appointed him Lieutenant-General of the militia, and Inspector General of the works for repairing the fortifications. He was afterwards appointed Governor of the Bahamas, but before he entered on the duties of that office he died, in 1722, of an

apoplexy. Men of his decided courage and conduct, were eminently useful in the first period of colonization. His son married Chief Justice Trott's daughter. Though the fathers of this pair were the most distinguished Carolinians of their day, the names of both are extinct, except that the name of Rhett is still retained as an appendage to another. There are many descendants of Rhett in North and South Carolina and England; but all, as far as is known, in the female line. To him the Carolinians are much indebted. The services he rendered them were great on many occasions; but particularly in repelling the invasion of 1704, and breaking up the pirates in 1718. The plate now used for the communion service in St. Philip's, was a present from Col. Rhett.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,

Was born in the year 1739, and was the son of Dr. John Rutledge who, with his brother Andrew, both natives of Ireland, arrived in Carolina about the year 1735, and there practiced, the one law, and the other physic. Dr. Rutledge married Miss Hext, who, in the 15th year of her age gave birth to the subject of this memoir. At a very early period she was left a widow, and added one to the many examples of illustrious matrons who, devoting their whole attention to their orphan offspring, have brought forward distinguished ornaments of human nature.

The early education of John Rutledge was conducted by David Rhind, an excellent classical scholar, and one of the most successful of the early instructors of youth in Carolina. After he had made considerable progress in the Latin and Greek classics, he entered on the study of law with James Parsons, and was afterwards entered a student in the temple, and proceeding barrister, came out to Charlestown and commenced the practice of law in 1761. One of the first causes in which he engaged, was an action for breach of a promise of marriage. The subject was interesting, and gave an excellent opportunity for displaying his talents. It was improved, and his eloquence astonished all who heard him.

Instead of rising by degrees to the head of his profession, he burst forth at once the able lawyer and accomplished orator. Business flowed in upon him. He was employed in the most difficult causes, and retained with the largest fees that were usually given. The client in whose service he engaged, was supposed to be in a fair way of gaining his cause. He was but a short time in practice, when that cloud began to lower which, in the course of ten or twelve years, burst forth in a revolutionary storm. In the year 1764 Governor Boone refused to administer to Christopher Gadsden the oaths which the law required every person returned as a member in the Commons House of Assembly to take, before he entered on his legislative functions. This kindled the indignation of the House as being an interference with their constitutional privileges as the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In rousing the Assembly and the people to resist all interferences of the royal Governors, in deciding who should, or who should not be members of the Commons House of Assembly, John Rutledge kindled a spark which has never since been extinguished.

The controversy was scarcely ended when the memorable stamp act was passed. The British colonies were then detached from each other and had never acted in concert. A proposition was made by the Assembly of Massachusetts to the different provincial assemblies for appointing committees from each to meet in Congress as a rallying point of union. To this novel project many objections were made; some doubted its legality, others its expedience, and most its efficiency. To remove objections—to conciliate opposition, and to gain the hearty concurrence of the Assembly and the people, was no easy matter. In accomplishing these objects, the abilities of John Rutledge were successfully exerted. Objections vanished—prejudices gave way before his eloquence. The public mind was illuminated, and a more correct mode of thinking took place. A vote for appointing deputies to a continental Congress was carried in South Carolina at an early day, and before it had been agreed to by the neighboring States. Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and John Rutledge, were appointed. The last was the youngest, and had very lately began to tread the threshhold of manhood. When this first Congress met in New York in 1765, the members of the distant provinces were surprised at the eloquence of the young member from Carolina. In the means of education that province was far behind those to the northward. Of it little more was known or believed than that it produced rice and indigo, and contained a large proportion of slaves, and a handful of free men, and that most of the latter were strangers to vigorous health—all self-indulgent, and none accustomed to active exertions either of mind or body. From such a province nothing great was expected. A respectable committee of its Assembly and the distinguished abili-

ties of one of them who was among the youngest members of the Congress, produced at this first general meeting of the colonies more favorable ideas of South Carolina than had hitherto prevailed.

After the repeal of the stamp act, John Rutledge was for some years no further engaged in politics than as a lawyer and a member of the Provincial Legislature. In both capacities he was admired as a public speaker. His ideas was clear and strong—his utterance rapid but distinct—his voice, action, and energetic manner of speaking, forcibly impressed his sentiments on the minds and hearts of all who heard him. At reply, he was quick—instantly comprehended the force of an objection—and saw at once the best mode of weakening or repelling it. He successfully used both argument and wit for invalidating the observations of his adversary; by the former he destroyed or weakened their force; by the latter he placed them in so ludicrous a point of light that it often convinced, and scarcely ever failed of conciliating and pleasing his hearers. Many were the triumphs of his eloquence at the bar and in the Legislature; and in the former case probably more than strict impartial justice would sanction; for Judges and juries, counsel and audience, hung on his accents.

In or after the year 1774 a new and more extensive field was opened before him. When news of the Boston port-bill reached Charlestown, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called by expresses sent over the State. After the proceedings of the British Parliament were stated to this convention of the province, sundry propositions were offered for consideration. To the appointment of delegates for a general Congress, no objection was made. But this was followed by propositions for instructing them how far they might go in pledging the province to support the Bostonians. Such a discordance of opinion was discovered as filled the minds of the friends of liberty with apprehensions that the meeting would prove abortive. In this crisis John Rutledge, in a most eloquent speech, advocated a motion which he brought forward to give no instructions whatever; but to invest the men of their choice with full authority to concur in any measure they thought best; and to pledge the people of South Carolina to abide by whatever they would agree to. He demonstrated that anything less than plenary discretion to this extent would be unequal to the crisis. To those who, after stating the dangers of such extensive powers, begged to be informed what must be done in case the delegates made a bad use of their unlimited authority to pledge the State to any extent, a laconic answer was returned: "Hang them." An impression was made on the multitude. Their minds were subdued by the decision of the proposed measure, and the energy with which it was supported. On that day and by this vote the revolution was virtually accomplished. By it the people of Carolina determined to be free, deliberately invested five men of their choice as their representatives with full powers to act for them and to take charge of their political interests. Royal government received a mortal wound and the representative system was planted in its stead. The former lingered for a few months and then expired. The latter instantly took root, and has ever since continued to grow and flourish. An election immediatly followed. The mover of this spirited resolution his brother, Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Henry Middleton, were elected. Furnished with such ample powers they took their seats in Congress under great advantages, and by their conduct justified the confidence reposed in them. John Rutledge was continued by successive elections a member of Congress till the year 1776. He returned to Charlestown in the beginning of that year, and was elected President and Commander-in-Chief of Carolina, in conformity to a constitution established by the people on the 26th of March, 1776. His duties henceforward were executive. He employed himself diligently in arranging the new government, and particularly in preparing for the defense of the State against an expected invasion of the British. Their attack on Sullivan's Island has already been related. On this occasion John Rutledge rendered his country important service. General Lee, who commanded the continental troops, pronounced Sullivan's Island to be a "slaughter pen" and either gave orders or was disposed to give orders for its evacuation. The zeal of the State, and the energy of its chief magistrate, prevented this measure. Carolina had raised troops before Congress had declared independence. These remained subject to the authority of the State, and were at this early period not immediately under the command of the officers of Congress. To prevent the evacuation of the fort on Sullivan's Island, John Rutledge, shortly before the commencement of the action on the 28th of June, 1776, wrote the following laconic note to General Moultrie, who commanded on the island: "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I would sooner cut off my hand than write one. J. RUTLEDGE."

The successful issue of the defense has been already related. The conse-

quences which would probably have followed from the evacuation of the fort, may in some measures be conjectured from the events of 1780, when the British, grown wiser, passed the same fort without engaging.

John Rutledge continued in the office of President till March, 1778, when he resigned. The occasion and reasons of his resignation are matters of general history. This did not diminish his popularity. Of this the Legislature gave the strongest proof; for the next election he was reinstated in the executive authority of the State, but under a new constitution and with the name of Governor substituted in the place of President. He had scarcely entered on the duties of this office, when the country was invaded by the British General Prevost. The exertions made by Governor Rutledge to repel this invasion—to defend Charlestown in the years 1779, 1780—to procure the aid of Congress and of the adjacent States, to drive the tide of British conquest, to recover the State, and to revive its suspended legislative and judicial powers, have all been particularly related in their proper places. On the termination of his executive duties in 1782, he was elected and served as a member of Congress till 1783. In this period he was called upon to perform an extraordinary duty. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1781, seemed to paralyze the exertions of the States. Thinking the war and all danger to be over, they no longer acted with suitable vigor. Congress fearing that this languor would encourage Great Britain to recommence the war, sent deputations of their members to rouse the States to a sense of their danger and duty. On the 22d of May, 1782, John Rutledge and George Clymer were sent in this character and instructed "to make such representation to the several States southward of Philadelphia as were best adapted to their respective circumstances and the present situations of public affairs, and as might induce them to carry the requisitions of Congress into effect with the greatest dispatch." They were permitted to make a personal address to the Virginia Assembly. In the execution of this duty John Rutledge drew such a picture of the United States, and of the danger to which they were exposed by the backwardness of the particular States to comply with the requisitions of Congress, as produced a very happy effect. The addresser acquitted himself with so much ability that the Virginians, who, not without reason, are proud of their statesmen and orators, began to doubt whether their Patrick Henry or the Carolina Rutledge was the most accomplished public speaker.

Soon after the termination of Mr. Rutledge's congressional duties he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland, but declined to serve.

In the year 1784 he was elected a Judge of the court of chancery in South Carolina. The events of the late war had greatly increased the necessity for such a court. John Rutledge draughted the bill for organizing it on a new plan, and in it introduced several of the provisions which have been already mentioned as improvements on the English court of the same name. Mr. Rutledge's public duties hitherto had been either legislative or executive. They were henceforward judicial. If comparisons were proper it might be added that he was most at home in the latter. His knowledge of the law was profound; but the talent which preeminently fitted him for dispensing justice was a comprehensive mind, which could at once take into view all the bearings and relations of a complicated case. When the facts were all fairly before him, he promptly knew what justice required. The pleadings of lawyers gratified their clients, but rarely cast any light on the subject which had not already presented itself to his own view. Their declamations and addresses to the passions were lost on him. Truth and justice were the pole-stars by which his decisions were regulated. He speedily resolved the most intricate cases—pursued general principles through their various modifications till they led to the fountain of justice. His decrees were so luminous, and the grounds of them so clearly expressed, that the defeated party was generally satisfied.

In the year 1787 he was called upon to assist in framing a national constitution in lieu of the advisory system of the confederation. In arranging the provisions of that bond of union, and in persuading his countrymen to accept it, he was eminently useful. As soon as it was in operation, he was designated by President Washington as first Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. In this office he served till 1791, when he was elected Chief Justice of South Carolina. He was afterwards appointed Chief Justice of the United States. Thus, for more than thirty years, with few and short intervals, he served his country in one or other of the departments of government; and in all with fidelity and ability. In the friendly competitions of the States for the comparative merits of their respective statesmen and orators, while Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams, Connecticut of her Ellsworth, New York of her Jay, Pennsylvania of her

Wilson, Delaware of her Bayard, Virginia of her Henry, South Carolina rests her claims on the talents and eloquence of John Rutledge. This illustrious man closed his variegated career in the year 1800.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,

The son of Dr. John Rutledge, was born about the year 1750. He received his classical education in Charlestown under David Smith, A. M., of New Jersey college, who was an able instructor in the learned languages. On finishing his classical education he studied law with his elder brother John Rutledge. In a due course of time he was entered a student in the temple, and proceeding barrister returned to Charlestown and commenced the practice of law in 1773. The high character of John Rutledge raised the expectations of the public that his brother would support the reputation of the name and family; nor were they disappointed. His eloquence was great, but not precisely in the same line with his brother's. Demosthenes seemed to be the model of the one, Cicero of the other. The eloquence of the elder like a torrent bore down all opposition, and controlled the passions of the hearers—that of the younger was soothing, persuasive, and made willing proselytes. In the practice of law, Edward Rutledge was directed by the most upright and generous principles. To advance his personal interest was a secondary object; to do good, promote peace, to heal breaches, to advance justice, was a primary one. His powers of persuasion were not to be purchased to shield oppression or to support iniquity. Where he thought his client had justice on his side, he would go all lengths in vindicating his claims; but would not support any man, however liberal, in prosecuting unfounded claims, or resisting those that were substantially just. He abhorred the principle that an advocate should take all advantages for his client, and gain whatever he could for him, whether right or wrong; or, on the other hand, to assist him with all the quirks and quibbles which ingenuity can contrive, or the forms of law permit for defeating or delaying the claims of substantial justice.

Such honorable principles, connected with such splendid talents, procured for him the love and esteem of all good men. In the second year after Edward Rutledge commenced practice, he was called to represent his country in the Congress which met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. He and John Jay, of New York, were nearly of an age, and the two youngest members of that honorable body. In this station Mr. Edward Rutledge continued for nearly three years. Throughout that period he was one of the most influential members. He had much of the esteem and confidence of Washington, and was often requested by him to bring forward particular measures, for the adoption of which the General was anxious.

Edward Rutledge has the honor of being one of the four members who signed the Declaration of Independence in behalf of South Carolina. His protracted absence from home, and continued attention to public business was no small sacrifice. His talents and popularity would have commanded the first practice at the bar; but he loved his country too well to be influenced by pecuniary considerations to neglect its interests. In the year 1779 he was again appointed member of Congress; but on his way thither was seized with an obstinate tedious fever, which prevented his proceeding to the seat of their deliberation. In addition to his civil employments Edward Rutledge held a commission in the militia, and regularly rose through all grades of rank in the Charlestown battalion of artillery to the rank of its Lieutenant-Colonel. In the year 1779, when the British were defeated and driven from Port Royal island, he as Captain commanded a company of artillerists which earned its full share of the glory of that victory.

In the year 1780 he became a prisoner of war, and as such was sent to St. Augustine, where he was confined for eleven months and on his exchange, delivered above eight hundred miles from his home and friends. He embraced the first opportunity of returning to Carolina, but could not approach Charlestown, for it was a British garrison. He was elected and served in the Jacksonborough Assembly in 1782, and afterwards in the Privy Council of the State; and in both rendered essential service to his country, but was obliged to lead a desultory life till the evacuation of Charlestown in December, 1782. When that event took place he returned to his proper home after an exile of nearly three years. He had set out with the most brilliant professional prospects; but the revolution deprived him for eight of the best years of his life from reaping the reward justly due to the studies of his youth. For the seventeen succeeding years he followed his profession, and at the same time served in the Legislature. Though a private member, he by his persuasive eloquence, directed most of the important measures adopted in that period for the improvement of the country. Many were the

points which his eloquence either carried through or defeated in the Legislature. For the good obtained and the evil prevented, his memory will be long respected by his countrymen. His persuasive eloquence will in like manner be held up as a model for young public speakers to form themselves upon. Though Mr. Edward Rutledge from the year 1783, had withdrawn from the public life on a national scale, he was never absent from the public service. He was too much absorbed in his country's welfare to look with indifference on the course of her public affairs. He kept up a constant correspondence with his friends and particularly his nephew John Rutledge, in Congress. His opinions were much respected and had great influence with a new set of members who took up the same national concerns in their progress which he had directed in their origin. He wanted no offices from the government, but ardently wished to see its national interests judiciously managed for public good. In moderating those collisions which in Carolina too often produce duels, Mr. Edward Rutledge had great address. His opinions as a man of honor were appreciated by all parties, and being impartial, seldom failed of bringing around those explanations which, without degrading, were satisfactory. As a lawyer and a gentleman he was justly entitled to the honorable appellation of a peace-maker. He was eminently the friend of the distressed, and thought nothing too much for their accommodation and relief. The talents of few were estimated equally high. The virtues of none attracted a greater proportion of public love and esteem. In the last year of his life he was elected Governor of the State, and died in January, 1800, when in the discharge of the duties of that exalted station.

REV. JOSIAH SMITH, A. M.,

Was born in Charlestown in 1704. He was the grandson of Thomas Smith, who has already been mentioned as Landgrave and Governor of the province, and the son of George Smith, who died at the age of 79, and the father of Josiah Smith, the present cashier of the branch of the national bank in Charlestown, who, in the 78th year of his age, ably performs the laborious duties of that office, requiring a clear head and an accurate knowledge of business and accounts. Of these three successive generations, all born in Charlestown, the subject of this memoir was the youngest, though he attained to the age of 77.

The deceased Josiah Smith was the first native of Carolina who obtained a degree from a college; and he with three others, Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, Dr. John Moultrie, and Rev. John Osgood, of Dorchester, were all the natives who obtained that honor for the first ninety years which followed the settlement of South Carolina. Shortly after the year 1725 when Mr. Smith graduated in Cambridge college near Boston, he commenced preacher. He and the Rev. John Osgood were the only natives of the province, as far as can be recollected, who were ordained ministers prior to the American revolution. Mr. Smith was a public preacher for fifty years, and an author for forty-five. He was the only native Carolinian who was a theological author prior to the American war.* Mr. Smith was a respectable preacher, a learned divine, and a writer of considerable reputation. His ministerial functions were at different periods performed in Bermuda at Cainhoy, and in Charlestown. About the year 1729 he maintained a learned disputation with the Rev. Mr. Fisher, on the right of private judgment. When the Rev. George Whitfield was forbidden to preach in the Episcopal churches Mr. Smith opened to him his church, then called the white meeting or Independent Congregational Church, and declared to the world his decided approbation of the character and doctrines of Mr. Whitfield in a sermon which he afterwards printed from the words "I also will show my opinion."

He published an octavo volume of sermons in 1752, and several single ones on particular occasions; all of which were well received and are still highly esteemed.

In the year 1749 he received a stroke of the palsy, from which he never recovered so far as to be able to articulate distinctly. He nevertheless continued to compose and print sermons. His delight was so much in preaching, that he begged as a favor that he might be permitted to deliver a sermon once in every month in his late church. This was conceded, and his friends gave him a patient hearing, though the palsy had so far affected his tongue that they understood but little of what he said. He was seventy-two years old when independence was declared. His age and infirmities put it out of his power to render his country any active service; but his heart and his prayers were with the friends in America in every period of the revolution. When Charlestown surrendered he became

*The Rev. Mr. Quincy, a native of Boston, and an assistant minister of St. Philips, Charlestown, published a volume of sermons about the year 1750.

a prisoner of war, and was paroled as such. He discovered no disposition to become a British subject, but honorably observed his parole. In the year 1781, in the 77th year of his age, he, with the family of his son Josiah Smith, then a prisoner in St. Augustine, were all ordered away from Charlestown and landed in Philadelphia. Shortly after, he died there. In the worst of times Mr. Smith repeatedly expressed a cheerful hope that he would live to see the troubles of America ended. This was so far realized that he survived for a short time the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

His venerable age, distinguished eminence in the church as a man of learning and piety, his steady patriotism and personal sufferings in the cause of liberty, excited a general sympathy in his behalf. Though he died a stranger in a strange land, he was particularly honored. The Presbyterians of Philadelphia directed that his body should be buried within the walls of their Arch Street church, and between the remains of his two friends the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, and Dr. Samuel Finley, late President of Princeton college.

THE REV. WM. TENNENT, A. M.,

Was born in New Jersey, in the year 1740, and educated at the college of Princeton, while the Rev. Aaron Burr was its President. His ancestors were distinguished for their learning and piety, and ranked high among the earliest promoters of religion in the middle States. After he had preached some time in Connecticut he was invited to the pastoral charge of the Independent Church in Charlestown, and arrived there in 1772. As a man of learning, eloquence, and piety, he was in high estimation. While gliding on through life, devoted to study and the discharge of his clerical duties, the American revolution commenced. He was possessed of too much vigor of mind to be indifferent to this great event. It so thoroughly absorbed all his capacities as to give a new direction to his pursuits. He speedily comprehended in prospect the important changes it was likely to produce, and engaged in the support of it with all his energies. Ardent zeal and distinguished talents made him so popular, that, contrary to the habits and customs of the people, they with general consent elected him a member of the Provincial Congress. In the revolutionary crisis, when the dearest interests of the country were at stake, many things were done which ought not to be drawn into precedent in seasons of ordinary tranquility. Such was the urgency of public affairs that committees and congresses of the people, then their only legislators, were on pressing emergencies in the habit of meeting on Sundays for the dispatch of public business. In the different hours of the same day Mr. Tennent was occasionally heard both in his church and the State-house, addressing different audiences with equal animation on their spiritual and temporal interests. He rarely introduced politics in the pulpit; but from the strain of his preaching and praying it was evident that his whole soul was in the revolution; and that he considered success in it as intimately connected with the cause of religion, liberty, and human happiness. He wrote sundry anonymous pieces in the newspapers, stirring up the people to a proper sense of their duty and interest, while their liberties were endangered; but printed nothing with his name, except two sermons and a speech delivered in the Legislature of South Carolina on the justice and policy of putting all religious denominations on an equal footing. In the year 1775 the adherents to royal government in the back country armed themselves and went so far in their opposition to the friends of the revolution, that serious consequences were apprehended. In this crisis the council of safety sent William Tennent in conjunction with William Henry Drayton to explain to these misled people the nature of the dispute, and to bring them over to a cooperation with the other inhabitants. They had public meetings with them in different places. At these the commissioners of the council of safety made several animated addresses to the disaffected. In this public manner, and in private interviews with their leaders, Mr. Tennent's influence and eloquence, in conjunction with his able coadjutor, were exerted to good purpose in preserving peace and making friends to the new order of things.

Born and educated in a province where there never had been any church establishment, and strongly impressed with the rights of all men to free and equal religious liberty, he could not consent to receive toleration as a legal boon from those whose natural rights were not superior to his own. He drew up an argumentative petition in favor of equal religious liberty—united the different denominations of dissenters in its support—and procured to it the signature of many thousands. When this petition was made the subject of legislative consideration, he delivered an eloquent and well-reasoned speech in its support. This was well received and carried conviction to the breasts of many that establishments of

particular sects of religion were at all times partial, oppressive, and impolitic; but particularly so in a revolutionary struggle when the exertions of all were indispensable to the support of civil liberty. To many well-informed liberal persons his arguments were unnecessary; but to others whose minds were less expanded they were very useful, and contributed to carry through with general consent a reform of the ancient system. His valuable life was terminated in the 37th year of his age at the high hills of Santee, while discharging a filial duty in bringing his aged and lately widowed mother from New Jersey to Carolina.

NICHOLAS TROTT, L. L. D.,

Came to Carolina very near the end of the seventeenth century. He was an Englishman by birth, and had been Governor of the Bahama Islands. Nothing is known of his prior history. From the early and decided lead he took in all business, it may be fairly presumed that his abilities and information were great. He is first noticed as Speaker of the House in or about the year 1700. He then took an active part against the proprietors in a dispute whether the Governor and Council, or the House of Assembly, had the right of appointing public officers. This was brought to issue in consequence of an appointment of a Receiver-General made by the Governor and Council. The Assembly, claiming the right of appointing that officer, refused to acknowledge the one appointed by the upper house, and resolved "that the person appointed by them was no receiver, and that whosoever paid money to him should be deemed an enemy to the country." Trott supported the claims of the Assembly. Three years after, or in 1703, his name appears in the list of counsellors. It is probable that the proprietors so far respected his talents as to be desirous of attaching him to their interest. He was henceforward a great favorite with them. They conferred many offices upon him, and as long as their government lasted, he was by far the most influential man in the province. In this flattering state of public affairs, he viewed the proceedings of the proprietors in a new and more favorable light. He apprehended less danger from their power, and was less anxious to curtail it, than in the first years of his career, when he made use of the shoulders of the people as a ladder to popularity. In the progress of the province several new disputes arose which have been noticed in the general history. In all these Trott took part with the proprietors, not ony against the claims of the Assembly, but against the principles which he himself had urged in the year 1700, when he was Speaker of the House. In knowledge of the law he was profound. Two of his charges to the jury on the trial of the pirates in 1718, one in manuscript, the other printed in the state trials, have been preserved. In them his extensive erudition is so amply displayed in quotations from a variety of authors, and in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, that some modern judges and juries would be puzzled to understand them. Such are the changes that have taken place in less than a century, that what was then called learning would now be denomintaed pedantry. Another change is also remarkable: of the twenty-four criminals on his calendar for the sessions to be holden at Charlestown in October, 1715, two were charged with blasphemy. No such crime is now brought into court. Expressions or sentiments similar to what were then the subjects of legal investigation, are now only punished with general contempt and abhorrence.

So great was Mr. Trott's ascendency about 1718, that it could not be shaken by the combined influence of the Governor, Council, Assembly, and people, though they had justice on their side. Nothing less than a revolution could have reduced him to the common level. The enormity of the one was a concurring cause of the other.

The downfall of Mr. Trott's power, and of the proprietary system, have been already related. After that event his great abilities gave him weight, though unconnected with the ruling powers. For nearly forty years he was among the most influential men in Carolina. For the first half of that period he had ample support from the government. In the last he had none from that quarter; but his abilities carried him through without its aid. They were so great as would have raised him to distinction in all times and under every constitution. The name of the man who long bore so great sway is now only known in the records of history, the volume of laws which he compiled, and by a street in Charlestown called after him. His blood exists in the female line, and very extensively in the numerous descendants of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland; but the name of Trott is extinct in Carolina, though it was the theatre in which the great power and influence of this illustrious man was most eminently displayed. Mr. Trott died about the year 1740.

WILLIAM WRAGG,

Was born about the year 1714. He was the son of Samuel Wragg, and the great-grandson of Dugué, of Montpelier in France, whose daughter, Mary Dubose, was his mother. His ancestors were among the first settlers of Carolina, and, in the maternal line, among the French Protestants who found an asylum in the new world from the persecutions inflicted by Louis the Fourteenth of France on his subjects for their religion.

Mr. Wragg, when very young, and with his father on board a vessel bound from Charlestown to England, was taken by Blackbeard, the pirate, immediately after passing the bar, but was soon released. His education commenced at Westminster school, and was completed at one of the English universities. He was called to the bar in England, and married there.

Mr. Wragg's paternal ancestors were from England. Samuel Wragg, his father, purchased in the year 1717 Ashley barony from Maurice Ashley. This has descended to his grand-daughter, the wife of William Loughton Smith.

In the period of Mr. Wragg's life, which was previous to the American Revolution, he had the applause of his countrymen as a man of integrity, of liberal education, and of distinguished talents. He was for a considerable time elected a member of the Commons House of Assembly. In that character he took a decided line of opposition to Governor Lyttleton respecting his agency with the Cherokees in the year 1759. The history of the war, which then took place between South Carolina and these unfortunate Indians, has been given in its proper place. The present generation, at the distance of nearly half a century, on an impartial retrospect of the subject, must decide against the Governor, as having provoked hostilities when they might have been honorably avoided. In conducting the opposition to the Governor, Mr. Wragg displayed the talents of an accomplished orator.* His eloquence and pathetic addresses are distinctly remembered by some of his cotemporaries, who still survive.

Mr. Wragg's abilities were not only admired in his native province, but commanded the attention of the mother country. In the year 1753 he was advanced to the rank of one of his majesty's council; and about sixteen years after, without any solicitation on his part, the office of Chief-Justice of the province was offered and even pressed upon him by the Secretary of State, by the express order of George the Third. Mr. Wragg's reasons for declining this honorable and lucrative office are a proof of his disinterestedness and delicacy. He had openly and for reasons publicly given, refused to sign the association entered into by the people of South Carolina, in 1769, to suspend the importation or purchase of British manufactures, till certain impositions of the British Parliament on the colonies were done away. After he had adopted this decisive line of conduct, the commission of Chief-Justice was sent out to him without his knowledge. He returned it, giving for reason that no man should say that "the hope of preferment had influenced his preceding conduct."

The events of his life subsequent to the commencement of the American Revolution, furnish a melancholy proof how quick the transition may be from popularity to the reverse, and that without any moral guilt. When the Carolinians, breaking through all the ties which had bound them to Great Britain, resolved to emancipate themselves from colonial dependence, they would have rejoiced to have had William Wragg for their coadjutor. They respected and loved him for his many virtues, and depended on him as a countryman. They knew his rank, his influence, talents and eloquence. Their expectations of his co-operation were not realized. Being under the peculiar obligations of an oath of fidelity of the King, as one of his council, and believing, as he said, that the popular measures adopted were hostile to the interests of the country, he refused to sign the association and to take the oaths which were imposed by the favorers of the new order of things. Of his sincerity, the upright tenor of his life, and the ties of birth, family and fortune, which all attached him to Carolina, preclude every ground of suspicion.†

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* Some idea may be formed of Mr. Wragg's mode of public speaking, and of its effect, by the following paragraph, extracted from a piece written by the late General Gadsden, one of Mr. Wragg's political adversaries in 1769. "Mr. Wragg hath here most certainly waded out of his depth, and justifies a common observation, that a man had better speak a hundred ridiculous things than write one: to gild those of the first kind, an insinuating address, accompanied with an engaging, well-directed, glancing smile, and above all, an easy flow of sweetly-sounding words, delivered in a *Trim*-like stand, from a conspicuous well-chosen situation, have often done wonders: we have seen these so fascinate and confound the hearers and spectators, as to cause the greatest absurdities to pass over unnoticed."

† In Mr. Wragg's publications in 1769, signed *William Wragg, Planter*, wherein he assigns his reasons for not concurring in the non-importation resolutions of the day, he evinced his sincere and decided opposition to everything which had the appearance of forcing men's wills into measures

When called upon, he gave reasons for his refusal. These, though they would have justified him in a court of law, were not satisfactory to the friends of the revolution. From the different views they respectively took of the same subject, one party was justified for refusing what the other was justified in demanding. Mr. Wragg claimed the rights and privileges of a British subject, and these were evidently in his favor.* The popular leaders having resolved to break their connection with Great Britain, proceeded on the idea that all prior rights, laws and constitutions, merely of British origin, must yield to the necessity of the case; that self-preservation was the first law of nature, and that he who was not for them must be against them. Conceiving that the crisis was too urgent for the admission of any neutrality, they determined that all who would not co-operate with them in their revolutionary projects must quit the country. They had the power to enforce their determinations, and believed that their country's good required that they should be enforced. William Wragg was therefore obliged to leave his native land because he would not renounce the allegiance under which he was born, by which he had been protected, and under which he was happy. He took no guilt to himself, as being conscious that he had committed no offense against his God, his King, or his country: further than not seeing as the majority of his countrymen saw, and not believing as they believed, he conscientiously refused to take part with them in measures which he disapproved. The Carolinians, on the other hand, were so far from feeling remorse, that they considered themselves entitled to the praise of generosity for permitting those who choose to side with Great Britain to go thither, carrying all their property with them. Such is the consequence of revolutions, that one party often thinks it their duty to inflict what the other thinks it their duty to suffer; and both have the applause of their own consciences.

In this case the issue was melancholy. William Wragg left his country and family with the sensibilities of a fond husband and affectionate father, and at the same time with the feelings of a persecuted man, and was shipwrecked in a violent storm in September, 1777, on the coast of Holland, on his way to England. His infant son, though in the same ship, was saved.† A monument erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey exhibits the melancholy scene of his last moments.

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not sanctioned by law. "God forbid," he exclaims, "that I, descended from ancestors who severely suffered by the persecutions of Louis the Fourteenth for exercising a liberty of conscience, should ever adopt that rancour and spirit in the civil affairs of life, which they, upon religious considerations, esteeming to be the worst of tyranny, flew from to this country. Where is the reason, the justice, the charity, in locking up my property with endeavors to force a compliance or starve me? had I no other resources than what a plantation afforded, I would endure everything rather than have the freedom of my will or understanding limited or directed by the humors or capricious proscriptions of men not having authority. I have ever been studious to preserve the peace of society; voluntarily I will never violate it; I never concerned myself with the resolutions further than to declare, agreeably to my present opinion, that they did not appear to me to be such as were calculated to produce, but would be destructive of the end proposed; let me add that I have not forgotten, and therefore am not ashamed of acknowledging, that I dare not oppose acts of parliament made not for the purpose of raising a revenue, but to regulate the commerce of Great Britain and her dominions, and falling within those very rules laid down by Lord Chatham and others, who allow only of the partial supremacy of parliament over the colonies."

*It appears from the publications of those days that the associators never dreamed of independence. General Gadsden, one of the most zealous of them, furnishes a strong proof of this: In 1769 he observes, in one of his publications in favor of the association, as follows: "To say that America is aiming at independence is so far from being true that the sons of British America would think that to be independent of Great Britain would be the greatest misfortune that could befall them, excepting that of losing their rights and liberties."

†Those who knew Mr. Wragg were surprised that he should perish, when most of the other persons on board were saved. He was with the other passengers in the vessel's round-house after she had struck. Perceiving that the crew wanted assistance, he left this situation and advanced to the middle of the deck, when a wave passing over the vessel, threw him down. He held by a rope, but could never regain the use of his feet. He continued in this situation till he was so bruised and exhausted that he expired within a few yards of the round-house. The vessel afterwards went to pieces, and fortunately a part of the deck attached to the round-house floated ashore with it, which preserved most of the other passengers. Mr. David Rhind was lost at the same time.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—*A Statistical Account of Edisto Island. From the Communications of the Rev. Donald McLeod and Dr. Auld—the Medical part from the latter.*

SITUATION—EXTENT—SOIL.

Edisto Island is situate about forty miles to the southwest of Charlestown. It is bounded by the Atlantic ocean on the southeast, by the Edisto rivers in their respective bearings on the north and south, and on the northwest by Dahaw river, which connects the waters of south Edisto or Pon Pon river with those of the north inlet. The alluvions of these rivers may have had the same agency in the formation of this island that those of the Nile and Mississippi have had in the formation of the Delta and New Orleans. Indented by a variety of creeks, it is extremely irregular in its dimensions. It is so nearly intersected in two places that at the periods of high spring tides the waters of north and south Edisto rivers intermix and form it into three separate islands. It is twelve miles long, and in the widest part, between four and five miles broad. It contains 28,811 acres, or 122 acres for every white person, and nearly eleven for every slave, and a fraction more than ten acres for every inhabitant. It is so generally level as to exhibit few inequalities of surface. The more elevated parts consist of a light, sandy soil. The low grounds or bottoms are of a stiff, clayey quality. It contains a less proportion of barren land, and is more generally fertile than any of the adjacent islands. About three-fourths of it are cleared. Firewood and fencing-timber are on some plantations scarce, and with difficulty procured.

TIME OF SETTLEMENT—PRODUCTIONS—RICE—INDIGO—COTTON.

This Island was settled about the beginning of the last century, and principally by emigrants from Scotland and Wales. All the grants are dated either the last years of the 17th or first years of the 18th century. The first settlers directed their industry to the culture of rice. The quantity of rice-land is inconsiderable, and of inferior quality. In favorable years 300 barrels have been sent to market. These rice grounds have been latterly converted into corn, and in some instances into cotton lands, to the great emolument of the proprietors.

The Edisto lands being ill adapted to the growth of rice, the islanders turned their attention at an early period to the culture of the indigo plant. In the preparation of the dye extracted from this weed, they made considerable proficiency. The Edisto indigo was in greater demand, and sold at a higher rate than any other manufactured in the State. In favorable years 330 casks of 160 lbs. have been sent to market. It is observable that the lands that were found best adapted to the production of indigo are the least adapted to the growth of cotton. This, if not invariably, holds generally true. The demand for the Carolina indigo having greatly decreased, the prices became so reduced as to render it no longer expedient to plant it as an object of agricultural pursuit. In this dilemma the islanders in the year 1796 had recourse, with seeming reluctance and great doubts of the result, to the cotton plant. The success which has attended their efforts has been great. An active field hand can cultivate from four acres to four and an half of cotton land, exclusive of one acre and an half of corn and ground provisions. In a favorable year a planter on an extended scale has made 270 weight to the acre. But in a period of eleven years, his crops have averaged only 137 pounds to the acre. There are lots of land, owing either to peculiar local advantages, favorable seasons, or superior management, which have produced the enormous amount of 435 pounds to the acre. But in no instance have any of the planters made more than $490 to the hand. The general result of crops is from $170 to $260 to the hand.

The green seed cotton is a distinct variety of the same genus of plants. Its flower, leaf, and stalk are evidently different. The pod contains more sections or

divisions and a greater number of seeds. The wool is shorter, and adheres more tenaciously to the seed. It is supposed that it possesses peculiar advantages that recommend it to the attention of the planter. It requires a shorter summer to bring it to maturity, is not so liable to be damaged by the inclemency of the seasons, and is more prolific. It is better adapted to weak and exhausted lands, and the wool improves from the combined influence of a milder climate and sea air. But the experiments that have hitherto been made on Edisto Island do not warrant the conclusion that it will ever be introduced into general cultivation to the exclusion of the black seed cotton plant. In favorable years, more than 750,000 pounds of nett cotton wool are grown. This at its common price, two shillings sterling per pound, yields an annual income of $321,300; a sum which is equal to $11 for every acre on the island, and would afford $110 to every inhabitant, or $1,360 for every white person, or $8,683 for each married pair of its white population.

PRICE OF LAND—OF LABORERS—OF PROVISIONS.

The price of land varies from $30 to $60 the acre. The quantity of arable land bears rather a restricted proportion to the number of cultivators, and hence, scarcely any portion of it can be procured on lease. The few portions that are disposed of in this manner command a steady rent of $6.44 the acre.

As every planter employs his own cultivators, it is not easy to ascertain the price of labor. Active young fellows have been hired out for from $110 to $128 for the year, and prime young wenches from $64 to $85. Carpenters can earn $1.50 the day, exclusive of their maintenance.

The proximity of Charlestown to this Island sensibly affects and regulates the price of provisions. It has often happened that many articles have been purchased at a cheaper rate in the city market than they could be bought for on the Island Corn for several years has never been less than a dollar the bushel. It has sold as high as six shillings, and even as high as two dollars the bushel. Steers of three years old as they run in the pasture, sell current at $18. Calves at $8; lambs at $3; turkeys at $2 the pair; ducks at $1 the pair, and common fowls at half a dollar the pair.

FISH.

The creeks, rivers, and seas, which indent and surround the Island, furnish at different and appropriate seasons of the year, a great variety of excellent fish—as the larger drum, the small black drum, bass, rock-fish, sheep-head, cavallie, bonnetta, salmon-trout, yellow-fin trout, whiting and mullet in great profusion, black-fish, yellow-tail, ale-wife, croaker, plaice, flounder, skate, pike, shad, and cat-fish, and many others suitable for the table. Porpoises and sharks frequent the creeks and surrounding waters. Some of the latter are seen and caught of an enormous size. They are considered as just objects of terror by the negroes. And yet, although the fishermen continue hours together waist deep in water, and have often the misfortune of hooking them, they escape with impunity. Of shell-fish, the turtle is sometimes to be met with, but not in any considerable number or variety. Terrapin, land, stone, and sea crabs, muscles, clams, conchs, shrimps, are common and abundant; and the oysters of the creeks that intersect the sea-bays, below described, are equal in flavor, perhaps, to any found on the American shores.

POPULATION—WHITE INHABITANTS—SLAVES—THEIR NUMBER—VALUE—INCREASE, AND TREATMENT.

A census of the Island, taken at this time, 1808, would rate the white population at 236 inhabitants. Of these 111 are males, and 135 females. Of the males 37 are married, 4 are widowers, 9 natives of Europe, and 2 of the middle States; of the females 37 are married, 12 are widows, and all are either natives of the Island or the adjacent parts of the State. The births are to the deaths annually as 13 to 11. Nevertheless, the white population decreases in consequence of the numbers who leave the island.

In more temperate climates, it is observed that the males are to the females in their nativities as 13 to 12. The law which governs this ratio does not obtain here. Of the issue now living of 38 families, the females are to the males as 72 to 47, or 2 to 1 nearly. If the physical influence of climate can be supposed to have any agency in producing this disparity and preponderance in favor of the more amiable sex, it should increase with the decrease of the latitude, and come to a maximum in the tropical regions. If the narratives of the Abyssinian and other travelers can be relied on, something of the kind takes place. In these narratives it is asserted that in some parts of Asia and Africa, the females are to the males in a higher proportion than two to one.

From the return made to the tax-collector of the district for the year 1807, it

appears that the black population of the Island exceeds by a few infants and newly bought Africans, 2,609 slaves. If sold in gangs or families, these slaves average one with another, $430. An active young fellow sold detached from his family, readily commands from $700 to $800; and young wenches in proportion. There is a disposition in the islanders to treat this patient and laborious race with indulgence, and to meliorate their condition. They are never strictly restrained or stinted in their allowance. The instruction commonly given to those who distribute out their weekly portions is, "let them never want, but do not suffer them to waste." Exclusive of hats, shoes, salt. tobacco. pipes, and other occasional considerations, every grown negro is annually furnished with two suits of clothes, or 12 yards, partly plains and partly osnaburgs, or some adequate substitute, for their summer and winter wear. The boatmen are generally provided with surtouts of the fear-nought description, and greater attention than formerly begins of late to be paid to their accommodation and comfort, in a more enlarged and improved construction of their dwellings. Some of the planters have it in contemplation to furnish them with regular rations of beef or some other animal food, particularly during those stages of the year in which they are most exposed to greater and more constant exertions of labor. If this laudable design were carried into general execution, it would render them more able and willing to encounter the fatigues of the field, at those periods when laboring under the relaxing and exhausting influence of an almost vertical sun. Exclusive of considerations of humanity, it would be a pledge and assurance that their daily tasks would be not only completed, but more effectually done and in a style of better execution. A circumstance that would amply compensate even in point of interest, any expenses consequent on such an indulgence. Their vacant hours they are at liberty to spend as their discretion or caprice may dictate; and the fruits of their private industry they are permitted to dispose of without the least interference or control. In cases of difficulty or danger, recourse is always had to the aid of a physician. In ordinary cases the planters prescribe with competent skill and success; for so extensively conversant are they with sickness, that they may all be considered as good practical quacks. That the negroes are in general treated with becoming indulgence and humanity, no better evidence can be adduced than their rapid increase by natural population. In a period of nineteen years, 47 slaves have increased to 90. That is, the original stock, after supplying the vacancies produced by deaths, has acquired an accession to their number of 43, or nearly doubled themselves in the above specified period. It is believed that similar and more favorable instances are not uncommon on the Island. They derive some advantages from their insular position, which they could not have obtained in the interior parts of the State. Their proximity to and frequent intercourse by water with Charlestown, afford them an opportunity of carrying to market their poultry, corn, ground provisions, and whatever else they may have to dispose of. And being settled either on or in the vicinity of creeks and rivers, they can supply themselves with fish and oysters in quantities proportionate to their exertions. These advantages operate as a stimulus to their industry, and tend to multiply their comforts. If the observation that the fishing villages of Britain and the eastern parts of New England abound in children be well founded, a fish diet may be supposed to influence the principle of fecundity, and may help to account for their rapid increase by natural population. The island negroes appear to be more intelligent and speak better than their brethren of the main. Their frequent intercourse with the city and the easier access they have to the white population may have created this difference. They furnish many examples of ingenuity, private industry, fidelity and honesty. They are very susceptible of religious impressions, and repair to the churches in their best attire, and conduct themselves in a grave and orderly manner. The more aged inhabitants observe that although they are treated with more lenity and indulgence, and in every respect fare better than they did forty years ago, yet they do not appear to be happier in proportion. If dancing, frolic, and dissipation be a sure indication of happiness, the observation is well founded. At the period alluded to in their voyages to the city, they were wont to beguile the time and the toil of rowing with songs and extravagant vociferations, and were accustomed to devote their holidays to dancing, dissipation, and irregularities, often to the prejudice of their health and destruction of their lives. These practices they have in a great measure abandoned, not from a sense of additional misery, but from an impression they have acquired that they are incompatible with a religious frame of mind.

An impartial reviewer of these cultivators, and their condition on this island, would pronounce them in a state approaching nearer to competency and comfort than falls to the lot of the bulk of laborers in the greatest part of the world.

CLIMATE—DISEASES—CAUSES AND CURE—SEA-SHORE, ETC.

The climate of Edisto may be considered as sickly. In the course of fifteen years, a number greater than three-fourths of the inhabitants have died. Some families in that period are extinct, and in all of them death has been once or twice, and in some three or four times an unwelcome visitor. Two funerals have occurred in a day, but the instances are rare. And two instances can be adduced of two funerals in a family in one day. From the commencement of the sickly season of 1798, to the corresponding period of the succeeding year, 37 persons died. A great mortality for the population, and greater in proportion than that produced by the malignant fever which recently infested the cities of Philadelphia and New York. The deaths on Edisto Island, on an average of 16 years prior to the year 1808, were annually 11, or nearly one death for every 22 of the white inhabitants. It is some relief to this representation to reflect that the experience of the last few years supports the opinion that a summer residence on the sea bays, connected with a moderate attention to regularity and exposure, secures the inhabitants from the autumnal fevers incident to the climate. These sea bays are accumulations of sand, shells, and other marine recrements thrown up by the action of the Atlantic waters. They extend in an irregular line from north to south Edisto rivers, and front the ocean. They are intersected at intervals by shallow creeks, and afford a scanty nourishment to the palmetto, pines, cedars, scrubby oaks, and some dwarfish and diminutive plants. They seem to constitute a barrier between the sea and the island. It has been observed that some time before and since the last hurricane, the tides have made considerable advances on these shores. Should they continue their approaches and process of attrition, these accumulations of sand will at no very distant period be effectually washed away.*

Bilious fevers and dysenteries are the diseases which chiefly prevail in the summer and autumnal seasons. In the winter and spring, those of more local inflammation, such as pneumonic, hepatic and rheumatic affections. The autumnal diseases run more or less high in proportion as the rains set in more or less early. The symptoms which mark the bilious fevers of this island are headache, precordial oppression, sickness of stomach, and vomiting. The mildness or obstinacy of the winter diseases, may always be predicted by the force which characterized those of the preceding autumn. It has not unfrequently happened in the season next after severe autumnal fevers, that pleurisies have refused to yield to other than mercurial medicines. The mortality of this island has hitherto been great, but it is hoped that it will be less so in future. A residence on the sea bays has lately been found to lessen the frequency and violence of the most destructive fevers. When they attack they are oftener subdued by medicines early and judiciously applied. Their nature is now better understood. The success which of late years has attended the physicians in cases of early application, has in a great measure disarmed the bilious fevers of summer and autumn of a considerable portion of their terrors. In the year 1798 the deaths from fever amounted to twenty-four, very nearly an eighth of the whole number of inhabitants. Of those who died, seventeen were children under five years of age, and seven were adults. The year 1803 was equally sickly, yet the deaths from fever amounted to no more than seven: of these, three were children. The remedies which have been found to be most successful in the cure of these formidable autumnal fevers are early, large and repeated bleedings, assisted by active mercurial purges, and emetic and nauseating medicines when the irritability of the stomach did not for-

* That the Atlantic waters have encroached upon the whole line of this coast, is a fact notorious and confessed. On the more prominent parts of it which are most exposed to their action as in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras, they have made considerable invasions and threaten to extend and maintain their conquests. The more aged islanders refer to the site of a tree now covered at half flood under whose shade they have often reposed and refreshed themselves in their fishing excursions and macarooning parties of pleasure. In the course of these few last years, the summer houses have in some instances been removed from the approaches of the surf to places of greater security, and palmettoes and live oaks have been washed down, which, if an opinion can be formed from their slow growth, size and other appearances, must have flourished and stood the war of elements for more than a century. The approaches of the tides are supposed to receive a satisfactory solution in the agency of the prevailing easterly winds, which, acting on the gulf stream at right angles to the direction of its course, protrude before them its waters and accumulate them on these shores. To counteract the attritions which are slowly but effectually wearing away the sea bays, there are accretions daily making to the north and northwestern parts of the island. These accretions consist in the first instance of roots, trunks, and branches of trees and other floating substances brought down by Pon Pon, and its tributary streams from the back and upland country. These floating substances being repelled into still water, become stationary, and settling according to the laws of gravity are permanently fixed. The vast quantities of vegetable, mould, and earthly particles which the river water holds in a state of mixture, operate as a cement to consolidate these heterogeneous masses of various substances and ultimately form them into rice and corn lands consisting on the surface of a fine black sediment or mould of inexhaustible fertility.

bid. Blisters have been found to do harm if applied before the third day, but after that period astonishing effects are produced by them, when they have been applied during the remission of fever, and at such time as that their stimulating effects will be greatest about the commencement of the succeeding paroxysm. In this manner the febrile series is completely broken, and the patient recovers without the application of any other means. Doctor Rush's "blistering point," should never be out of sight when blisters are applied in autumnal fevers. Cool air and cold water are also very useful remedies. Exposure to the former, and the exhibition of the latter are strongly recommended when the feelings of the patient are not in opposition to them. The water is given as drink by way of clyster, and applied to the surface either by ablusion or affusion. Vegetable acids, and sugar have been generally found to be hurtful. In their decomposition in the stomach, they evolve much gaseous and acid matter, which not only debilitate this viscus, but by the painful distentions and eructations which they excite, exhaust the patient without producing a corresponding effect upon his disease.

The Peruvian bark is still considered by some as a remedy of powerful efficacy in the cure of autumnal fever. In mild forms of this disease it may generally succeed; and in such forms some years back it most frequently appeared. But from some cause or other, the nature of these fevers has undergone a great change. Much to be pitied is the patient now whose bilious fever is attempted to be cured by Peruvian bark. This disease in its present form is no trifler. When it makes its visit, it does it with a front and power so commanding as to disdain to be expelled by so feeble an opponent. Instead of expulsion by the bark, the fever derives additional strength from it, and a fatal termination has in this way been but too often the melancholy consequence. The effects of bark in remitting fevers even when it has been given in cases of convalescence, and when the patient has been previously well depleted, are so very questionable that it may even in these cases be generally laid aside. When the fever has been subdued by the method already pointed out, it has been found safest to trust the final recovery to regimen.

The year 1802 will long be remembered on this island for the ravages produced by the dysentery. Some of the most respectable characters became the victims of this dreadful distemper as well as a great number of negroes. Since the year 1803 but few cases of dysentery have occurred, and these were wholly confined to the blacks, and were all cured. But it was necessary to bleed once, and in some cases twice, very largely. After bleeding, calomel was given at night and castor oil in the morning; after which the cure was trusted to a saturated solution of soda in the acetous acid. Castor oil was frequently repeated through the progress of the cure, and in some instances it was found necessary to purge with salts. To relieve pain when it was excruciating, opiates were sometimes given, but the constipation they produced was more injurious than their anodyne effects were beneficial.

The occasional exhibition of small doses of calomel, and the above saturated solution, were of the greatest benefit. On this last medicine a principal reliance was placed, and it seldom disappointed the most sanguine expectations.

If it is enquired why Edisto is so sickly as it is represented to be, it may be replied that heat and moisture combined in access are agents of dissolution; that the dissolution of vegetable and animal substances generates putrescent effluvia, and that these effluvia, acting upon the system, induce diseases which often destroy life.

It has been stated that Edisto Island is a formation of the alluvions brought down from the back or upland country, by the rivers which form and surround it. These rivers are incessantly conveying to the ocean immense quantities of fresh water, which being specifically lighter than sea water, floats upon the surface. But meeting, in the course of its progress to the bars of the two great inlets, with the re-action of the tides, and the prevailing winds of an easterly bearing, it is repelled, covers the marshes, and fills the ponds. At the retrocession of the tides, a quantity of this brackish water is left behind. This becoming stationary, generates noxious miasmata, which filling the atmosphere with their deleterious vapors, prove injurious to health and destructive of life.

The peculiar local position of Edisto exposes its inabitants to a moist and morbid atmosphere. It is surrounded with vast bodies of salt, brackish and fresh water, which are in a constant state of copious evaporation. It is so uniformly flat that few portions of its surface are elevated so high as seven feet above a high spring tide. This low level surface being extensively surroundedwith and deeply immersed in water, is favorable to the production of vapors and exhalations, and tends to constitute that peculiar modification of a moist and morbid atmosphere which obtains in warm climates.

Hence the origin of these autumnal fevers, so incident to this and the lower parts of the State. This representation is supported by facts and experience.

It holds invariably true, that dry summers and falls are healthy; and those of a different description, abounding in rains and freshets, are the sure precursors of general sickness.

The marshes that border various parts of the island are of considerable extent; but being regularly covered and agitated by the tides, are kept in a state of comparative purity. There are marshes of a different description and more limited extent, but far more injurious in their effects. Of these a body of 150 acres is situated towards the centre, and probably an equal quantity in other parts of the island. Into these marshes high spring tides occasionally penetrate. They may be considered as receptacles of stagnant rain and brackish water; of decayed vegetables and putrid animal substances. From this extensive surface of putrescent matters it may well be supposed that gases of a most deleterious quality are incessantly evolving, which sensibly affect the mass of surrounding air and render it morbid.

To those who approach these marshes at certain periods of the year, particularly a little after sunrise and before his setting, the exhalations proceeding from them are most offensive; and those who are settled in their vicinity are generally more sickly than those living in more favorable situations.

The water used on Edisto Island for domestic purposes is not so pure as the health of its inhabitants requires. If the received theory of the formation of springs be correct, they cannot exist in a surface so low and little diversified by elevated and prominent parts; and hence spring water is seldom to be met with. That made use of for culinary and other purposes, is generally of a hard or brackish quality, and is obtained by sinking wells. These wells are not always sunk and constructed with adequate care and judgment. They are often left exposed to the influence of the sun, air and rain; various extraneous substances are permitted to enter them, which affect the color, taste, and general purity of their waters. No consistent attempt has hitherto been made to procure cistern water. The success of the experiments recently made in Charlestown, engrosses attention, and may at some future day lead to a general introduction of the water-cistern system.

In these causes combined may the sickliness of Edisto be found and accounted for. Attentively considered, it will excite no surprise that the island should be sickly. The wonder is that the inhabitants enjoy such degrees of health as commonly fall to their share. This must in a great measure be referred to the influence of habit, which more or less accommodates the human frame to every situation.

All the lower grounds, and even the more obnoxious marshes, are susceptible of draining, and capable of being made subservient to the purposes of the agriculturist. But the process of draining requires time, labor and expense; and not being immediately remunerated, it is reluctantly undertaken. In his progress from rudeness to refinement, man adverts in the first instance to such labors only as are most necessary and essential to his existence. The comforts, the conveniences, and elegancies of life are slowly acquired. The construction of roads, bridges, drains, and canals are effected by an improved state of society, possessing enterprise, extended knowledge and general science. These islanders are fast approaching to this state.

EDUCATION.

The present race of inhabitants having been brought up either immediately before the commencement or during the progress of the revolutionary war, suffered considerably in their education. Sensible of the advantages of early instruction and extended knowledge, and fortune concurring with their inclinations, their offspring and descendants will be more liberally educated. Of this it is a favorable indication and flattering assurance that two teachers are employed, at a salary of $1,000 each, teaching the elementary parts of an English or classical education. Nine boys are absent at schools in different parts: one is studying at the medical schools of Philadelphia, two at Princeton, and two going to Yale or Princeton College, destined for the learned professions.

The girls are educated either under the paternal roof, or are sent promiscuously with the boys to school until a certain age, when they are sent to the city boarding schools to acquire such instruction and accomplishments as these institutions are supposed capable of conferring.

The project of an academy with extensive funds has often been a subject of conversation; but although no scheme has been digested or adopted to realize their ideas, they have liberally contributed to the support of other colleges. The Reverend President Smith, of Princeton, and the Reverend Mr. Coffin, received in the year 1803 from these islanders more than $1,200, to rebuild and support the New Jersey and Tennessee Colleges.

STORES.

The Island has, time immemorial, employed a small capital in a retail store. The parties concerned have in some instances succeeded to the acquisition of fortunes. Two stores have been recently established, and those concerned have a fair prospect of succeeding in their undertakings. The various articles of merchandize that are disposed of in the city stores are sold in quantities proportionate to the wants of the inhabitants. Sales to the amount of $50,000 might be annually made, and if judiciously conducted, secure from any risk of bad debts.

SHEEP.

Although the Island produces cotton in abundance, and might furnish wool in adequate quantities, no attempts have been made to carry on any domestic or public manufacture. The islanders are alike strangers to the application of the loom and the ordinary process of knitting. Their sheep, which are of the ordinary breed, are permitted to range at large, and they engross the care of the planter no further than he can make them subservient to the purposes of furnishing lamb for his table. The requisite attention paid to washing, penning, and regular shearing, would improve both the breed, the quality, and the quantity of their wool. The Island is favorable to their increase and multiplication. Secure from the ravages of wolves and foxes, they might be multiplied to any desirable extent; and yet scarcely eight hundred fleeces are shorn annually, and these are either suffered to waste, or sold for a trifle to the upholsterer.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The absence of a public market is supplied by a number of neighbors, generally eight or four, connecting themselves into a society, and taking in rotation appropriate pieces of such animals as are usually slaughtered. Two hundred steers, seventy-five calves, one hundred and twenty lambs, are supposed to be annually slaughtered in these associations or markets.

The island does not afford a shoemaker or a blacksmith, and yet artizans of this description, of moderate resources and competent industry could be employed to great advantage to themselves and the community.

It does not appear that any establishment similar to that of a tavern was ever attempted on the island. Strangers and visitors are received and hospitably entertained in private families, and are sent about on horseback or in carriages, as their circumstances or exigencies may require.

To afford the means of maintaining a regular intercourse with the adjacent main, and the contiguous island of Wadmalaw, two ferries were established about fifty years since, by legislative authority. But such was the unfrequency of the intercourse, that these ferry establishments have been discontinued; and there appears no disposition in the present generation to revive them. Those that have occasion to come on or go off, usually transport themselves, or have recourse to their more opulent friends and neighbors, who may be situated in places favorably for their transportation.

The islanders carry on their intercourse with Charlestown by water. In transporting themselves and the productions of their plantations, they make use of boats made after the canoe model. These boats are built of cypress and other durable materials; they are well adapted to the purposes of inland navigation, but ill calculated for encountering heavy seas. They are of various dimensions and unequal prices; from ten hundred weight to six tons, and from one hundred to a thousand dollars. There are five or six workmen advantageously employed in constructing and repairing these boats. All the efforts of their art are directed to combine elegance of shape with lightness of draught and capacity for burden.

The institution of a public convivial club is common to this and to the contiguous islands, and various parts of the State. The Free and Easy has continued its semi-monthly meeting for a period of thirty-five years without intermission; the members in rotation provide dinner. Strangers, by a standing rule, are considered as guests. The landlord of the day or entertaining member has the privilege of inviting his friends. This institution affords the planters an opportunity of repairing to a defined and central place to transact their private and public business; to consider and digest their schemes of planting; and to hear and discuss the news and politics of the day. These public dinners have usually cost the providing members fifty dollars. Estimated at the low rate of twenty-five dollars, they cost the members six hundred dollars yearly. Had these annual sums been improved at compound interest, from the first establishment of the club to the present time, they would have amounted to 88,748 dollars, yielding an annual interest of 6,212 dollars. A sum, one-half of which would be fully adequate to defray the expense of draining the island and destroying a principal source of the

diseases of its inhabitants, or of supporting other establishments calculated to improve the condition of man indefinitely with the flow of ages.

On the 29th April, 1794, a lodge of ancient York Masons was instituted for the first time on the island. During the novelty of the institution, it consisted of about thirty, but is now confined to eighteen members. Their ordinary meetings are monthly; and they are regularly attended. They have a fund consisting of 1,480 dollars, and are governed by a master, and such officers as are peculiar to that mystic fraternity.

AMUSEMENTS.

There is nothing peculiarly characteristic in the amusements of these islanders. They are similar to those which obtain in various parts of the State. The sports of the field engross a part of their vacant hours. The range, the crowded settlements, and cleared state of the island, render it unfavorable to the pursuits of the hunter, and deer finding no copse to cover them, may be said to be no longer inhabitants. Sould any stragglers rashly venture to stroll on from the neighboring main and surrounding inlets, they are instantly hunted down. Similar causes may have operated to drive and scare away those migratory and acquatic birds which, at an early period of its settlement, were known annually to frequent the Island in great variety and numbers. The culture of rice being abandoned, and a considerable part of the lower grounds drained, they are deprived of their favorite grain, or an adequate supply of seeds and insects. Being averse to the haunts of men, they instinctively retire to those parts of the State where they can feed more privately, plentifully, and securely.

It has been said that horse-racing is the amusement of an idle and luxurious people. This epithet is not as yet descriptively applicable to these islanders. If in opulent and easy circumstances, the personal superintendence of their plantations, which they seldom wholly trust to the management of an overseer, however skillful or faithful, engages their thoughts and fills up the greater part of their time. They rarely suffer amusements of any kind to divert them from the proper pursuits of life. Various attempts have been made to form a jockey club and introduce annual races; these attempts have hitherto failed of any consistent success. Local circumstances are adverse to such exhibitions on a large scale. So great are the natural advantages of water conveyances, and so limited and circumscribed is the extent of the insular territory, that saddle and draught horses of a superior breed are not wanted. In a state of society so peculiarly situated they are unnecessary. It is not compatible with the economical habits of these industrious islanders which converts everything to use to keep fine horses at considerable trouble and expense to be paraded occasionally as objects of show and admiration. The appearance of their cavalry has often excited and called forth the sneers and gibes of their brethren of the main; but these they are ever ready to repel by extolling the superior elegance, swiftness, and accommodation of their row and sailing boats. It is not to be understood that they have no predilection for the amusements and delights of the turf. If not animated by that impassioned ardor which characterizes many of their fellow-citizens, yet in the occasional racings of their sober and hardy nags, they enjoy all the real pleasure of that species of amusement exempt from that care and agitation of spirits, that trouble and expense, and those habits of dissipation which are often its consequent evils.

Dancing, it is said, was more a favorite amusement before than since the revolution. Dancing parties are confined to the temperate seasons of the year. They are neither so frequent nor so eagerly pursued as they are reported to be in other parts of the State. The planters occasionally relax themselves at the games of coit, hand and trap balls; but the recreation which engrosses more of their time and attention than any other, is that of fishing. In the arts of the fisherman they are dexterous and successful proficients. They fabricate their own lines and nets. In these fabrications they display taste and ingenuity; and this is the only species of manufacture, if such it can be called, that is practiced among them.

Of superstition some traces are discoverable. There are individuals who will not commence a journey, nor begin any new work on Friday. This day is considered as inauspicious in cases of nativities. The moon is supposed to extend a sensible influence to the operations of nature, to the growth and the decay of vegetables and animals; and hence the processes of sowing and planting are connected with the phases of the full; and animals destined to be cured and reserved for domestic use are slaughtered on those of the new moon and flux of the tide. They believe in the reality of the spectres and apparitions. Supposed facts of the reappearance of departed friends are related and by some implicitly credited.

PRIVATE REGISTER WORTHY OF IMITATION.

From the 12th of March, 1792, to the 8th of October, 1808, Joseph James Murray has kept a record of deaths, births, marriages, and other miscellaneous events which took place on Edisto Island. Such register, if kept by at least one person in every district or neighborhood, would, in time, present to the view of the physician, the legislator, the politician, and philosopher, a valuable collection of facts of great importance to the best interests of society. From Mr. Murray's register, it appears that in the course of sixteen years there were among the white inhabitants of Edisto Island 66 marriages, 212 births, and 177 deaths, 75 of which were children under five years of age, and fifteen about the age of ten; the rest were adults, six of which were strangers, eleven deaths were accidental, and one was a case of suicide. Five of the above deaths were from consumptions; there was also a case of natural small pox of extraordinary origin. Upwards of a year before the birth of the child, which was the subject of this disease, its parents had their other children inoculated for the small pox. One of them was an infant and occupied the cradle. That one died and all the others recovered. The bed clothes were washed and deposited in a drawer; but it seems that they retained so much of the contagion, as to communicate the disease which was clearly marked, though not fatal to the infant whose case is the subject of these observations. This child had never been off the Island; on which, neither at the time of infection nor for a long time after, was there a single case of small pox. From the same register it appears that of seventy-four negro children which Mr. Murray has had born upon his plantation in the above period of sixteen years, fifty-three are alive, thirty-three of which are females. The plantations of the Rev. Mr. M'Cleod, of Messrs. Ephraim Mikell, James Clark, William Edings, Daniel Townsend, William Seabrook, William C. Meggett, Dr. Chisolm, Gabriel Seabrook, Normon M'Leod, and others, furnish similar examples of increase. There is now a sufficient number of blacks for all the purposes of cultivation; and kindness with proper attention to their food, clothing, and habitations, will increase their number.

LONGEVITY.

The Island does not furnish any remarkable instances of longevity. Seventy-six, seventy-three and sixty-eight are the respective ages of the three oldest inhabitants now living. The two former instances are of widows, who have been for some years in a state of incurable infirmity. The latter instance is of a man who has been thrice married, who retains the free use and exercise of his mental faculties, and enters with interest into the business and the amusements of the day. Being inured to habits of activity and regularity, he is an early riser, and spends more of his time in the sun than perhaps any other individual on the Island. From his appearance and general health he seems capable of living and enjoying life for many years to come. All three are natives of the Island or State.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

In their ideas of church government the inhabitants of Edisto are either Presbyterians or Episcopalians. Those of the former denomination are the most numerous. The date of the first organization of their church cannot, with precision, be ascertained. Its records, if any such existed in a connected or detailed form, were lost or destroyed during the conflicts of the revolution. From such detached papers as are preserved, it appears that Henry Bower obtained in 1705 a grant of 300 acres from the then lords proprietors. This same tract of 300 acres the said Henry Bower conveyed in 1717 to certain persons therein named in trust for the benefit of a Presbyterian minister on Edisto Island.

In the preamble of a deed of gift, dated in 1732, conveying from "Joseph Russel, W. Edings, Paul Hamilton, W. Bird, James Lardant, Timothy Hendrick, and W. Whippy," certain negro slaves therein named, it is stated that, "whereas a Presbyterian congregation is collected upon the Island of Edisto." This deed of gift stipulates that the negro slaves therein named and their issue be employed on the above tract of 300 acres church lands "for the perpetual maintenance out of their yearly labor of a Presbyterian minister, who owns the Holy Scriptures for his only rule of faith and practice, and who, agreeably to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament shall own the Westminster Confession of Faith with the larger and shorter catechisms as a test of his orthodoxy, and that before the church session for the time being, before his settlement there as the rightful minister of the aforesaid church or congregation." About this period a valuable donation of land was made to the church by "Mr. Wailis." The quantity is not specified, nor can the location of the tract be now traced: all that can be collected on

this subject is that "Mr. Paul Hamilton" conveyed, in 1737, an equivalent for it of 2,500 pounds currency to certain trustees. The deed of conveyance provides that of the yearly interest thereupon accruing, such part as the majority of the said trustees shall think reasonable shall be applied to the proper use and behoof of the Presbyterian minister who is or shall from time to time be regularly called and settled as the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation assembled or to be assembled for divine worship in the Presbyterian meeting-house built on the said Island."

From a schedule of the church property, taken in 1755, it appears that some time prior to that date the following persons contributed the sums or donations subjoined to their respective names, viz: "Paul Hamilton £322 10s. and two silver tankards for sacramental purposes, James Lardant £300, Wm. Cummings £94 12s., James Clark £100, Mrs. Mary Bee £100, Mrs. Mary Russel £100 of the then currency."

The temporalities of the church were originally vested in eight trustees. The monied part of the fund having considerably increased with the lapse of time it was deemed safest and most for the interest of the church to petition for incorporation. This was obtained in 1792.

The funds of the church in 1807 consisted of $23,370 30 in bonds bearing interest; and £84 10s. annual rent, exclusive of forty acres connected with the parsonage, and reserved for the use of the incumbent.

It is worthy of observation that there is no exclusive property in the pews of this church. They were, until a recent period, open to any worshiper that might repair to the church for the purposes of devotion and instruction. Some inconvenience was supposed to result from the practice of sitting promiscuously as caprice or fancy might dictate. To remove it a small rent was attached to the pews, and this small pew-rent is the only tax which the members of this church pay to the support of religion. It redounds to their credit that when the parsonage was recently destroyed by fire they readily subscribed £700 in sums proportionate to their respective incomes for the building another. The period of the first organization of this church was between 1732 and 1737.

Of its ministers no memorials are preserved that merit a particular detail. The first was the Rev. John M'Leod, a native of North Britain. He came, it is believed, as chaplain attached to a corps of Highlanders, under General Oglethorpe, stationed in Georgia. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Henderson, a native likewise of North Britain; and he by the Rev. Thomas Cooly, a native of England. The Rev. Mr. Donald M'Leod, the present incumbent, was ordained minister of the church in 1794.

The Episcopalians of Edisto were originally connected in worship and discipline with the parish church of John's Island, and had divine service performed for them on Edisto Island at occasional intervals. Being liable to various disappointments in their expectations of divine service, they were led to separate from that church. In effecting their separation they built, in 1774, by subscription, a neat and commodious chapel; and some time after created a permanent fund for the support of their ministers. The zeal and liberality displayed by them on these occasions, considering the paucity of their numbers, reflects great credit on the parties concerned. The following persons contributed in sterling money the sums subjoined to their respective names, viz: Christopher Jenkins £200, Daniel Jenkins £150, Ralph Bailey £150, Jos. Jenkins £150, John Seabrook £150, Benjamin Seabrook £125, John Jenkins £120, Isaac Jenkins £125, John Hanahan £100, Thomas B. Seabrook £100, Leighton Wilson £100, William Hanahan £100, Archibald Calder 100, William C. Meggotte, £100, Nathaniel Adams £70, Joseph Fickling £70, James Fickling £70, Paul Grimbal £50, Jeremiah Fickling £50, Samuel Fickling £50, Daniel Jenkins, Jr., Jos. B. Seabrook £50, Henry Bailey £50, Jos. Fickling £30. In 1807 the fund amounted to 15,003 dollars. The Rev. Messrs. Lewis, Bowen, Sykes, Connor, and Matthews, officiated in succession in this church. For the last ten years it has been vacant, except such occasional supplies as the Episcopal clergy of Charlestown and their itinerant brethren could afford to give.

A congregation of Baptists existed on this Island at an early period of its settlement. The members of that denomination are either extinct or removed. The site of their church, in which divine service was for the first time performed in 1774, is now in a state of forest. The glebe, consisting of about seventy acres, partly in a state of nature and partly cultivated, yields a revenue of about seventy dollars yearly. This rent is regularly transmitted to certain persons at the Euhaws of the Baptist persuasion.

The intelligent traveler, who has passed through the Eastern States, will have discovered a disposition in the enlightened citizens of that section of the Union to

sneer at the infidelity of their Southern brethren. These islanders are not liable to any such imputation. They may challenge the public to produce a similar instance of a country district of so limited a population, creating by the voluntary donations of individuals permanent funds, producing 3,276 dollars annually for the support of religion.

MANNERS AND CHARACTER.

The inhabitants of Edisto may be justly represented as an industrious description of planters. In their intercourse with each other and the world they are friendly and hospitable, and disposed to act on fair and honorable terms. They have been early and long distinguished for supporting religion and its institutions. And such is the liberality of these islanders, that the Episcopalians and Presbyterians worship in the same churches in the spirit of harmony and true charity. Although some of the settlements are eight miles removed from the appointed places of worship, there is hardly an individual absent on Sunday. During the performance of divine service, they conduct themselves with becoming reverence and attention.

HUSBANDRY.

The system of husbandry that obtains on this island is the simplest that can be imagined. Every act of tillage is effected by the application of the hoe. To apply this implement of the gardener to all the operations of agriculture conducted in a large way, is to render it subservient to purposes for which it was never intended.

Although the art of ploughing can be traced to the most remote antiquity, and it more effectually contributes to relieve the immediate and pressing wants of man, and multiply the sources of national wealth than any other, yet these islanders have made no proficiency in it. This fact, detached from a knowledge of their general character, would lead strangers to suppose them in the first stages of civilization. It could hardly be believed that a race of men descended from a nation of people who understood and practiced the useful arts, could subsist themselves for more than a century by agriculture, and yet continue strangers to the use and instrumentality of the plough. The fact is notorious that the Island cannot produce a specimen of this useful engine of the agriculturist. The planters appear to have an unconquerable aversion to its use. They conceive "that the operation of ploughing would injure their light lands, and render them more subject to flow;" but they are in a mistake. The plough, properly guided and applied, can be made to operate or cut at any assignable depth, from two and a half to six or eight inches.

If the objection should apply to the more elevated and lighter lands, it cannot with any force to the flat or stiff clayey bottoms. To prepare these for corn or cotton beds is a difficult, laborious and tedious process. It is significantly said to be "a *killing work for the negroes*"—for it exposes them to long and severe exertions of muscular strength.

It is objected that the operation of ploughing injures the cotton plant in its tender state. It is confessed that the fact is in part true; but this will not support the inference deduced from it. Cold winds, frost and worms, often injure the cotton plant and stint its growth in the first stages of its vegetation. But no one is induced by these considerations to discontinue his planting enterprises. These casualities are to be expected. Every judicious planter prepares against them. He leaves a superfluous number of plants until his crop has acquired a sufficient degree of maturity to encounter and outlive such dangers. The plough has been extensively and successfully introduced into the culture of cotton in various parts of the State, these injuries notwithstanding; and what these men have done, other men may do by similar exertions of skill, care and labor.

The introduction of the plough into general use would produce manifold advantages. Suffice it to state briefly, that its agency would relieve the cultivators from the pressure and endurance of that toil which now exhausts their spirits, wastes their strength, and shortens their days, and would conduce to the general comfort and extension of their lives; that it would enable the planter to employ his capital more advantageously, for he could plant more and cultivate it better. It would enable him to send his crop to market at an earlier period, and in better condition, so as to ensure it a current sale, and a liberal price. The agency of the plough would create for the planters a great deal of leisure time, which might be advantageously employed in manuring, draining, fencing, repairing and building; in combining ornament with schemes of improvement, and rendering everything snug and comfortable around them.

The repugnance that is expressed to the use of the plough, finds an easy solu-

tion in the influence of habit. Accustomed to conduct their husbandry in a certain way, they feel a reluctance to depart from that routine of management which has been found successful. It is a work of time and difficulty to persuade the generality of men to relinquish the systems of their fathers.

All that seems requisite to overcome prejudice, is the application of a few well-trained horses—some specimens of the best plough models—an intelligent and persevering ploughman. Experiments so conducted could not fail to produce the most satisfactory results; they would force conviction and bring the art of ploughing into general use.

MANURES.

The cotton crops on Edisto yield annually about 30,000 bushels of cotton seed, or a little more than one bushel for every acre on the Island. The seed contains a considerable portion of essential oil, which, if extracted and properly prepared, might be employed to useful purposes. Without extraction it makes an excellent manure. Exclusive of a small proportion reserved for the reproduction of the cotton plant, this seed is either suffered to waste, scattered as a manure over the fields, or given in its crude or boiled state as provender to milch cows, for which it answers very well.

The creeks and marshes abound in inexhaustible stores of the most stimulating manures. The small experiments made have produced the most satisfactory results; and yet no attempts have been made on a large scale to keep the same field in a constant state of culture or rotation of crops. The process adopted to enrich their lands is by natural fallows. A field that has not been too much exhausted by long and frequent culture, acquires sufficient strength from decayed vegetables and the action of the elements, to produce a crop after an interval of one or two years rest.

GROUND AND STANDING PROVISIONS.

Under this description come first and principally the yam or sweet potatoes, which are more extensively cultivated on Edisto Island than perhaps in any other part of the State. They are a most valuable root, and deserve more of the attention of the planter as an article of provision, than is commonly paid them. An acre manured as a cow-pen or otherwise, has produced and may be made at any time to produce 300 bushels of 80 weight each, or 24,000 weight to the acre in the crude or raw state. As they lose but little in the customary process of dressing, this result may be considered as accurate; and hence we have an acre producing 24,000 pounds of solid food. Estimating five pounds as sufficient not only to support a man, but to keep him in health and fit for labor; we have 4,800 persons fed from one acre for one day, or thirteen persons during the course of the year. These roots contribute extensively to the subsistence and comforts of the cultivators. They constitute an essential article of their sustenance often for six and sometimes for nine months of the year. They are exceedingly partial to their use, and prefer them for a constancy to any other article of provision. They require little preparation, and are palatable, and invigorating. It has been said that every substance is more or less nutritious in proportion to the quantity of oleaginous and saccharine matter it contains. This is conspicuously seen in these saccharine or sweet potatoes. The moment they are introduced into general use on the plantation, the cultivators of all ages and sexes become more lively and active, and improve in general health and appearance. If fermented by artificial means, these potatoes are capable of yielding an ardent spirit. The quality of this spirit might be improved by subjecting it to a more accurate process of distillation, and storing it till age had evaporated its more ardent and fiery particles.

Irish potatoes are not planted in any quantity or extent. They are chiefly cultivated for the table. The negroes are averse to their use, and can hardly be prevailed upon to receive them as a substitute for their corn rations. There is something in the climate, soil, or manner of cultivating them, that renders them less palatable, dry and mealy, than those imported from the eastern States and British Isles.

Ground-nuts are sui generis. Superficially considered they would seem to be the roots, and not as they really are, the seeds of the plant vegetating to maturity under ground. They are planted in small patches chiefly by the negroes, for market. They thrive best in light sandy soils. They produce eighty bushels to the acre. They are palatable but oleaginous and heating. They constitute, it is said, an ingredient in the manufacture of the imported and domestic chocolate. They are commonly sold for five shillings sterling the bushel; but in 1768 the same quantity sold so low as eight pence sterling.

Standing provisions consist chiefly of that variety of the maize which is distinguished by the name of flint-corn. An acre produces from fifteen to twenty-five bushels; the quantity grown is not very considerable. In ordinary years it is barely adequate to the consumption of the Island. It rarely happens that a superfluity is made to send to market; but such is the provident disposition of some of the planters, that they often keep on hand a supply of corn sufficient for the consumption of two years. The corn blades are carefully cured and preserved as a substitute for hay; for which purpose they are admirably well adapted. The intervals between the corn hills are generally planted with cow-pease, but not often to any advantage. The season of harvesting them coincides with that of picking cotton; they are therefore suffered to waste to rescue from immediate destruction the more valuable production of the cotton fields.

The culture of the English or small grains, with the exception of small patches of oats and rye, is never attempted. The islanders are equally strangers to the culture of artificial grasses, and the method of making hay from natural meadows. They are unacquainted with the plough, the harrow, the scythe, rake, reaping-hooks, wagons, sledges and such like implements which are necessary to carry on farming. One-horse carts are in general use.

GARDENING.

Although that branch of husbandry which may be denominated horticulture affords an agreeable employment and adds considerably to the scale of domestic comforts, yet the arts of the gardener are not much understood or practiced. The Island cannot produce anything to which a farmer of the middle or eastern States would attach the idea of an orchard. The quantity of fruit-trees is neither remarkable for their number nor variety. This does not proceed from any opposition of soil or climate. The first settlers had flourishing orchards, and were esteemed good gardeners. It proceeds from a disposition in their descendants to consider every act of husbandry as of minor importance that does not afford them the means of profitable exchange.

The proximity of the Island to Charlestown affords the planters an opportunity of disposing of the various productions of their plantations. But they do not in every case make the most of their situation and advantages. The soil is favorable to the culture of turnip or green crops. These crops might be advantageously applied to feeding and fattening for market their superfluous stock; an enterprise that would prove a fruitful source of emolument to those engaged in it.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

In no country place are the arts of the milliner and mantuamaker more generally practiced than they are by the female part of this insular community. And such is the economy or industry of the generality of house-keepers, that soap and candles are manufactured in quantities proportionate to the consumption of their families. There is not a professed baker on the Island, but the art of baking is well understood and practiced. Loaf or wheaten bread or some adequate substitute is everywhere presented. A department in the nature of a dairy on a limited scale is connected with every family. Milk is preserved in its various forms. Butter made in this private way is of a good quality, but the cheese does not deserve the same degree of praise. The products of the dairy are consumed in the family circle, or on the Island. If any part be sent to market it is in small quantities. Of the success that attends the attempts made to raise poultry, it is no unfavorable specimen to state, that from four to five hundred fowls, about one hundred turkeys, as many ducks, and forty geese have been reared; and from seventy to eighty dozen eggs have been sent to market by individual families in the course of the year.

HINTS FOR IMPROVEMENT.

If any effectual plan could be adopted for rendering Edisto Island healthy, its inhabitants would enjoy a much greater proportion of the good things of this life than ordinarily fall to the lot of man. Much good might confidently be expected from draining its low grounds. Experience proves that in all countries where this has been properly done, an abatement of summer and autumnal fevers has invariably followed;* and on the contrary, that healthy places have become sickly

* Of this many instances might be given; but the following one may suffice: "Before the above drain was cut, the families who lived near the stagnant water were subject in the spring and end of autumn to intermitting fevers of very long continuance, from twenty-three to thirty-three, and sometimes to thirty-nine days. Whole families were to be seen in such distress at the same time that no one could assist the others. They depended on the kind ministration of their neighbors

when from neglect or otherwise they have been suffered to degenerate into receptacles of filth and putrefaction. The marshes in the interior parts should be first reclaimed and the good work never discontinued till the whole Island, as far as it is reclaimable, presented a dry or at least an improved wholesome surface. Till this was accomplished, trees of quick growth should be planted between the mansions of the planters and the adjacent low grounds.

Much might be done for the improvement of the Island water. That which descends from the heavens in form of rain, if collected and preserved in cisterns, would be infinitely better than the water that is in daily use. The latter might be cleansed of much of its impurities by being boiled—purified with charcoal,* or filtered through filtering stones, sand, or otherwise.† In one or other of these methods the inhabitants of Edisto Island might, at a moderate expense, procure for domestic purposes a sufficiency of wholesome and agreeable water.

No. II.—*A Statistical Account of St. Stephens' District, drawn up principally from the Communications of John Palmer, Esq.*

St. Stephens District, situate about fifty miles to the northwest of Charlestown, is bounded by the river Santee on the north, and on its other sides by St. Johns and St. James Santee. It was originally a part of St. James Santee, and was divided from it about the year 1740. The upper and lower part of the parish was distinguished by the names of French and English Santee. What is now St. Stephens was called English Santee. What is at present St. James, was formerly called French Santee, from the circumstance that the first settlers were French refugees who had fled from persecution after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Among them was Philip Gendron, who left one son, John Gendron, born in Carolina, who commanded a company or the Charlestown militia. This was the only military force ordered from the capital against the Indians in the

for the supply of their necessities. Often has the poor's fund been employed to pay women to wait upon such distressed families. Since these stagnant waters were completely drained, those diseases and the sad train of complaints connected with them, have happily been unknown; meanwhile it is supposable that the same happy effects must flow from the same causes in every part of the country, and should prove an irresistible motive to draining."—*Statistical account of Leuchars in the county of Fife in pages* 586 *and* 587 *of the* 18*th vol. of Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Accounts of Scotland.*

* Charcoal dust is of great utility in preserving and purifying water. It must be poundered very fine, and the powder must be kept clean and as free as possible from dust, smoke, or other impurities.

About three drachms of charcoal dust will preserve four ounces of common river water, or will purify it when actually stinking; but if a little acid be added, a much smaller quantity of charcoal will do.

† Fresh water may be extracted from salt by the following simple process: A common hogshead is provided with a false bottom about three or four inches above the true one. The false bottom is perforated with a number of holes, and over them is placed a filter of flannel. The barrel is then nearly filled with the finest sand beat down very hard. A tube communicating with the space between the two bottoms is extended to a convenient height above the top of the barrel. The sea water is poured into this tube, and pressing every way according to its altitudes, it endeavors to force its way through the sand to the top of the barrel, from whence by this mode of filtration it is drawn off fresh and fit for use. Any other filter will do as well as flannel, provided it stops the sand and admits the water. The saline particles being heavier, and perhaps differently formed, meet with obstructions from the sand, and are left behind. In the same manner impure water may be cleansed from foreign admixtures, which being generally heavy, cannot readily be made to ascend.

Filtration is the process by which nature prepares water for domestic use. Where gravel and sand are in plenty, art can imitate the operations of nature for that purpose. Any contrivance for percolating water through clean sand or gravel will detach some of its impurities; but the detachment is much more effectual and complete by an ascending than a descending process. A pressure from above by an elevated head of water, forcing the lowest part of the column upwards through a proper filtering medium, cannot fail of producing pure water; for its impurities, being specifically heavier, are left behind. Many machines have been contrived on these principles and with this view. The model of an excellent one may be seen in page 177 of the first volume of the Commercial and Agricultural Magazine for 1799. It occupies very little room—is of simple construction—easily cleansed, and yields a constant stream of pure water which in every twenty-four hours amounts to 300 gallons.

The following plan may be carried into effect by every planter, which though cheap and simple, would be adequate to the supply of his own family.

A small cask, open at both ends, is placed within a larger cask, wanting a head. Clean sand and gravel is put into both, so that the level of the sand within the inner cask, room being left to pour in water, be higher than the bed of sand in the intermediate space betwixt the two casks. A cock is fixed in the outer cask above the sand, at a level, somewhat lower than the surface of the materials in the inner cask. The water poured in at the top of the inner cask, sinks through the mass of sand, and passing also through that in the outer, ascends and is discharged at the cock when wanted. As the surface of the sand in the inner cask becomes loaded with impurities—remove it, and add clean fresh sand.

Yamassee war of 1715. He was sent to the Indian land, now Prince Williams, and was in all the severe actions fought against the Indians, until a peace took place. At the time of his death, which was about the year 1754, he was the eldest Colonel of militia in the then province, and was generally called Brigadier Gendron.

OF INDIANS—THEIR ANTIQUITIES AND WARS.

Persons now living, remember that there were about thirty Indians, a remnant of the Pedee and Cape Fair tribes, that lived in the parishes of St. Stevens and St. Johns. King Johnny was their chief. There was another man among them of the same tribe, who was called Prince. Governor Lyttleton gave him a commission of Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of the two tribes, which superseded Johnny. The latter took umbrage at the promotion of the former, and attempted to kill him. There were some shots exchanged but no mischief done. The neighbors interfered and made peace; but there never was, afterwards, any cordial friendship between them. All this remnant of these ancient tribes are now extinct, except one woman of a half-breed. There are several traces of Indian mounds in the neighborhood of Pineville. Some have been opened, and fragments of bone and beads found in them.

In the Indian war of 1715, St. Johns and St. Stevens parishes were the frontiers of the province. In or near them were three forts, the first on Cooper river, about three or four miles below Monk's Corner, on the plantation of Mr. Thomas Broughton, called Mulberry. One was on Mr. Daniel Ravenel's plantation, called Wantoot. Another on a plantation of Mr. Izard's, called Schinskins, on the Santee river. The garrison at Schinskins were all massacred in consequence of their own imprudence in permitting a number of Indians to enter the fort under the cloak of peace and friendship. They concealed their tomahawks with their blankets. When they got in they butchered the whole of the garrison except one negro, who jumped over the fort. He ran to the garrison at Wantoot and gave the alarm. Col. Hyrne who was in that fort advanced with a party—surprised the same body of Indians at Schinskins fort, and killed the whole of them. They were unguarded and engaged in feasting. In this situation they were surprised and cut to pieces. Colonel Hyrne who commanded on this occasion was the grandfather of the late Major Hyrne.

A similar act of perfidy on the part of the Indians was committed about the same time a little above the Eutaws, at a place called Barker's Savannah. The commanding officer, Colonel Barker, from whose defeat the scene of action acquired its name, was drawn into an ambuscade by the treachery of an Indian named Wateree Jack, who, pretending friendship, allured the white people into a snare. In this action David Palmer was killed; and Edward Thomas,* the great grandfather of the two present Dr. Thomas's, was wounded. The cruelties and perfidies of the Indians excited resentments in the minds of the settlers which led to deeds unworthy of a civilized people.

A man of the name of Donavan lived in the upper part of St. Johns, who stood his ground all the time of this Indian war. He had a strong log house, and a number of large mastiff dogs that kept the Indians off, and occasionally killed them. Donovan kept his dogs at home in the day, and turned them out at night. When they killed an Indian, he gave them no provisions. They soon acquired a habit of feeding on the flesh of Indians when dead, and of attacking them when alive.

AGRICULTURE—FRESHETS.

The inhabitants of St. Stephens began to cultivate indigo about the year 1754; and cultivated it with success, particularly in Santee river swamp, until the year 1784. In the beginning of the latter year, St. Stephens was one of the most thriving parishes in the State, and in point of size was the richest. The parish then had about five thousand negroes in it, but at present does not contain half that number. The white population has also diminished in a similar proportion. In 1776, '77, '78 the militia company mustered one hundred men under arms; but there are not now above forty, exclusive of alarm men. There are at present many waste old fields both on the high-lands along the edge of the river swamp and in the swamp, which thirty years ago were in the highest state of cultivation, and produced luxuriant crops of corn, indigo and rice. This melancholy reverse

* This gentleman after living about fifty years in St. Stephens parish, for fifteen years of which period he never passed the limits of his plantation, went to England and died there since the revolution, at the advanced age of ninety. He communicated the above particulars to Captain Palmer.

is the effect of freshets. These lands are uncommonly fertile, and were successfully cultivated till the year 1784. From that year till 1796, very little was made near the Santee. Many of the planters, discouraged by a rapid succession of freshets, abandoned the plantations subject to their baneful influence. Since the year 1796 these freshets have diminished in frequency and height; and the planters have successfully recommenced the culture of corn and rice, and engaged in that of cotton. The ground is found to answer for the latter, and extraordinary crops have been lately made.

To account for the uncommon frequency of freshets through a period of twelve years is very difficult. No record of anything similar since the year 1701 has reached us. In that year, we are informed by John Lawson, that a flood came down the river Santee, which raised it thirty-six feet. That none of equal magnitude has occurred in the eighty-three years which followed, is probable from the silence of records and tradition. Within that period the upper country had been settled and its lands cleared. From its being more generally cultivated, some inferred that the falling rain met with fewer obstructions in passing off from the high land to the nearest rivers; and that these, with their enlarged streams uniting in the Santee, precipitated over its banks a much larger body of water than it ever could have received from above while the upper country was covered with leaves, logs, trees, brush, and other impediments to the free passage of rain and melted snow. This doubtless may have had some influence, but is not equal to the effect, for in that case the progressive clearing of the upper country would have produced a correspondent and accumulating increase of water in the rivers below, and a greater frequency of freshets, which is the reverse of facts, especially since the year 1796. Others suppose that the freshets are the consequences of extreme wet or warm seasons in the upper country, which, from the increase of rain and of melted snow, pour down torrents on the subjacent plains. The alternation of a series of wet and dry years is not without precedent. The cause is not precisely known, but the melancholy effects are obvious.

RELIGION—LITERATURE—PINEVILLE.

St. Stephens has a large brick church built in 1769 and a wooden chapel. There is no clergyman at present, but the teacher of the Pineville academy performs divine service every Sunday. There have been four clergymen in the parish since the peace of 1783. First, the Rev. Mr. John Hurt—the second the Rev. Mr. Farrel—the third the Rev. Mr. O'Farrel—the fourth the Rev. Mr. Connor. The first was from Virginia, and the other three from Ireland. Pineville in St. Stephens is a retreat for health in the summer and autumn. It began to be settled in 1794, and is about fifty-two miles to the northwest of Charlestown. It is situated on a level piece of pine land about five miles to the south of the Santee, and two miles from the swamp; which is three miles deep to the river. Pineville contains twenty-two dwelling houses with an academy for teaching the Latin and English languages. The master has a salary of twelve hundred dollars per annum, and a house found. The school is confined to thirty scholars, rates of schooling $50 per annum for subscribers' children, and $60 for non-subscribers; to be paid half yearly in advance. The Pineville academy is incorporated and under the superintendence of five trustees. The tutor is permitted to take boarders not to exceed sixteen, but is restrained from demanding more than $100 per annum for boarding. There are also two private schools in the same place for the tuition of the smaller class of children. The white population of Pineville is 150; the greater part of them under the age of sixteen. The number of blacks is about 300. The water is all from wells from fourteen to eighteen feet deep. It is very excellent, cold, and soft, being filtered through white gravel and sand.

There is a quarry of stone on a piece of high land about a mile from Pineville. It is a hard brown stone very heavy and has the appearance of iron ore. Colonel Senf used some of the same kind of stone, procured near this quarry, for part of the locks of the Santee Canal. Nothing like it has yet been found in the low country of Carolina.

AMUSEMENTS—HEALTH.

Dances commence in September, and there are generally from two to three in a week in the season of residence in Pineville. They are given by the inhabitants nearly in rotation, with little ceremony and expense, but with great decorum and propriety; and never continue later than eleven o'clock.

Pineville has been generally healthy. There are in it but few cases of fevers, and these are chiefly in the month of July. Seldom any regular intermittents originate there. Those who expose themselves in visiting their plantations, occa-

sionally suffer in consequence of their imprudence. There was a fever in the summer of 1803, which proved fatal to six negroes in Pineville, and eleven on the adjoining plantation; but scarcely affected white people. The symptoms of this fever were a violent head-ache and pain in the back—the pulse was low. The tongue was of a brown or deep red color, and when put out trembled much. A great weakness and dilirium generally attended. The most successful mode of treatment was to give in the first instance one or two emetics and afterwards camphor, nitre and small snake-root. When the patient was very low, wine freely given seemed to be of the greatest service. Bark was injurious. Few old negroes took the disease.

LONGEVITY AND FECUNDITY.

Two of the natives and resident inhabitants are between sixty and seventy. Of the ninety years which Edward Thomas lived, more than one-half were spent in St. Stephens. The district is not remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants, but there have been of late a few prolific marriages. Five, six, seven and eight children have been raised in some families within the last thirty years.

MANURE—FISH—STOCK—WILD BEASTS—TREES—MANUFACTURES.

The planters begin to be careful of their manure and to be sensible of the utility of improving their lands. The best and the most durable manure is derived from herding cattle in pens. This increases the fertility of the land fourfold. Cotton seed is also much used. A pint of it put around or in a corn hole adds greatly to the crop. Santee river is well stored with fish, particularly the trout and the bream. There are also cat-fish, mud-fish, rock-fish and sturgeon. The inland creeks and ponds produce trout, perch, and bream. The stocks of cattle belonging to individuals rarely exceed 150. They decrease in cold winters, but increase in such as are mild. Few own more than fifty head of sheep. These are often destroyed by wolves. Hogs are also often killed by bears. The swamps of Santee afford favorable retreats to these and other wild beasts. There are on an average from 100 to 150 pine trees on an acre of ground. Their ages vary, but in general they live about 200 years. If we may judge by their surrounding rings, a few approach their 400th year. Domestic manufactures begin to increase. Some of the planters clothe their negroes with homespun, and also manufacture coarse cloth from inferior cotton for the envelopment of that commodity.

STORMS.

The parish of St. Stephens, in proportion to its distance from the sea, had its full share of the calamities resulting from the hurricane of 1804. From minor storms it has frequently suffered. One of the most remarkable and injurious was on the 6th of June, 1801. A cloud appeared to the northwest with thunder. Shortly after a storm came up with great violence, but without rain. The cloud had a redness like fire, and the dry dust thrown up was dreadful. The wind prostrated the fences. The growing cotton was materially injured. Its color was changed to brown. The tops were withered and blackened. In St. Matthews the storm was equally violent and blasted the corn and peas. The peach and plumb leaves had an adust black appearance. The weeds and grass were also very much injured. During the storm the wind appeared to have a heat like the blast of fire at a distance. The mercury from being up at 96 degrees at one o'clock, fell in less than five hours to 76.

EMINENT MEN.

Colonel Maham, a native of St. Stephens parish descended from Swiss ancestors who had settled there early in the 18th century, made a distinguished figure in the revolutionary war. He was possessed of considerable natural talents as a military man. At the taking of fort Watson, on Scott's lake, General Marion gave him the sole direction in carrying on the approaches and erection of a battery for over-shooting the British fort. At the taking of the fort at Motte's above Belleville, General Marion gave to him the sole direction in carrying on the approaches. Both these enterprises were crowned with complete success. Major Pinckney, who examined the works after the surrender of the fort, declared that they had been erected with as much correctness as if they had been planned by the most experienced engineer. The British thought so well of him that they made him an offer of a regiment if he would join them. Colonel Maham also behaved very gallantly in sundry skirmishes, and particularly at Watboo and Quinby bridges.

St. Stephens has given birth to John Gaillard, Senator, and Robert Marion, Representative of Charlestown District in the Congress of the United States, and

also to Theodore Gaillard, late Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State, and at present one of the Judges of the Court of Equity.

SUFFERINGS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

St. Stephens was not the scene of any important action. John Palmer, Sen., and Joseph Palmer, the first sixty-six and the last fifty years old, were taken prisoners in May, 1781, out of the house of the former by a party of tories—carried to the British post at Biggin Church, and both confined for three days in the family vault of the Colleton's. The reason assigned by the captors was that John Palmer, Sen., had two sons performing military duty with General Marion.

No. III.—*A Statistical view of Pendleton District, chiefly from the Communications of Edward Darrel Smith, M. D.*

NAME—SITUATION—SETTLEMENT—ABORIGINES—FACE OF THE COUNTRY—RIVERS—WILD BEASTS.

Pendleton District was so named in compliment to Henry Pendleton, a native of Virginia, and one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in South Carolina. It forms the southwest extremity of the State, and was obtained from the Indians by treaty in 1777, founded on their conquest in the preceding year; but the settlement of it was deferred till the termination of the revolutionary war in 1783. Its first white settlers migrated principally from the Districts of Abbeville and York, in South Carolina; and from North Carolina and Virginia. Among the most remarkable of them were General Pickens and General Anderson, now living, and Colonel Cleveland, deceased, who bore a command in the engagement at King's Mountain in October, 1780. He was remarkable for his great bulk, being said to weigh more than four hundred pounds, and for not having been able to lie down for some years previous to his death.

The country was formerly occupied by the Cherokee Indians who had a considerable town about thirty miles above the confluence of Tugeloo and Keowee rivers, now known by the name of Seneka. There are no settlements of Indians remaining on the eastern side of the mountains. The last of them removed from a small town on Cane creek about the year 1792. Two or three stragglers still live in that neighborhood, residing among the whites, and procuring game for them. Their nearest considerable settlement at this time is on the western side of the mountains, about sixty miles from Pendleton Court House. They have lately made some advances towards civilization. Many of them have separate farms which they cultivate with the plough, some of them to a considerable extent. They are also beginning to make homespun for themselves. They raise large stocks of cattle which they frequently drive to Augusta. They still however retain their fondness for spirituous liquors. Travelers amongst them meet with a hospitable reception. These Indians are well acquainted with the value of money, and when transacting business are not easily imposed upon.

The country is generally uneven and becomes gradually more hilly as it approaches to the mountains. These are said to be a part of the great Blue Ridge, or Back Bone of the United States, and are quite uncultivated. The narrow vallies which run between them are very fertile and covered with canes which afford excellent winter pasturage. The cattle which range among them attain to a considerable size, and make very fine beef without ever having tasted a grain of corn. The most level and valuable lands are situated upon the water courses and in their vicinity. The country is generally well watered by some large rivers and numerous small streams which are never known to fail. Among the larger rivers may be mentioned Seneka or Keowee, Tugeloo, Rocky river, Little river, Twelve mile. Near the mountains the streams are so limpid that stones can be seen at the depth of five or six feet below the surface. The wild animals are much the same as those in the lower country, with the addition of bears, and some panthers in the vicinity of the mountains.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS—STONES—CAVERNS—FALLS—SHOALS—CLAYS.

Among the useful vegetable productions may be mentioned all kinds of snake-root, and the pink-root. This latter is so abundant in the mountains and their vicinity as to form an article of exportation. From twenty to thirty pounds of it may be gathered in a day by a single person. The gentian root and ginseng are common in many parts of the District. There is a valuable plant commonly known by the name of earth-gall. This has great celebrity for its efficacy in curing persons bitten by venomous animals. The root is bruised and one or two

table spoonsful of the expressed juice is mixed with milk and poured down the patient's throat. This soon excites violent vomiting and profuse perspiration, which leaves the patient in a state of great langour, but entirely relieved from the effects of the poison. Stones have been found which answer for mills equally well with those that are imported; but there is no one who makes it a business to prepare them for use. There are some very large stones which are used by the tanners for grinding bark, and also thin flat ones of a considerable length and breadth which make a tolerable smooth hearth, and would no doubt answer well for pavements. There are large quantities of a coarse stone which stands the action of fire, and of which rough durable buildings are constructed; but none are known which partake of the nature of marble. There is a remarkable fall on Conneross creek at Kilpatrick's mill, where a large sheet of water has a perpendicular fall of about ten feet over a ledge of rocks. There is a remarkable cavern on the same creek large enough to contain several persons. It formerly served as a retreat for thieves. There is no other mineral yet known but iron, the ore of which is found in several parts of the district. A great deal of white sand is found upon the poor ridges; and large quantities of blue and yellow clay near the small streams of water; of them good bricks are made, and they would doubtless answer for pottery. The country abounds with large rocks which in some places obstruct the navigation of the water courses, and form a natural pavement for crossing them. One of the most remarkable shoals, known by the name of Portman's, is in Keowee or Seneka river. These shoals are about four miles in length, and have been lately made navigable.

AGRICULTURE — MEADOWS — COTTON — INDIGO — HEMP — TOBACCO — RICE — FLAX — WHEAT, AND OTHER SMALL GRAINS.

The cultivation of the ground is chiefly carried on by the plough, and has not undergone any material changes. Within a few years past many persons have turned their attention to the improvement of meadow lands, of which there is an abundance. They cultivate a very fine native grass known by the name of red grass, which is perennial and affords a large quantity of good hay. Cotton is the present staple for market, but the summer is frequently too short for its complete maturation. Indigo was formerly cultivated to some extent, and is still planted in small patches as a domestic dye. Tobacco, in some years, yielded very well; but from its reduced price it is now rarely cultivated for sale. Some few persons have cultivated hemp, and in suitable grounds the product was considerable; but it has been relinquished for more profitable crops. Small patches of rice have been planted for several years in different parts of the country, but no person has yet attempted to cultivate it to any extent. From late experiments it appears that the lands which can be constantly watered will, under proper management, produce as much rice as those in the lower country, and that it will be a much more certain crop than cotton. Flax, rye, wheat, oats, and barley, are also cultivated with advantage.

ROADS—BRIDGES—INLAND NAVIGATION.

The roads are not so much improved as they might be. They are generally too narrow, and also more numerous than can be kept in good repair. There are but few bridges and those not very durable, being all constructed of wood, although there are large quantities of stone in the vicinity. The public attention has been lately turned to opening the navigation of rivers. During the summer of 1808 a very important work of that kind has been accomplished. Keowee or Seneka river has been rendered navigable for more than twenty miles above its mouth. Though the expense of this undertaking was less than seven hundred dollars, yet it has answered so well that boats carrying ten thousand weight can be safely navigated down to Augusta. There are several smaller streams which might be cleared out so as greatly to facilitate the internal intercourse. The principal obstructions are large trees which have fallen into the water. Their general depth, however, would admit none but flat bottomed boats, except in cases of high freshets.

EXPENSES—PROFITS—HAZARDS OF AGRICULTURISTS—PRICE OF LAND—AND NATURE OF SOIL.

Where the soil and seasons are of the most favorable kind, twenty acres of corn can be easily and well cultivated by one good ploughman and two hoers; and the product would probably be forty bushels to the acre. The average price of corn may be estimated at half a dollar for the bushel, and thus three laborers would make from twenty acres four hundred dollars. A similar force might cultivate

fifteen acres in cotton. The product of this would give about four hundred and eighty dollars. These are the two staples of the country; but it is to be remarked that corn is less liable to be affected by unfavorable seasons than cotton, and is also more easily prepared for market. In backward springs the river grounds are infested by a black worm, resembling the common grub, which destroys all vegetation until they become dormant on the approach of summer. None of these worms are found in the high ground. If a market for rice, equal to that of Charlestown or Savannah, could be found at Augusta, it is probable that more money could be made by the cultivation of this article than either of the preceding. In many situations there are small fields with a command of water which, when put into proper order, would yield three barrels to the acre. Three workers could easily cultivate twelve acres, which would produce thirty-six barrels, and this quantity, at the usual prices, would yield between six and seven hundred dollars. Low grounds may be valued in general from twenty to forty dollars for the acre, and high grounds from fifty cents to five dollars. The soil may be divided into high and low grounds, and these again subdivided. The high grounds consist of a rich clay soil with some black mould, best adapted for corn, wheat, tobacco, &c.—a gray soil, consisting of a gray sand, and some clay and mould best suited for cotton—and a white sandy soil, which is very poor and scarcely ever cultivated. The low grounds differ according to their situation upon large or small water courses. The large streams generally have their low grounds composed of black mould with very little clay, sometimes of mould and gray sand, which answer well for cotton. The soil on the smaller streams is composed of clay with a small quantity of mould. They all produce corn very abundantly, and stand drought much longer than the richest high grounds. With proper management they are said to be inexhaustible.

TIMBER—QUANTITY OF IMPROVED LAND.

The natural growth of the low grounds is walnut, poplar, white oak, elm, ash beech, birch, elder, chesnut, &c. High ground of the first quality has nearly the same productions, with hickory, pines, and other species of oaks. The second quality bears a larger quantity of pine, with some hickory and oak, and the third scrub oak and pines, with a few post and Spanish oaks. All the kinds of oaks may be used for different purposes, excepting the scrub oak, which is good for nothing but firewood. Good shingles are made of the heart of pine, and still better of yellow poplar. Excellent furniture is made of walnut and birch. There is not a fourth of the land in the district that is cleared, and not more than one-half that is accounted fit for cultivation.

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY—FISHERIES—AND STOCK.

In almost all parts of the district there are natural advantages for the erection of mills and other labor-saving machinery; but as yet only a few saw and grist-mills, and some cotton gins are worked by water. A fulling mill was erected some years since on the waters of Cane creek, and was in operation for a little while; but has been idle for some time past, for want of a proper person to conduct the business. Great quantities of fish are caught by means of traps, both in winter and summer. The most productive fishery is in the latter end of the spring, when shad come up the rivers to spawn. In the vicinity of the mountains stock may be raised with advantage, as there are large pastures of the wild pea vine and green canes; but in other parts of the district the range is indifferent.

CLIMATE—DISEASES—DISTILLED ARDENT SPIRITS.

During the winter the weather is not so variable as on the sea-coast, nor is the degree of cold much greater, although frost occurs later in the spring and earlier in the fall. There are perhaps about three weeks difference between this climate and that of Charlestown. In the summer the days are sometimes very warm, but the nights are generally cool. The greatest quantity of rain falls during the winter, occasioning at times considerable freshets. Sleet and hail storms are not uncommon, and sometimes occur so late in the spring as to do great damage to cotton and corn. Occasionally there are a few sporadic cases of intermittent fever, attended sometimes with and sometimes without ague. When neglected, or improperly treated, they are often protracted, and materially injure the constitution. Dysentery is the most epidemic disease, and is generally most prevalent in July, August and September, although it occurs at all seasons of the year. It is seldom mortal, except to children or aged persons. Its fatal issue is frequently the result of injudicious treatment. In the winter the usual inflammatory diseases of cold climates prevail more less. Upon the whole this district may be considered as healthy as most parts of the United States. The intemperate use of spirituous

liquors produces the same baneful effects here as in other countries, although perhaps not so quickly nor to so great an extent as in more enervating climates and in subjects who are not obliged to labor for subsistence. From the inattention of distillers in the preparation of home-made spirituous liquors, a quantity of verdigris is frequently formed, which is afterwards dissolved in the liquor, and thus an additional potent poison is conveyed into the system.

EMIGRATIONS AND IMMIGRATIONS—POPULATION—MANUFACTURES.

Although there are frequent emigrations beyond the mountains, the immigrations into the district are supposed to balance the account. Population increases from the following causes: the people generally marry young, lead lives of steady industry, and live upon plain wholesome food in a healthy country. As an evidence of this there is scarcely a house to be found without several children. The black population increases every year. More slaves are born than die. The surplus of crops is generally vested in the purchase of negroes. Several of the more recent emigrants bring negroes with them. In the census of 1800 the negroes were one in eleven of the whole population, but in 1790 they were one it nine. In the first period, the white population was 8,734; in the last, 17,828: an increase of more than two for one in the course of ten years. In the same period the black population had increased so much that it only wanted 374 to be three for one. Domestic manufactures are carried to an extent which goes far in supplying the wants of individual families, but few or none are carried on for sale or to any considerable amount but those of iron. Of this metal there are several works in various parts of the district, and an abundance of ore for their supply. These manufactures are as yet chiefly confined to the making of bar-iron, plough-shares, and farming utensils. The bar-iron can be sold equally cheap with any that is imported, and is said to be as good, if not better in quality. Most of the common plantation tools are made by blacksmiths in the country. Several persons in the district make very good rifle-guns for sale, and in some places small manufactories of gunpowder are carried on. The numerous streams and convenient falls which are found everywhere, offer great advantages for conducting all manufactories wherein the impelling power of water is needed; but to improve them capital and enterprise are necessary. The first is wholly wanting, and the last very deficient.

EDUCATION—NEWSPAPER, ETC.

As yet education is but at a low ebb, and very little knowledge is diffused throughout the country. There is but one classical academy in the district, and that has been established within a few years. This academy is under the direction of an able teacher, Mr. Edwin Reese, and superintended by trustees of competent abilities. It is situated within a short distance of the court-house, in a very salubrious spot, and has a fine view of the great blue ridge. The price of boarding is sixty dollars, and of tuition twenty dollars by the year. Several English schools are found in different places, but they are not always provided with sufficient teachers. Among the attempts to diffuse knowledge may be mentioned a weekly newspaper which is very well conducted and printed at the village of Pendleton by Mr. Miller. It is a fact worthy of record, that in the frontier district thirty years ago, possessed by Indians, the publication of a newspaper has commenced and is carried on in a manner worthy of patronage. The yearly subscription is two dollars and a half.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

The prevailing religious denominations are Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. There are several churches in different parts, but they are not all supplied with regular pastors.

FRESHET.

This district is generally free from freshets. None, but the remarkable one of January, 1796, has been known to do any mischief of consequence. This materially injured the river grounds. Almost every plantation suffered from it more or less. Great quantities of sand were taken up by the waters and deposited in such thick layers upon the surface as to prove very injurious to the soil. In some places large holes were made in the ground eight or ten feet deep.

The current prices of the following articles in Pendleton in common years, are, Indian corn, 50 cts. per bushel; wheat, 75 do. do.; oats, 50 do. do.; corn blades, 75 per cwt.; hay, 50 do. do.; beef, 4 do. per lb.; pork, 5 do. do.

No. IV.—*A Statistical Account of Orangeburg District, chiefly from the Communications of Dr. Jamieson and Dr. Shecut.*

The first settlers of Orangeburg district were Germans, who arrived in Charlestown in 1735. From the third year of their settlement they had the benefit of religious instruction from the Rev. John Gissendanner. One of his children, born in 1742, is still alive. The first child that he christened was born in 1739, and is also alive. This reverend gentleman continued to officiate among these immigrants for twenty-two years after they located themselves in Orangeburg, and his register is now extant. Three or four individuals had previously settled Cowpens in advance north-westerly of the low country white settlers. These and the Cherokee and Catawba Indians were all the inhabitants who had preceded these Germans. Of the aborigines nothing worth relating is known. The district of Orangeburg s situate on the northeast side of north Edisto river, 79 miles north-northwest Charlestown.

A considerable proportion of the district consists of pine lands. These are divided into two kinds, pine and pine barren land. Of the first there are different grades. In the vicinty of most rivers, creeks, and swamps, are found in abundance magnolia, beech, willow, ash, elm, oaks, birch, walnut, and hickory trees. In the swamps there are large groupes of cypress, loblolly bay, sweet bay, maple, and tupelo trees and poplars of an immense height and circumference. From the margin of the swamps the lands are gradually elevated, and the more distant the less valuable. The best pine lands yield with good husbandry considerable crops of corn, cotton, wheat, and the smaller grains; and the swampy parts yield rice. The pine barren lands are so called from the sandy nature of the soil. In their natural state their timber alone give them value; but by manuring they may be made to yield from eight to twelve bushels of corn to the acre. On this land the industrious Germans make a decent living; but to the idle they afford little more than high, dry, and healthy sites for habitations.

The early settlers attended first to provisions and afterwards planted indigo for market. At present cotton engrosses most attention: but some persons continue to plant indigo, although given up in other parts of the State. The average quantity of indigo made to the acre depends greatly on the season and land. Dr. Jamieson has made 56 lb. of prime indigo to the acre, and sold it in Charlestown for $1 each pound; and the land of which it was made would not sell for more than fifty cents the acre, provided it had been separate from the other part of the same tract. Common pine land will produce 40 lbs. of indigo to the acre, and is more suitable for that article than for cotton. Land, when naturally good, has produced of the latter from 500 to 1000 lbs. in the seed, per acre. Ordinary land well manured will turn out nearly as much.

Where the land can be watered rice will produce from fifty to sixty bushels per acre. This in its rough state often sells in the vicinity from $1 to $1 25 cents per bushel.

The district affords some valuable orchards, particularly of peaches. This fruit accords well with a sandy soil. Some old settled farmers have large orchards of peaches, apples, and plums, which produce fruit in good seasons sufficient for domestic use, and a considerable surplus for market. From them are made brandy, cider, and vinegar.

The planters of this district improve their lands by manuring corn-hills every spring either with cotton seed or swamp mud, thrown up in pens in the fall season to remain during the winter. This, especially when improved by mixing with it cotton seed, stable manure, or decayed vegetables, greatly increases the fertility of the soil. Wheat on well manured land has produced thirty-four bushels to the acre. Rye or oats much more.

Few planters have any idea of the great advantages that may be derived from these swamps and bogs. At no very distant day their value will be properly appreciated.

The high lands in this district have sold from fifty cents to twenty dollars per acre. Great part of it abounds with good mill seats. Several saw mills have been and many more might be erected, and all find profitable employment, provided a canal was opened between Edisto and Ashley rivers. This would double the value of land in the vicinity of the former. There are grist mills which can manufacture wheat flour of an excellant quality.

The district abounds with stock; but from their number and from the increased population there are only a few particular spots in which cattle can maintain themselves through the winter. Sheep live and thrive in the barren lands, and are

more productive than any other kind of stock in proportion to their value and the little care they require.

The population of the district has increased so rapidly that old settlers consider it to have doubled within the last twenty years. Some large families are raised, and health is generally enjoyed by those who live two or three miles distant from low moist grounds. There are several persons now living above seventy. A few approach ninety or one hundred; and three or four are known who have survived a complete century.

The blessing of health is in this district best enjoyed by those who reside on high open pine lands. Stagnant ponds, bays, river swamps, and mill seats are generally the pests and scourge of country settlements. Inhabitants in their vicinity are almost annually visited with fevers. While the whole marginal extent of rivers is groaning under these afflictions the pine land settlers are scarcely otherwise affected than with common colds and slight attacks of intermittents.

An industrious and economical man with his wife, possessed of the same qualities, may procure in a short time a comfortable living, though he possesses nothing on his arrival. He may procure a small tract of land on a credit, and in one winter he may cut down and lop off the trees and underwood of eight or ten acres of ground. His neighbors are ever ready to lend him a helping hand; and when he has all in readiness, on signifying his intention, thirty or forty able bodied men, white and black, assemble on the ground early in the day and with hand-spikes they lift into piles the huge logs, while the children drag away the brush and boughs into heaps. When the light of day retires they kindle a blaze which soon enlightens the dark space around, and reduces to cinders in a few hours what else might have been the work of months. When the land is thus prepared and previously fenced and grubbed, it is broken up with a shear plough, and the roots distributed in piles to dry and consume; after which it is again ploughed and chequered for planting. One man with a good horse will tend from ten to fifteen acres of land in corn, peas, and potatoes, and make provision enough to support his family through the ensuing year. The only difficulty occurs in the first settlement; but this is generally remedied by the hospitality for which the planters are remarkable. Honest industry always finds friendly assistance among them.

Pine lands, when judiciously managed, in a few years become equally productive, if not more so, than the generality of oak lands. They who plant oak and swamp lands depend so much on the present goodness and strength of the soil that they continue to crowd crop upon crop, impoverishing annually the natural goodness thereof without regard to its improvement, while they who are possessed of pine land, from a knowledge of its general poorness, are induced to supply by art and industry what is natural to the other. The Germans obtain crops from poor pine lands equal in quantity, according to acres and hands, with most farmers on oak lands. The average crops of Indian corn from lands of this quality are from ten to twenty-five bushels to the acre. A method hitherto commonly employed by weak handed planters is to select various eligible levels on a tract of pine land. These are converted into fields in the following manner: the large trees are girted, that is, a ring is cut through the bark to the wood; by the next spring they all die and cease to draw from the surrounding earth any of its nourishing properties. The smaller trees are then cleared away and burnt up. The ground, broken up with grubbing hoes and the plough without any other preparation, is sown with wheat or rye. Nature finishes the great work of these plantations; for every hard wind brings down more or less of the deadened trees, and fire consumes the whole. Thus in a series of years a large plantation is obtained with very little labor. Although this is deemed one of the laziest methods of obtaining cleared lands, it is not without use. In time it occasions a change of the timber. After the pine trees are thus girted they die; but if the land is suffered to remain a few years without cultivation, there springs up an equivalent of oak and hickory in place of the pines which become extinct: a very acceptable acquisition to the pine land farmer.

Almost every planter carries on domestic manufactures to a considerable extent, and many clothe their families with cotton, and with a cotton warp filled in with wool which they prefer to white plains. There are planters who own sixty or seventy slaves, and clothe them all from their own resources. They are making great improvement every year both in spinning and weaving.

The inhabitants generally are becoming more disposed to encourage schools and are more desirous of giving liberal educations to their children than they used to be.

Since the Methodists have become numerous there is less of that indolence and distress which was common before. Preaching houses are established at almost every five or ten miles, according to population; and these are well supplied with itinerant preachers. The success attending this plan has been great.

There was a Presbyterian meeting house erected on Cattle's creek in 1778, and called the Frederician church, after Andrew Frederick, who was its principal founder. Another of the same denomination was built at Turkey hill. There are two others of the same denomination in Lewisburgh and one Episcopal church.

There are four Baptist and about fourteen Methodist churches. The latter are attended regularly by the circuit riders, and often by their local preachers. Both Methodists and Baptists increase.

The Presbyterians have supplies only from the upper country and the North Carolina Presbytery. From the want of preachers of their own denomination, the descendants of the old stock are falling in either with the Baptists or Methodists, according to the neighborhood in which they live.

The population, wealth, industry, morals, learning, and religion of the district has astonishingly improved, especially since the year 1790.

No. V.—*A Statistical Account of Beaufort, chiefly from the Communications of Dr. Finley.*

In Beaufort was established the first English settlement in South Carolina, and not far from it the French and Spaniards commenced a settlement soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, as has been already related. Why the English abandoned this site for the banks of the Ashley, has never been explained. The former has evidently natural advantages over the latter. It is probable that the present proprietors of Charlestown and the vicinity are indebted to the Spaniards for the advantages that have resulted from the change; for to be more out of their way doubtless had some influence in the dereliction of Beaufort. Whether any of the first settlers remained is uncertain, but it is probable they did not. No evidence of settlement prior to 1700 is now extant. In that year is the date of the birth of the first child which is recorded in the parish register. The first lots in Beaufort were granted in 1717. The Episcopal church was built about the year 1720. From that time to the present there have been fourteen incumbents, all of whom were Europeans, except the Rev. Galen Hicks, and the Rev. Matthew Tate. In the year 1761, when the Episcopal establishment was in full force, the vestry and church-wardens, in their letter to their correspondent in England, requesting his aid in procuring for them a minister, gave it as their opinion "that a gentleman of a studious turn and regular deportment who would maintain the authority of the church without being austere or rigid to dissenters, of which there were many, would suit better than one of a contrary disposition." There are in Beaufort also a Baptist church built in 1792, and an Independent church built in 1804. All these churches are supplied with ministers of excellent characters and regular education. The members who attend divine service at present in these different churches, far exceed what was common, or what could be accommodated prior to 1792, and among all of them great respect is paid to religious institutions.

A library society was instituted in 1802, which contains between six and seven hundred volumes. There is also a college, a grammar school, and three other schools for boys, one for young ladies, and three for young children. At these several schools there are about two hundred scholars. The college funds, when brought into action, will amount to sixty or seventy thousand dollars.

Beaufort is remarkable for the health and longevity of its inhabitants. The complexions of the people are a proof of the former—the parish register of the latter. The records of the church state the interment of sixteen persons whose ages average more than seventy-five. Three are now living whose ages average seventy-nine.

A causeway and ferry has been lately completed which renders the communication between the Island and the main safe and convenient. In 1795 a company of one hundred persons was incorporated for the purpose, but after expending much money and labor in trying to effect the object for near ten years they gave up the completion of it to the deceased William Elliot, who soon finished the work. The former company began the causeway on the Island side, and made it of pine logs filled in with mud, but the worms below and the influence of the weather above was continually rendering their work nugatory. There were too many persons to consult, their deliberations were slow, and their efforts feeble. William Elliot at length undertook it and began with the causeway on the main side, which he finished entirely of fascines; and he had begun to face the old pine log work in the same manner when his valuable life was terminated with the universal regret of the whole community. There is now an excellent rope ferry. The length of the causeways, for there is one on each side, and of the ferry ex-

ceeds a mile. The ferry is somewhat narrower than the one over Ashley river. The celerity with which this work was finished by Mr. Elliot proves that in public works one head is better than many, and that causeways may be made in Carolina more easily and with less expense than has been commonly supposed.

No. VI.—*A Statistical Account of Georgetown, chiefly from the Communications of Dr. Levy Myers, Dr. Blythe, and Samuel Smith.*

The ground on which Georgetown stands was originally granted to Mr. Perry, the ancestor of the present family of Kinlocks. It was through mistake granted a second time to the Rev. William Screven, the first Baptist minister in South Carolina, and one of the first settlers in the province. Mr. Screven, early in the eighteenth century, laid off the place in lots and assigned one for the use of the Episcopalians, one for the Baptists, and one for the Presbyterians. After this had been done, Mr. Cleland, who had married the daughter of Mr. Perry, claimed and recovered the land by virtue of his elder grant, but in the year 1737 confirmed Mr. Screven's sales of lots in consideration of the receipt of a small additional price paid by each proprietor.

A tradition prevails, that about the year 1700, a large vessel, supposed to be the Rising Sun, with three hundred and forty-six passengers on board, came without a pilot up Sampit creek to the place where Georgetown now stands, but finding no inhabitants there but Indians, the Captain made for Charlestown. On his arriving near the bar, he was boarded by a pilot who told him that his vessel could not enter the harbor without lightening. The Captain being in distress, sent his long-boat with the Rev. Mr. Stobo and some others to solicit assistance. Before the boat returned, a hurricane took place in which the vessel and every soul on board were lost. Tradition states further that the same hurricane broke open the north inlet, and that previously there had been only one inlet from the sea to Winyaw bay. The tradition, as far as respects the loss of the ship, the hurricane, and the preservation of the Rev. Mr. Stobo, is supported by well known historic documents. The other particulars, that a vessel came over Georgetown bar without a pilot which could not cross Charlestown bar with one, if true, is very remarkable. It is rendered probable from the circumstance that the bar of Georgetown has from that time to the present been constantly growing worse.

Elizabeth Commander, the grand-mother of Samuel Smith, who resided on Black river, fourteen miles from Georgetown, survived her eighty-eighth year, and brought up ten children to be men and women, the greatest part of whom attained to the age of seventy and upwards; and her eldest son Samuel to ninety-four, at which advanced period he was a strong, robust old man, and his eye-sight good.

There have been many instances of longevity in the county between Little Peedee and Catfish creek, about sixty miles north of Georgetown. Six very old men died there since the year 1800. One of them, named James Ford, died in or near 1804, at the age of one hundred. The others are, James Munnulyn, Moses Martin, Buckingham Keen, Michael Mixon, and William Watson, who all died upwards of eighty. James Munnulyn served in the office of constable at eighty-six—walked fifty miles to serve a process, and returned home again in less than three days.

Georgetown contains about one hundred and twenty dwelling houses, in which there are between six and seven hundred white inhabitants; the negroes are in the proportion of two to one. The public buildings are a gaol, court house, and three places of religious worship; one for the Episcopalians, one for the Baptists, and one for the Methodists. There are two institutions of a public nature, the Winyaw Indigo Society, and a Library Society, of which notice has been taken in the preceding history.

The diseases of Georgetown bear a striking similarity to those of Charlestown. Fever and agues or simple tertians were about 1790 common, and might be said to be endemial; but since the population of the place has increased, and the lands in its neighborhood have been cleared and put under cultivation, fever and agues seldom occur. The fever most common is the bilious remittant or double tertian, approximating to that of a continued form.

In 1807, when the influenza prevailed in Georgetown, several of the aged inhabitants died of it. Of five such, two of whom were natives, the others foreigners who had resided there upwards of forty years, the aggregate of their ages averaged seventy-one years for the life of each individual.

Georgetown is well situated for trade; it is in the neighborhood of very fertile

lands, and an extensive back country depends on it for imports and exports. Some improvements in its harbor, and an extension of inland navigation, would give it much more importance than it has ever possessed.

By the census of 1808, the number of families in Georgetown is 141—of white inhabitants, 624. In the twelve years immediately preceding 1808, there were 399 deaths, or nearly, on an average, thirty-three in each year, or 1 in 19 of the whole white population. Of these 390 deceased persons, 8 were between 60 and 70; 4 between 70 and 80; 4 between 80 and 90—the eldest 87. 4 were strangers, and 20 had not been residents above two years. 9 were drowned. The greatest number of deaths was in October and September. The least in January, February, March, and December.

Mrs. Morgan died in 1805, aged 90. She was born in Virginia, but had resided for twenty-eight years in Darlington district, about sixty miles from Georgetown. At the time of her death, 244 of her descendants were living. She wrote a good hand, and taught reading, writing and arithmetic at the age of 70, was healthy and active till within a short time of her death.

No. VII.—*A Statistical Account of Claremont District, chiefly from the Communications of Chancellor James and Rev. Dr. Furman.*

The high hills of Santee are singular objects of curiosity, as being not more than eighty or ninety miles from the ocean, and rather belonging to the low than the upper country of Carolina. They lie in a ridge from three to five miles wide, have their course from the river Santee in a direction generally between north and northeast, and with the adjacent country bear one common name. They are probably, at their greatest elevation, 300 feet above the level of the river, and affords prospects from twenty to thirty miles in extent.

Excepting a narrow strip along the river, the lower part of the hills is a bed of barren sand. Below them lies a body of good land. The best on the hills is situated from about ten miles below Statesburg to seven above it. But this extent is considerably diversified in respect of quality.

The good lands are almost all cultivated, and yield plentiful crops of corn and cotton. The plough is much used. Negro boys and girls, from ten years old and upwards, are trained to guide it. Cotton seed is the principal manure. The trees most common are oaks, hickory, and pines. Some of the latter, from the rings which surround them, are supposed to be above 200 years old. Flowering trees and shrubs are in great abundance. Among these are the locust, the dogwood, the maple, the crabtree, the hawthorn, the honeysuckle, the calico flower, the wild rose, and the sweet shrub; the pinkroot, several kinds of snakeroot, angelica, and wild saffron.

Most fruits are advantageously raised on the Santee hills; but the cherry, the peach, and the apple, are supposed to acquire there a superior flavor. Kitchen gardens, and the cultivation of exotics, have of late engrossed much attention.

Wells for procuring water have been dug as deep as eighty feet. From an inspection in a few cases, of the interior of the soil thus brought to view, the strata appear, 1, a slight brick color or black mould mixed with sand; 2, red clay; 3, white or blue marl; 4, coarse yellow sand, with white pebbles; 5, black mud with a sulphurous smell, containing in it soft round black pebbles. The water of these wells is not so good as that of the springs. The latter are abundant and excellent. Two of them near Statesburg are supposed to be impregnated with iron and sulphur.

The Wateree river, four miles from Statesburg, is navigable at most seasons by the Santee canal boats. It might be made much more useful by the junction of the small lakes on the side next to Statesburg. The Wateree swamp, for more than twenty miles in length, and for more than four miles in width, is almost in a state of nature. It produces canes and forest trees of a prodigious size. Of the latter the white and red oak, the sweet gum, the cotton tree and sicamore are the most remarkable. From a dread of freshets these low grounds have been neglected. They would prove an inexhaustible mine of wealth if by any means they were secured against inundations. Their mud makes excellent manure.

There are several considerable streams which issue from the sides of the Santee hills. These are of force sufficient to be the impelling power of several mills which are erected upon them, and they afford facilities for labor-saving machinery of several kinds. About the year 1750 a colony emigrated from Virginia, and settled the high hills of Santee. The preceding settlers were very inconsiderable. But the tide of immigration from the north was so strong that before the revolution these hills were among the most populous parts of the province. For six miles

round Statesburg country seats are now to be seen within a half mile of each other, which in appearance would do credit to a city. Most of these have been built or improved since 1798. About that time it began to be fashionable for the wealthy inhabitants near Georgetown to have at least a summer residence on the hills of Santee.

Statesburg as a village was begun in 1783 by a company, of which General Sumpter was the most influential member. Here, or rather in the vicinity, refined society may be enjoyed in great perfection. It contains ten or twelve dwelling houses, four or five stores, and an Episcopal church. There is also a circulating library which is increasing. Near to it an academy of great reputation is kept by the Reverend Mr. Roberts. Several pupils educated by him have entered the sophomore, and some the junior class in the South Carolina college.

There are two Baptist churches in the neighborhood. These and the Episcopal church are well attended; and there is among the inhabitants generally a growing respect for religious institutions. In this particular they are much altered for the better within the last twenty years. The Baptist church was first formed about the year 1770 by the Rev. Joseph Reese, and their house of worship was built on a lot given by Dr. Joseph Howard. The Rev. Dr. Furman now of Charlestown was their first settled minister, and continued with them from 1774 to 1787. Since 1798 they have been under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Roberts.

The settlers from Virginia were generally Episcopalians. They have had the following preachers in succession—the Rev. Messrs. Woodmason, Walker, Davis, Richards, Tate, and Ischudi.

The climate of the Santee hills three or four miles back from the Wateree swamp has been found by experiment to be salubrious. Neither stagnant waters nor musquitoes are found there. Though the neighborhood of Statesburg is very populous, yet only four deaths have occurred in 1807 and 1808. The mercury in the thermometer has not been known to be higher than the 94th or 95th degree, and even then the nights were cool and pleasant. Few places are blest with a better climate. Large families of children are raised. Four persons are now living within twenty miles of Statesburg, two of whom are 100 years old and two above 90, and some of them can count upwards of 100 descendants.

It is worthy of observation that on the most elevated parts of the hills the cold does not make that impression which it does on the adjacent level or low country. Vegetation there is earlier by a week or fortnight, than it is on lands of the latter description, though not a mile distant. The same difference is observable in the progress of cold in autumn. Vegetables are alive and thriving on the hills when those in the low lands are entirely killed. The fruit on the hills is also generally uninjured from the frost in the spring.

No. VII.—*A Statistical Account of Camden, chiefly from the Communications of the Rev. Dr. Furman.*

Camden was first settled by a colony of Quakers from Ireland about the year 1750. The principal of these emigrants were Robert Milhouse and Samuel Wyley, sensible and respectable men. A mill or mills were erected by them on Pinetree creek, which runs just below Camden, and from which the settlement was called Pinetree. The Quakers were sufficiently numerous to form a congregation. They erected a place of worship which remained till the American war. Milhouse died about the year 1755, but left children; and his posterity still exist about Edisto and the Cypress. Wyley lived several years longer; and has left a daughter, Mrs. Lang, a respectable lady living in Camden. He also left three sons.

About the year 1760, Colonel Hershaw opened a store at Mr. Wyley's in Camden. Being prosperous in business he laid out the place in lots, and in honor of Lord Camden gave it his name. He proceeded to build stores and mills, and to make other improvements. John Chesnut was a co-partner with Colonel Hershaw, having previously served his time with him. A considerable quantity of good flour was manufactured at the Camden mills, and a brewery was erected, which for some years promised to be useful. A pottery was also erected by an Englishman of the name of Bartlam. Various handicraftsmen found profitable employment, and Camden continued to thrive till it was checked by the war. The Quakers as a society decreased continually from the time Camden began to thrive as a village, and are now become extinct. A place of worship was built here for the Presbyterians some years before the war; but it was burnt by the British. Camdem languished for a considerable time after the peace. It now appears to

be in a flourishing state. It was incorporated in 1791, and has ever since had a regular city police. There are about 150 dwelling houses in it. About the year 1802 a church was built by the Presbyterians, in which the Rev. Mr. Flinn lately preached. The scheme of building it was begun by the late Mrs. Alexander, wife of Dr. Isaac Alexander, who gave £200 sterling towards it. About the year 1800 the Methodists erected a Church in Camdem forty feet by thirty. They are now increasing its size by making it double the former length. The Baptists have obtained a handsome subscription for building a church. Mr. Lloyd Champion has given them a suitable lot for its site.

For several years immediately after the war, Mr. Logue, an aged Presbyterian minister from Ireland, preached statedly a part of his time in Camden. Mr. Adams, a young gentleman of the Congregational church, from Massachusetts, preached there, and also had the charge of the Orphan society's academy.

Camden is one of the largest inland cities in Carolina, and bids fair to become a considerable place of trade and business. It has an easy and quick communication with Charlestown through the Santee canal—has the support of an extensive back country in both Carolinas—possesses many advantages for the erection of labor-saving machinery in its vicinity—and ample materials of the best kind for boat and ship building. Its other advantages, the devastations it underwent in the revolutionary war, and the severe actions that were fought in its vicinity. have all been related in their proper places.

No. IX.—*A General View of the Upper Country, chiefly from the Communications of Mr. Anthony Park and Dr. Davis.*

In the year 1750, when the settlement of the upper country began, there were so many buffaloes, which have long since disappeared, that three or four men with their dogs could kill from ten to twenty in a day. Wild turkeys were also in the greatest plenty. Deer were so numerous that a rifleman with a little powder and shot could easily kill four or five in a day. A common hunter could kill in the autumnal season as many bears as would make from two to three thousand weight of bear bacon. The waters abounded with beavers, otters and musk-rats. Twenty beavers have been caught by one man in one season on Fairforest. The country was also overrun with wolves, panthers and wild cats. There was a great facility of raising stock from the profusion of native grasses and canes. When the whole country was within the grasp of a few settlers, the preference of one spot over another was generally decided by the comparative plenty of canes. Though provisions were easily raised, the labor of raising them for sale was but indifferently rewarded, for there was no regular market for any crop nearer than 100 miles. The skins of wild beasts were the most profitable remittance to Charlestown: next to them was butter and tallow, afterwards flour and hemp. In a few years indigo began to be an object of industry. Tobacco and other heavy articles would frequently do little more than pay the expense of bringing them to market. Since the year 1792 the general cultivation of cotton has materially altered the state of the country. The people have, for the most part, passed from a state of depression to easy and comfortable circumstances. By nice calculation it appears that in good seasons, from good lands and with the usual good prices, the clear profits on an acre of land planted in cotton are from ten to thirteen dollars, and in a relative proportion under less favorable circumstances. This surplus, after all expenses are paid or taken into account, will purchase the fee simple of the land, for such is its low price compared with the high value of the commodities raised upon it, that, with few exceptions, one good crop will sell for as much as the ground on which it is raised. The clear profits on other articles of culture are less than on cotton. On wheat they are about $6 to the acre, on corn from $8 to $10. As the same force of hands can cultivate more acres in wheat or corn than in cotton, the profits on each may be made to approach nearer to equality; but the advantage is decidedly in favor of cotton. This is so much the case that provisions are comparatively neglected. This neglect equalizes the profits still more, for while so many cultivate cotton, the few who plant provisions obtain a better price for what they raise. The cotton planter not only benefits himself but his neighbor, who directs his industry to other objects of culture. This reciprocal dependence and communication of benefits cements the union of all the members of the great family of Carolina.

In the upper country the proportion of the cleared to the uncleared land is about one acre of the former to eight of the latter. The proportion between the number of inhabitants and the number of acres is about one of the former to thirty-six of the latter.

While the upper country has been growing richer it has been declining in health. When the interior of this State was first settled by white men, and for many years after, disease was rarely known. The first inhabitants being easily supplied with all the necessaries of life, esteemed the country, especially when at peace with the Indians, as an asylum from the toils, cares and diseases incident to man. This happy and contented state of mind contributed, with the salubrious nature of the climate to procure for them an exemption from disease. This state of things, however, has been gradually changing from that period to the present. Ever since the last years of the eighteenth century diseases have multiplied in a ratio much exceeding the increase of population. Many types and grades incident to populous and older countries have been introduced with their usual force and malignity. The effect of industry, with a greatly increased population, has produced a revolution in the face of the country and state of the rivers, which has brought into action many latent physical causes of disease and generated new ones. The increased difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life to which the inhabitants are reduced by the diminution of the range for stock and destruction of game—the new modes of pursuit, and of living to which they are driven by this change of circumstances—the effect of a state of society progressing to civilization, all combine with physical changes in the face of the country to render diseases more prevalent than formerly.

The causes of disease, which manifested their effects upon the first inhabitants, were those that were productive of the mild intermittent fever. For a long time there was only here and there a solitary instance of this, and that amongst the more incautious upon the margins of rivers. These original and indigenous causes of disease, combined with adventitious ones arising from the new order of circumstances have concurred of late to produce, not only bilious fevers in their various grades from the mild intermittent to a grade nearly approximating to yellow fever, but also other various forms of disease.

Agues and fevers are more rare than formerly. They seem to have been merged in the more violent forms of bilious fever.

Though the upper country has grown more sickly since it became more cleared, there is ground to hope that when it is better cultivated it will again be more healthy than at present. There are already some hopeful appearances of this in some of the oldest and most highly cultivated settlements. The upper country possesses the natural requisites for health and longevity. Marriages are early and generally prolific. In one district, containing upwards of 17,000 white inhabitants, there is not one woman of the age of twenty-five who is neither wife nor widow. The sky, generally clear and serene, is seldom obscured by a series of moist, misty weather. Rains come on suddenly, fall hastily, and terminate at once, leaving a clear and settled sky. The air is pure and temperate, and although variable, is seldom subject to sudden and great changes. During the summer Fahrenheit's thermometer generally fluctuates from 65 to 86, and during winter from 20 to 55. Every year, however, there are a few days when the mercury rises in summer to 94 or 95, and in winter when it falls to 10 or 11. The soil is elevated and dry, except near the edges of the water courses in the most rainy seasons. The water from the declivity of the surface runs off speedily. There is a very inconsiderable proportion of stagnant water; none except small lagoons near the rivers, and from these there are innumerable retreats on dry and elevated spots, to which the vapor arising from the low grounds cannot reach in a perpendicular ascent. Fogs are rare and readily dissipated by the rising sun. Flies, gnats and other insects, which attend putrid air, mud and slime, are few in number, nor are they in swarms in the most boggy spots.

The numerous springs afford pure and excellent water.

Night air must be little noxious. The exposure to it is great and the bad consequences few. Metals exposed to the air are but slowly corroded. Butcher's meat may be preserved for several days in the warmest season in a house built over a spring of water commonly called a spring house.

An unusual proportion of children is raised to maturity. From their births they exhibit strong marks of health, which is seldom interrupted by puny habits. Their diseases are generally short and easily managed.

A considerable number of the inhabitants live to be old. Each district can boast of several who are between 80 and 100.

Among the first settlers the means of education were very deficient. The first school in the fork between Broad and Saluda rivers was opened in the year 1767, and in it nothing more than reading was taught. Within half a mile of the spot where this first school was opened, there is now, 1808, a seminary in which the learned languages are taught and youth are prepared for entering college. There is also another about fifty miles distant on Fair forest, and near the vicinity

of the spot on which the first cabin was built by white inhabitants in the upper country. There seems to be a general and growing desire among the people to encourage learning. The first preacher among these early settlers was the Rev. Mr. Thain, from New Jersey, who in the year 1754 preached under an oak tree. His congregation consisted of about six families, which was then nearly the whole population of that part of the country. This settlement was broken up by the Indian war which raged between 1755 and 1763. Soon after the establishment of peace the inhabitants returned to their deserted cabins. While they re-established their plantations they were equally careful to re-establish religion, and had divine ordinances administered among them by the Rev. Dr. Alexander, and the Rev. Messrs. Tate and Simpson, and have ever since been an orderly church. Near the spot where the first sermon was delivered in 1754, there is now a large congregation and a regular Presbyterian minister. Something similar took place in other settlements. There are now among them many orderly well educated clergymen who receive from four to six hundred dollars a year for their ministerial services. Divine service is devoutly performed and decently attended. Among the professors of all denominations there is a growing and general desire to promote religion.

The first iron works in South Carolina were erected in the upper country by Mr. Buffington in 1773. These were destroyed by the tories in the revolutionary war; but several have been built since the peace of 1783.

In the year 1760 a great whirlwind began about King's Mountains and passed in a southeast direction through the Waxhaw settlement. It took off the whole roof of a large dwelling house of Mrs. Pickens so completely, that no one shingle of it has ever since been traced.

In 1808, November 15, at 9 o'clock P. M., a large ball of light about 20 feet long, appeared in the heavens and moved in a southwest direction. The light was so great that a pin might be easily picked up. There was soon after an explosion with a sound equal to that of a cannon. A rumbling noise followed for a few minutes. All this time the horizon was clear.

It is observed by old settlers that the lands have washed away much more of late than formerly; and that the spring season is several weeks later than when the country was first settled.

In the year 1755 the country from the Waxhaws on the Catawba across to Augusta on Savannah river did not contain twenty-five families. Within the same limits there are now twelve large and populous districts.

FINIS.